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The Modern Review

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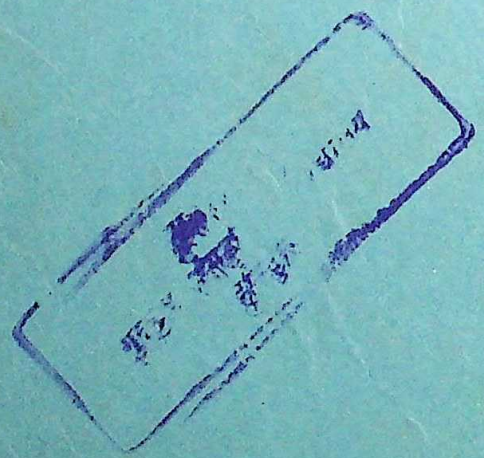

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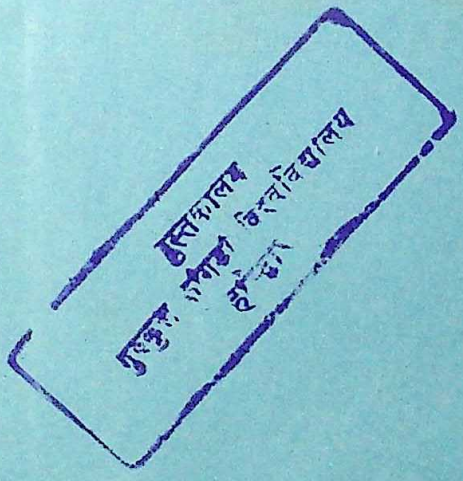

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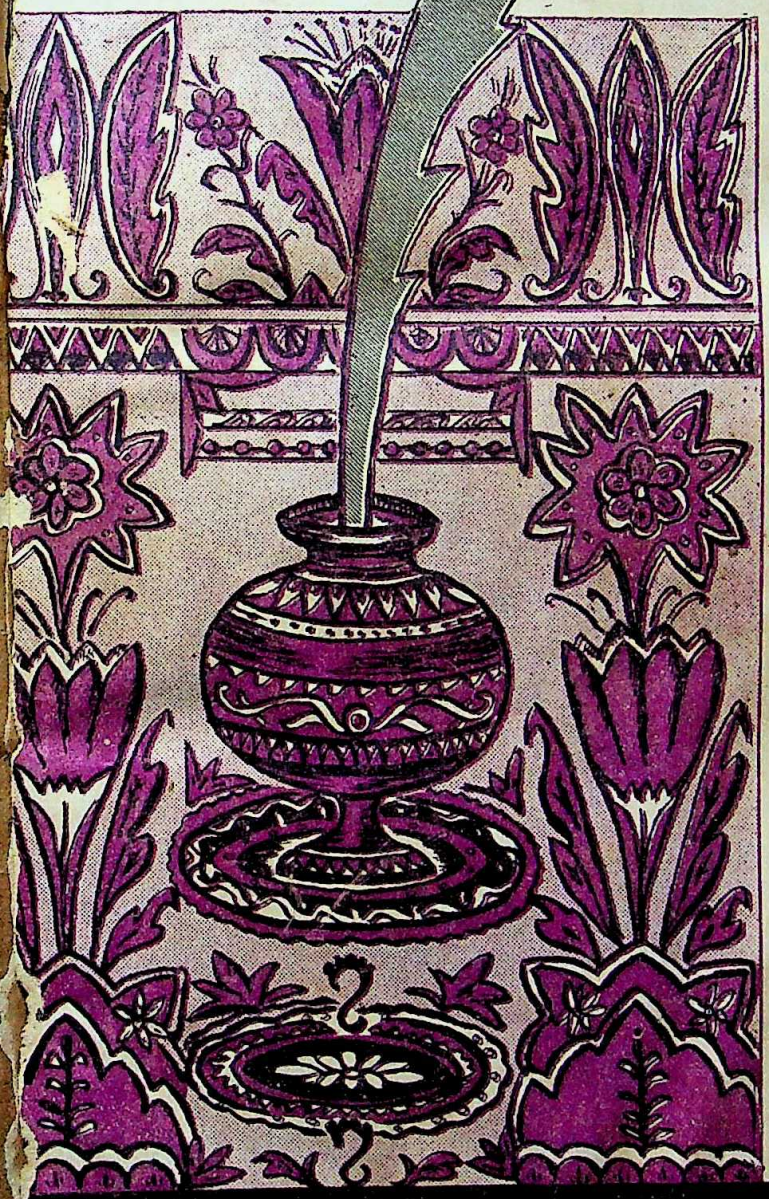

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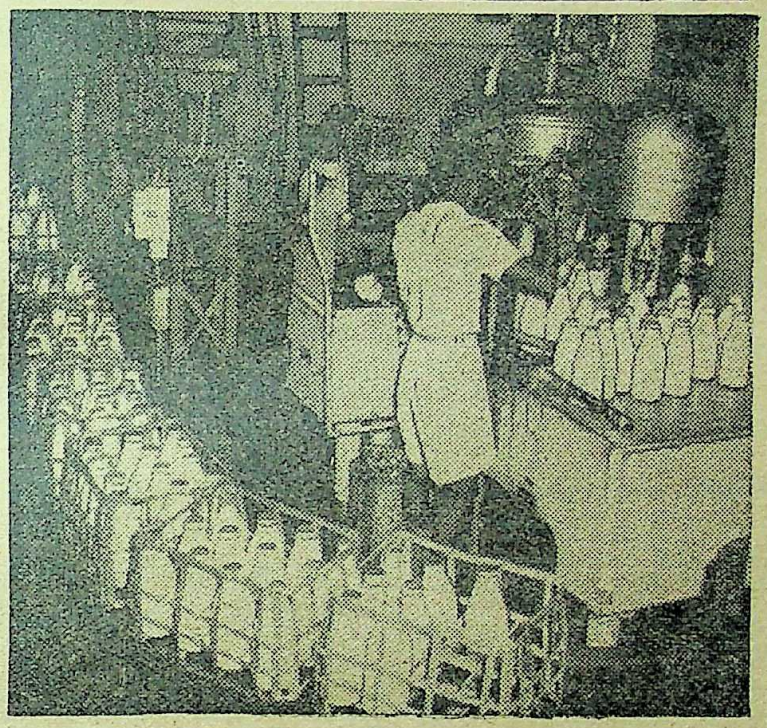

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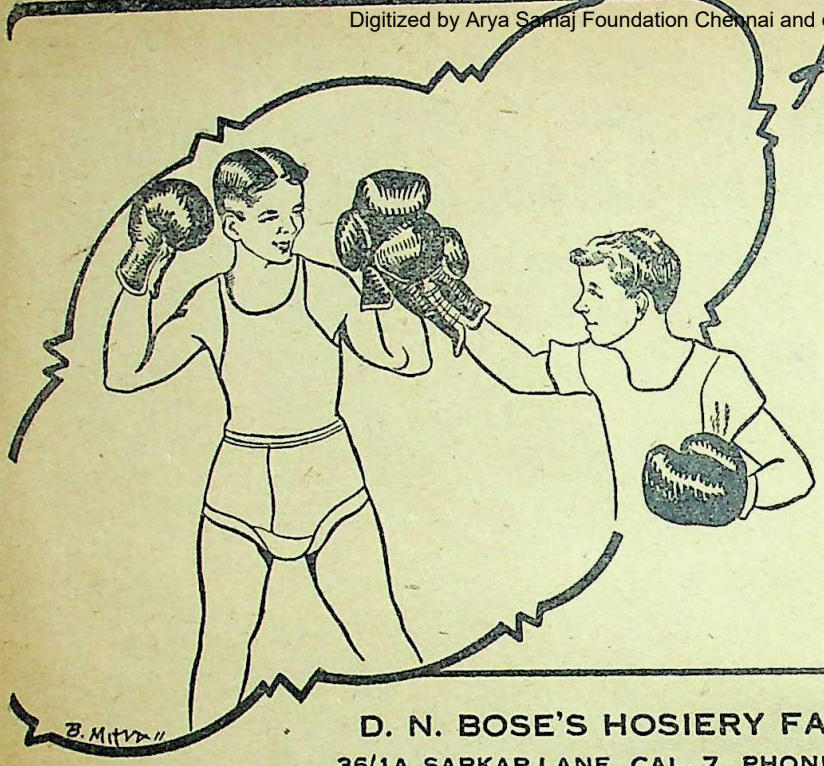

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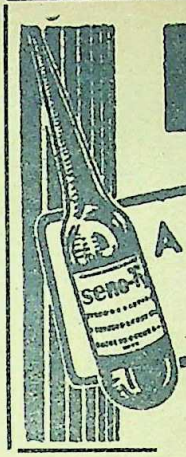

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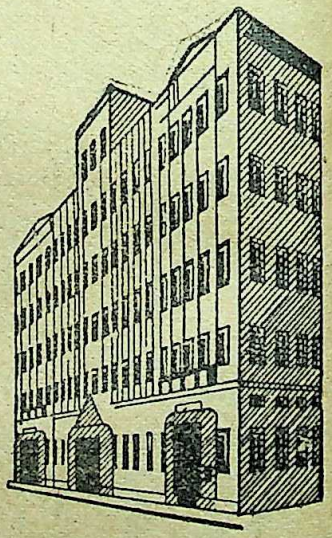

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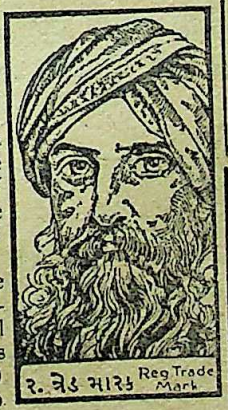

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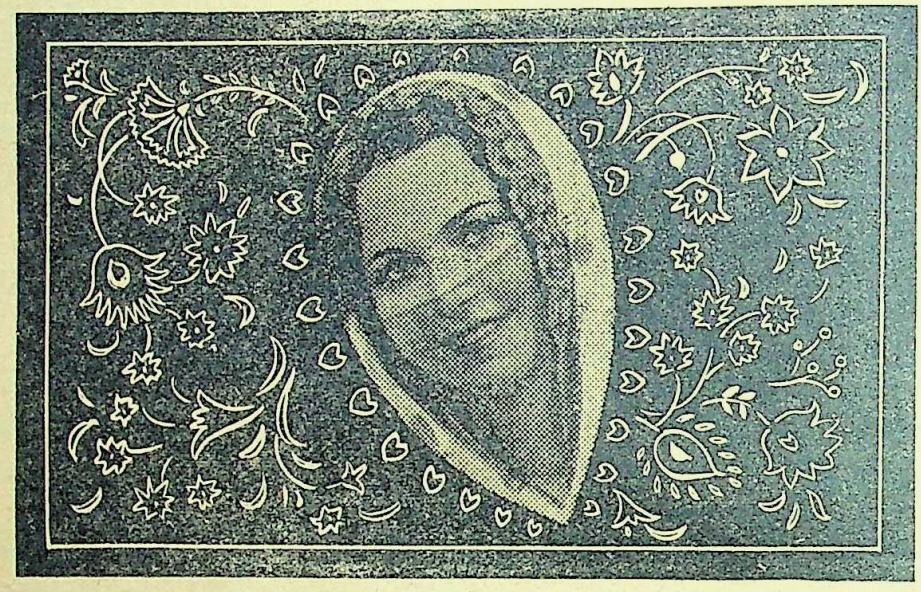

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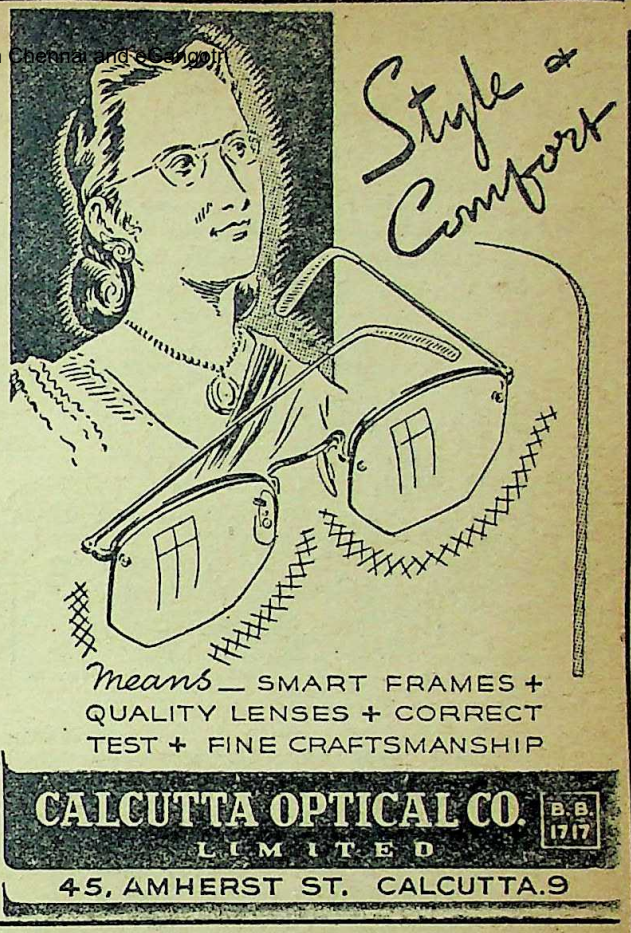

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JANUARY 1952

VOL. LXXXXI, No. 1 WHOLE No. 541

NOTES

The New Year

We are on the eve not only of the New Year but also of the end of the Elections, for the first time under the democratic rules. So the coming year is a momentous one in the annals of our land.

We wish all our readers, who are our friends, not only a Happy New Year but also fulfilment of their dreams of the Four Freedoms. We know they belong to many different political persuasions, but we believe that almost all of them have cherished hopes of freedom, not only of the nation, but of all individuals, in the fullest sense of the term.

Today we are masters of our own destinies, if only but we knew how to put to use the weapons and tools of democracy. Let us hope that we shall succeed in shaping our future sufficiently in the terms of security, stability and self-sufficiency.

The Elections

Now that the country is in the throes of election, we come across queries either writ large on the face of the newspapers or shouted aloud by the partisans of this party or that, or may be even that of an "independent." The questions asked are either "how will you vote" or "who will you vote for." It may be that the form is different and that the query is not quite so terse as we have put. But stripped of all verbiage and shorn of all slogans, jibes and cheers, it boils down to those two.

It is rather late in the day to answer those questions, indeed in some parts of the country the questions have already been answered. And the answer, so far, has been in favour of the Congress, where results are concerned, though in a great many places, the Congress victory is not at all indicative of the opinion of the people. There are cases where Congress candidates have won although they secured less than 30 per cent of the total votes polled, the major part of the votes cast being split into fragments by the numerous candidates, either set up by different parties or factions or standing on their own.

The strength of the Congress lies in reality in the myriad factions that have divided and sub-divided its opponents. Otherwise it would have been very hard going indeed for the Congress, despite the millions put in its party-chest by Big Finance and its satellites. The fight is on, but it is evident that illiteracy and ignorance of the issues involved are the greatest factors in favour of Pandit Nehru's party. Where there is a high degree of literacy and political consciousness, as in Travancore-Cochin, Congress has won merely because of the many divisions in the ranks of its opponents. Indeed judged so far, by those criteria, the Congress may win the elections yet lose the country. The price paid then will be in stability and staunchness of those who really count.

Pandit Nehru is conducting a whirlwind campaign all over the country. We are unable to reproduce even a fraction of what he has said, because there are so many repetitions, redundancies and absurdities in his statements and allegations. But we shall present our readers with extracts from his speeches at Muzaffarpur and Patna.

He said that he did not care for the fate of individuals in the least. What he cared for was the organization which had been built up in the course of 70 years as a weapon for fighting the battle of freedom. It had become rusted and many undesirable elements had infiltrated into it in the lure of *laddu* and *puri* (sweets) of office. Nevertheless, it still remained the only organization in India which could deliver the goods.

He admitted that after the Congress came to power many Congressmen had become lazy and ease-loving and the organization had suffered as a result. "I derive my strength and power from you—the masses—and I want your support to clear away the rusts and to make the organization strong once again so that it can serve you effectively," he said.

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Addressing a gathering of over 200,000 at the Gandhi Maidan in Patna, he referred to the large number of Independents who were contesting the elections and said that most of these people were rebel Congressmen about whom the voters should have no illusions. These people said that they believed in the Congress creed and had pledged while applying for nominations that they would not seek election if they did not get the party ticket. Yet the moment they failed to secure the nominations they turned against the organization. What guarantee was there that men, who valued pledges so lightly, would keep their promise to the electorate?

As to other Independents, he said, he did not deny the right of every citizen to seek the confidence of the electorate. He did not also deny that there might be good men among the Independents; but the point was not that. For running the administration an organized body was required. Independents, who by their very nature were disorganized, could not be relied upon for undertaking any big task.

Referring to the Socialists, Sri Nehru said that he had believed that the difference in ideology of the Congress and the Socialists was not much. He believed, as a matter of fact, that the Socialists were a few steps ahead of the Congress. But the manner in which they were fighting the elections had shattered his hopes about them. They had stooped so low as to align themselves with Dr. Ambedkar's reactionary party and he felt very sorry for them.

Readers who can analyse the statements made will realize that Pandit Nehru is under no illusions as regards the ranks of his party. He has stated that the "*laddu* and *puri* (sweets) of office" has brought in undesirables in the ranks of the Congress, and that Congressmen had become lazy and indolent. This in effect is a half-hearted attempt to white-wash the festering mass of corruption that now covers Congress in office. There is the same old condemnation of the Socialists because they have allied themselves with Dr. Ambedkar's party. We ourselves are rather chary of Dr. Ambedkar, but we do say that this alliance is in no way worse than those made by the Congress party bosses with minor groups and a whole host of shady individuals, who collectively would outnumber by far the candidates of Dr. Ambedkar. Indeed some of the Congress candidates are lower in the matter of morals, integrity and ethical rectitude, than any of those in the Socialist combine.

Pandit Nehru has one slogan "The Congress only can deliver the goods." Yes, but at what cost and to whom? The Congress has called for sacrifices on numberless occasions from the nationals of this country, during the last 70 years. But the last four years and a half of Congress Rule has called for sacrifice in the terms of morals and integrity. The price paid for freedom is therefore not only grievous but also deplorable and disastrous.

What chances are there of a change in these respects? None, we are afraid, unless the Congress is reformed by drastic measures. Pandit Nehru has made promises galore in that matter, *but only for after the elections*. Those who know anything about the methods of the Congress bosses, would have no doubts about the puerile and illusory nature of such pledges. The country has been run on a haphazard basis all these years. It is true that the Government had to face titanic problems and it is also true that it has avoided a general collapse and a major famine. It has likewise survived the chaos that followed the partition. But in all such performances the cost to the nation has to be considered. That reckoning must be made on an independent basis, not by tame statisticians or by financial authorities whose modes of thinking are the old soulless and bloodless bureaucratic ones.

It is in this reckoning that the Congress is found wanting. Its own National Planning Commission has mildly condemned the methodology of the existing Government schemes, by saying that "they have often failed to produce the best results for the country as a whole, due to lack of co-ordination and balance. In some cases schemes started have had to be dropped and in others progress had to be slowed down." And crores and crores of rupees were wasted thereby.

The Congress promise of "delivering the goods" depends entirely on whom the charge is given. Up till now the system has been to go entirely by party choices for office. Thus the plums of office have gone to those who were the devoted satellites of the great. Competence has not been a consideration, excepting in a very few cases. Thus the Ministries of Agriculture and the control of the River Valley Schemes have always been in hands, both at the Centre and in States, whose competence has not been beyond doubt in almost all cases. Similarly, Health, Education, Transport, have all been put on shoulders too weak and too narrow to achieve anything.

In the matter of permanent appointments the same casual, reckless and feckless favouritism has prevailed everywhere. It is true that the chosen of the Congress, whom Pandit Nehru would call the representatives of the People, were ignorant and totally lacking in experience in the matter of running a major nation's affairs. They made blunders galore in the beginning and the nation excused them on that score. But as time passed and more blunders were piled on the preliminary ones and blunder generated corruption everywhere, the country looked for redress and reform. These have not come up-to-date. And judging by the fate of Pandit Nehru's previous promises, we are unable to even hope for any improvement in the future.

The Congress claims that it is the only party that

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can achieve success, and that if it cannot then no other combination can.

We would make bold to say that if the Congress, as it is constituted today, comes to power in full strength in these elections, then it will not be able to deliver even a fraction of the goods it promises. The people are reduced to destitution and the price spiral shows no tendency to flatten out, much less to go down. Then if the Congress cannot and no other existing party is likely to succeed in wresting power from the Congress, what is in store for the country? An unstable government and fresh elections, long before time—or else chaos.

We hate to begin the year with a jeremiad. But the truth must be faced. Pandit Nehru and his party have broken all pledges made at Nasik and after. We have, therefore, no reason to put any faith in empty words. In the nominations, we have seen no chance of any reform from within the Congress. On the contrary.

Therefore, the nation has to prepare for the shape of things to come. More favouritism, more corruption, more incompetence, are the likely results, if the Congress campaign succeeds in its entity. But there is no reason to doubt the capacity of the nation to go through all trials, once it makes up its mind to face them in the right manner and in the democratic way. What are a few years in the life of a nation, and what nation has survived so many trials as ours?

The Kashmir Affair

For four years and more the people of India have been expressing with one voice their feelings towards the tactics of Pakistan. The Security Council's representative for Kashmir published his report on December 23rd last. And the members of the General Assembly, assembled at Paris for its 6th session, have got busy with its implications. India's chief delegate, Shree Benegal Narasimha Rao and Pakistan's Zafarullah Khan, have had their say. And the Security Council is likely to consider it in course of the next 15 days.

Dr. Graham's report contains nothing new, and we do not propose to discuss it, but will content ourselves with publishing extracts from its summary.

Dr. Frank Graham, United Nations representative for Kashmir, reported that India and Pakistan had failed to reach agreement on a plan for demilitarising Kashmir prior to holding a United Nations plebiscite to decide that State's future.

Dr. Graham said that agreement had not been reached on four paragraphs of his original twelve-point demilitarisation plan and added: "Agreement on these four paragraphs is most essential for carrying out the plan envisaged as an integrated whole in the twelve proposals.

The report said:

"The four basic proposals on which agreement between the parties has not been reached are as follows:

(1) Agree that subject to the provisions in para eleven below the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir contemplated in the U.N.C.I.P. resolutions of August 15, 1948 and January 5, 1949 shall be effected in a single, continuous process.

(2) Agree that this process of demilitarisation shall be completed during a period of 90 days unless another period is decided upon by the representatives of the Indian and Pakistan Governments.

(3) Agree that the demilitarisation shall be carried out in such a way that at the end of the period referred to in paragraph six above the situation will be:

(A) On the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line: (*i*) The tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident therein who had entered the State for the purpose of fighting will have been withdrawn. (*ii*) The Pakistan troops will have been withdrawn from the State, and (*iii*) Large-scale disbandment and disarmament of the Azad Forces will have taken place.

(B) On the Indian side of the cease-fire line: (*i*) The bulk of the Indian forces in the State will have been withdrawn; (*ii*) Further withdrawals or reductions as the case may be of the Indian and State armed forces remaining in the State after the completion of the operation referred to in (B-*i*) above will have been carried out so that at the end of the period referred to in paragraph six above there will remain on the present Pakistan side of the cease-fire line a force of civil armed forces and on the Indian side of the cease-fire line a force of a certain military forces.

(4) Agree that the Government of India shall cause the Plebiscite Administrator to be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation period referred to in paragraph six above."

"The United Nations Representative has carefully considered the situation on the sub-continent with regard to the relations between India and Pakistan in general and the Kashmir problem in particular.

"Furthermore, he has paid careful attention to the views put forward by both parties, and he has sought to narrow the differences between the parties on the basis of the 12 proposals of the plan as a whole which was noted with approval by the Security Council on November 10, 1951."

Dr. Graham then suggested the following changes in his original proposals:

1. "The process of demilitarisation shall be completed on July 15, 1952 unless another date is decided upon by the Representatives of the Indian and Pakistan Governments."

(In the original proposal, Dr. Graham had suggested a period of 90 days as a time limit for demilitarisation).

2. At the end of the demilitarisation period there

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should remain on each side of the cease-fire line "the lowest possible number of armed forces based in proportion to the number of armed forces existing on each side of the cease-fire line on January 1, 1949.

(The original Graham Plan had provided for fixing a definite number of civil armed forces on the Pakistan side and a certain military force on the Indian side).

The report also maintained Dr. Graham's original proposal that the Plebiscite Administrator should be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation period. According to his new suggestion, this would be July 15, 1952.

India's Reply

Dr. Frank Graham, U. N. Representative for Kashmir, in his report to the United Nations put down the following as India's reply to his questionnaire:

"We should like to state at the outset that in this note we are addressing ourselves strictly to the immediate task before us, *viz.*, that of working out the details of a feasible plan of demilitarisation.

"We shall therefore refrain at this stage from commenting upon the arguments, interpretations or implications contained in the statement and in the questions presented to us by the United Nations representative on December 7, 1951.

"It might be useful to state briefly the question asked in the course of the discussions by the representative of India in regard to the question of the quantum of Indian troops remaining in the State of Jammu and Kashmir at the end of demilitarisation.

"The point was raised whether in view of certain new assurances it would be possible to reduce the figure originally proposed. In reply it was pointed out that the Government of India was responsible for the security of the State and security could not be made dependent solely on verbal assurances offered but must be related to the actual conditions prevailing in the area.

"Therefore the quantum of forces remaining on the Indian side cannot be reduced merely because of the number of assurances offered. It should be remembered that even the U.N.C.I.P. resolutions contained certain assurances which have not been carried out on the part of Pakistan; witness the Jehad and war propaganda in that country and the building up of 'Azad Kashmir' forces.

"There was also an assurance accompanying the resolution of August 13, 1948, to the effect that during the period of cessation of hostilities Pakistan should not in any way consolidate its position to the disadvantage of the State.

"Yet there was in fact such consolidation as the U.N.C.I.P. themselves have recorded.

"The biggest assurance offered was that of a plebiscite by India in 1947, but that did not prevent the invasion of Kashmir by the Pakistan Army in May 1948.

"As it was recognised in the course of discussion that the question of security was essentiality a military matter. It was agreed that discussions should proceed between the Indian military advisers and General Devers, in order that a practicable plan of demilitarisation be worked out. While demilitarisation would form part of a single continuous process, it was admitted that in actual implementation, the process could not be completed in one full sweep, and that some phasing would be inevitable.

"On November 20, General Devers made certain tentative suggestions in writing on how demilitarisation might be achieved.

"The Indian military advisers, after consulting the Government of India were able to agree to the basic principles underlying General Devers' programme, with certain reservations which were to be discussed further.

"The figure of Indian troops remaining at the end of demilitarisation given by the Indian military advisers, was based on the assumption the appointment of the Plebiscite Administrator at a certain moment in the period of demilitarisation was considered necessary. On this basic point also, no agreement could be reached.

At the end of his informal discussions, the Military Adviser reported to the United Nations Representative on his exploratory talks and his tentative plan of demilitarisation.

Recalling the points of difference between the two Governments on the original Graham proposals, the Report said:

The consultations held by the United Nations representative with the parties, as well as the answers he has received to the different questions put to them by him, have convinced him that at this stage of the negotiations the parties could not achieve agreement on the draft agreement as a whole submitted to them by the United Nations Representative on September 7, 1951.

Dr. Graham sent the following statement to both parties on December 7:

The hope for an agreement in the Kashmir dispute is based on explicit commitments of a 'No War Declaration,' a policy against war propaganda, reaffirmation of the cease-fire agreement and actual demilitarisation as an inter-dependent and continuous process carried out on both sides of the cease-fire line as part of the preparation for the long-promised free and impartial plebiscite. Consequently there is the present opportunity to work out an agreement for the fulfilment of the resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, to which both parties agreed.

It is obvious that the demilitarisation would not be one sudden, complete undertaking, whether the

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explicit provisions of the two resolutions regarding stages in demilitarisation be followed, or whether by agreed stages in a continuous process as now proposed.

To this end, paragraph nine of the proposals of September 7, 1951 (Original Graham report) was submitted for the purpose of having the Military experts, in consultation with their Governments and under the auspices of the United Nations to work out the stages in this continuous process of demilitarisation.

To surmount the obstacle regarding war psychosis, the United Nations representative made the followng proposals contained in the first three of the 12 proposals.

The Security Council has asked us to continue on the basis of the 12 proposals. Tentative agreement has already been reached on a majority of those 12 proposals.

If the two Governments reached an agreement (1) on the number of forces to be left at the end of the period of demilitarisation and (2) on fixing a definite time for the induction of the plebiscite administrator into office for the assumption of responsibilities for the final disposal by him of the remaining forces, we believe that an agreement can be reached on all the 12 proposals.

We have therefore with the co-operation of the representative of the two Governments confined our discussions to those two propositions.

The number of armed forces to remain at the end of the period of demilitarisation should be decisively reduced to the smallest number possible for the final disposal by the plebiscite administrator.

In order to meet the contention about the security of the State, the United Nations representative has made a number of proposals for assurances by both Governments against resort to war and war propaganda and for the prevention of invasion, incursion and infiltrations into the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

In grappling further with the problem of the security of the State and the freedom of the plebiscite, we have made other proposals in addition to the three submitted in our 12 proposals in the letter to the Prime Minsters of September 7, 1951.

We have the conviction that these proposals would make actual demilitarisation possible and also provide for the security of the State and the creation of a peaceful atmosphere conducive to the holding of a plebiscite.

The very agreement signed by two countries of high international standing, members of the United Nations and of the Commonwealth of Nations and approved in the forum of nations would be itself one of the most effective guarantees of the keeping of the peaceful assurances thus given and ratified before the world.

The report then gave the questions asked to India during the recent talks. These were: (1) Figure given by the Indian Government as the minimum to be left on its side of the State of Jammu and Kashmir at the end of the period of demilitarisation before the arrival of the plebiscite administrator is 28,000 troops plus 1,000 militia. Would it not be possible for the Government of India to accept a considerable reduction in the figure in order to make possible the demilitarisation of the State and to obtain the proposed agreement?

(2) The representative of India has stated that effective guarantees should be given for further reduction of these forces: (*a*) Would it be an adequate guarantee for the Government of India if an agreement is signed on the basis of the 12 proposals contained in the communication of September 7, 1951? (b) If not, would it be adequate if in addition United Nations military observers were stationed in necessary numbers which would be deemed appropriate by the United Nations and the Governments of India and Pakistan? (c) If not, is the Indian Government ready to accept forces to be provided by the United Nations in order to safeguard the security and to maintain law and order in the whole State of Jammu and Kashmir as long as the United Nations, in consultation with the Governments of India and Pakistan, deems necessary? (d) If not, what other suggestion is the Indian Government prepared to make in order to obtain the demilitarisation under the resolutions of the Security Council and the agreed resolutions of the UNCIP of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949?

(3) Would the Government of India agree to cause the plebiscite administrator to be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation period?

Questions to Pakistan

The questions asked to Pakistan were: (1) What is the minimum number of forces on both sides of the cease-fire line that the Government of Pakistan is ready to accept on the final day of the period for the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir?

(2) Would the Government of Pakistan be ready to accept that United Nations military observers be stationed in the necessary numbers where it would be deemed appropriate by the United Nations and the Governments of India and Pakistan?

(3) Would the Government of Pakistan be ready to accept forces to be provided by the United Nations in order to safeguard the security and to maintain law and order in the State of Jammu and Kashmir as long as the United Nations, in consultation with the Governments of India and Pakistan, deems necessary?

(4) Would the Government of Pakistan agree that the plebiscite administrator be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation?

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Pakistan's answers to these four questions were:

(1) Four infantry battalions (with the necessary administrative units) on each side of the cease-fire line. In case, however, India insists on retaining one division of four brigades, of four battalions each consisting of 28,000 troops, presumably with the normal complement of armour and artillery or an Indian army division, plus 6,000 militia, the Pakistan Government would consider it necessary to retain the Azad Kashmir forces consisting of 25,000 troops plus 3,500 Gilgit and Baluchistan scouts.

These forces are much weaker than the forces which India wishes to retain, both in number and in armament.

(2) Yes. It might be pointed out that under Clause B(2) of Part (2) of the UNCIP resolution of August 13, 1948, the United Nations representative is competent to station United Nations observers wherever he deems necessary.

(3) Yes. It is assumed that United Nations troops would be posted on both sides of the cease-fire line, and that the object of this proposal is to facilitate the withdrawal of all the forces of India and Pakistan, and the disbandment of all local forces, namely, the State army and militia and the Azad Kashmir forces.

(4) Yes. The Pakistan Government wish to emphasise the importance of appointing the plebiscite administrator formally as early as possible.

The UNCIP resolution contemplates his appointment in the middle of the programme of demiltiarisation. It is hoped that he would be appointed as much in advance of the final day of demilitarisation as possible.

Pakistan's Reply

In reply received from Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, on December 11, it was stated: "It was necessary to emphasise that the two UNCIP resolutions have to be taken together, and not in isolation.

"We entirely agree with your observation that if the two Governments reach an agreement (1) on the number of forces to be left at the end of the period of demilitarisation, and (2) on fixing a definite time for the induction of the Plebiscite Administrator into office for the assumption of his responsibilities for the final disposal by him of the remaining forces, it should be possible to reach agreement on all the twelve proposals set out in your letter of September 7, 1951.

"We also agree that the number of armed forces to remain at the end of the period of demilitarisation should be reduced to the smallest number possible for the final disposal by the Plebiscite Administrator.

"It has always been recognised by the Security Council that a free and impartial plebicsite is not possible in the presence of substantial number of troops of either party.

"In the words of Sir Gladwyn Jebb, the best guarantee of a fair expression of the wishes of the people of Kashmir is the removal or disbandment of the military forces of all interested parties.

"As a result of agreement on some of the proposals contained in your letter of September 7, 1951 there has been an improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations and some reduction in the tension which existed between the two countries at the time of your visit to the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent.

"The people of both countries have been looking forward to agreement being reached on a programme of demilitarisation and the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite.

"We entirely agree with your remark that it would be unfortunate if a failure to follow through and reach an agreement resulted in a reversal of the present development of a more peaceful atmoshphere.

"On the other hand, if those hopes are confirmed and strengthened by a definite agreement between the two Governments, the atmosphere will be further improved and other disputes vital to the welfare of the people can be co-operatively settled to the high advantage of both nations of the world."

Then follows a clever attempt to suppress and twist facts so as to put India's case in the worst light possible.

Pakistan's Foreign Minister appears to think that a repetition of words will do duty for argument and reason. His patrons among the Anglo-Saxon powers may believe in this technique of deception. But our people have long got over their faith in mere protestations, and are prepared to trust to the justice of their cause, and to that of the future of Kashmir-Jammu people. The idea of con-dominion is exploded today. Britain at least should have learnt her lesson by this time.

Fighting Forces of India

General Cariappa, India's Commander-in-Chief, has been touring the country and telling people how the fighting forces of our State can best serve their country. Modern developments have erased the difference between civil and military life, between "martial" and "non-martial" races. The last two world wars have demonstrated this fact. In his address to the Ranchi Municipality, on December 23rd last he has underlined what is expected of the whole people.

"High morale, economic stability and industrial self-sufficiency, a virile race of people for the highest standard of physical fitness are four key points which make a country strong and prosperous. India is now free and it is the duty and responsibility of every citizen to bring the above qualities and to work harmoniously to make the country strong."

"Mission with Mountbatten"

We have in these columns commented on this book when it was being serially published in certain

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Indian dailies. We have heard friends tell us that there are certain discrepancies in his presentation of the facts referring to Gandhiji. But more of them cared to come to substantiate their doubts. Many in close touch with Gandhiji had developed the habit of keeping diaries of men and matters. It is up to them to come forward and rectify any mistake there happens to be.

The book appears to have the advantage of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru's pre-study. In describing the celebration by the author of the publication of his book, Ela Sen, London correspondent of the Birla group of papers, has thrown an interesting light on the matter.

"Alan Campbell-Johnson held a reception to celebrate the publication of his book *Mission with Mountbatten*. It was one of the most enjoyable parties of this sort and what might have been rather a formal affair became quite informal among the journalists who were in the majority at the function. Lord and Lady Mountbatten added in no small measure to the reception. They were both interested in individual reactions to the book, and I was not surprised to hear from Lady Mountbatten that Mr. Nehru had found the book of great interest; in fact a large portion of the last weekend he had spent with the Mountbattens at their country home, 'Broadlands,' was in reading the book. That in itself should have been an excellent recommendation for the writer."

Lord Mountbatten is a young man to whom offices of danger appear to be lucrative. His name was suggested for Malaya; now it has appeared in connection with Egypt. So, watch the man!

Mr. Elliot Lockhart's Speech in A. C. C. Meeting

A brief but comprehensive survey of the country's economic situation has been given by the Union Finance Minister, Sri Chintaman Deshmukh in his address to the annual meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta on Monday, the 11th December, 1951.

The policy of the Government of India in relation to commerce, industry and other allied subjects came in for a good deal of criticism by Mr. A. R. Elliot Lockhart, President of the Association.

Mr. Lockhart, in his address, expressed their satisfaction that the young Republic of India in spite of the storms and stresses of the world today was as firmly on her feet as many other older and more experienced states.

While giving their general welcome to the First Five-Year Plan and accepting the inevitability of the mixed economy on which the plan was essentially based, Mr. Lockhart said that they had perhaps their own reservations on the country's ability to finance the Plan as a whole—under the present restrictive policy towards private enterprise and the burdensome taxation it suffered; they had moreover their doubts on whether the private sector was going to get sufficient incentive and encouragement to play its full part in the field, alloted to it in the Plan.

In other directions, they deplored the attitude of the Government in attributing all to the unsocial motives of the dishonest few and and a consequent tendency to tie the hands and the initiative of the entire range of bonafide business and industry by restrictive proposals and legislative measures.

Referring to the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, Mr. Lockhart said that they would do their best to see that the Act was worked to the best advantage of the country. But they disliked and were apprehensive of the very wide powers of investigation and control which it conferred on an administration very largely inexperienced in industrial matters.

He commented on several other recent measures which seemed to him to exemplify a tendency to put through important legislation without sufficient prior consultation with responsible representatives of the affected industries. He made an earnest plea for such consultation where Government had legislation in mind. He mentioned the Employees State Insurance Act as one of the examples of the difficulties which prior consultation might have avoided. A second example was the recent Ordinance setting up compulsory Provident Funds in certain industries.

As regards the Income-tax (Amendment Bill) they were anxious to have assurance that in no respect would the proposed legislation apply retrospectively. Further, they asked for a broader and more reasonable attitude than the Bill would seem to imply towards the taxation of some of the perfectly proper and very necessary amenities covered by their obligations to their employees.

Finally, he asked for a complete survey of the taxation structure of the country.

The Finance Minister's Reply: In his speech which followed the Presidential address of Mr. A. R. Elliot Lockhart, the Finance Minister gave reply to these diverse points raised by the President.

As an annual review of the situation Sri Deshmukh said that in December, 1950, when he last addressed the Chamber, there was a steady upward movement of prices, the general index number showing a rise of nearly 31 points from an average of 381.3 in December, 1949 to an average of 412.6 in December, 1950. The increase was, as he held, largely due to the developments in the international situation such as the war in Korea and the intensification of the rearmament programme of the United States and the Western Democracies. In spite of Government's doing everything possible to hold down prices, this upward move-

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ment continued this year also. The peak of the rise was reached last April, when the index number rose to 457.5. There has since then been a slow but steady downward movement. These increases, according to the Finance Minister, have been largely due to factors beyond the Government's control. He recounted some of the steps the Government has taken to arrest inflation. The provision of a substantial surplus in the revenue budget at the Centre to meet the essential requirements for capital expenditure and an increase of the Bank Rate are the "two significant steps."

As regards Bank Rate, a rise in it, is deliberately adopted as a measure of tightening credit. This change, he envisaged, produces a real as well as a psychological influence on the money market.

About the prevailing high prices of food-grains, he made natural calamities, such as floods and droughts, largely responsible and these have made us, he gave out, more dependent on imported food-grains, too costly for the country to bear. But he assured that it still remains the Government's policy to keep prices from rising unduly. In view of such an acute scarcity of food, it is but inevitable that Government should give priority to irrigation schemes which will increase food production.

In this connection the Finance Minister referred to the attack made on the increase in procurement prices allowed in certain states. The decision, he thought, is an attempt to hold the price line and not either a tardy attempt to pay more to the producer or a deliberate move in the direction of inflation.

The Finance Minister maintained a good deal of hope in the prospect of the Central Government's First Five-Year Plan, as drafted by the Planning Commission. This is both just and realistic and the most comprehensive approach to the problems of the country's development. He said that the Chamber has taken an unduly pessimistic view both in regard to the country's ability to sustain and finance a plan of this magnitude. As a finance minister and also as a member of the Planning Commission, he assured the country that the finance envisaged by the Plan is not beyond the country's resources, if we try in earnest to raise it. And to speak of financial difficulties is nothing but exaggeration of the fact.

As regards industrial development Sri Deshmukh said that while Five-Year Plan is not at all indifferent to the importance of industrial development of the country, it gave priority to irrigation schemes which will produce larger quantities of food, the most crucial problem before the country. He refuted the contention that the Government has been harsh to private enterprise. The scope left to private enterprises is, in his view, not merely adequate but leaves ample play for capital as may be raised by the private sector of the country.

He properly justified the Government's action regarding introduction of compulsory Provident Fund, the State Employees Insurance Act and the Labour Relations Bill. In this relation, Sri Deshmukh pointed to some of the misconceptions of the Chamber. He rightly contended that the representatives of industrialists as well as labour had been fully consulted before the implementation of these matters. Therefore as a general criticism of the Government's policy this is wrong.

As regards Government's income-tax policy, the Finance Minister promised that the proposed Income-tax Legislation would not be applied retrospectively. He declared that the amendment of Section 7 of the Income-tax Act is aimed merely at closing a loophole of evasion.

Regarding the appointment of a Taxation Enquiry Committee, he said that conditions are now so fluid and unstable that such a measure on the part of the Government will not be appropriate and timely. The matter will, however, be reconsidered after election and when the recommendations of the Finance Commission would be at hand.

Amenities to Employees

The Finance Minister, Sri Chintaman Deshmukh in his statement in the annual general meeting of the A.C.C. in Calcutta, assured the business magnates that special amenities granted to their employees shall not be included in the proposed Income-tax Bill (Amendment) and that the Bill aimed merely at closing the loophole of tax evasion by dishonest businessmen.

But the very exemption allowed, contains element of loophole of evasion. It is a well-known fact that giant entrepreneurs of India have been inclined to give preference to the importation of experts and technicians from outside the country. These people have been contracted with certain "perfectly proper and very necessary amenities," beyond the stipulated sum of their salary. The money cost of such amenities in almost all cases supersedes the salary. The whole amount, if paid in cash, may contribute a considerable sum as tax to the Public Exchequer. This legerdemain on the part of the employers is objectionable. As has been pointed out, it impoverishes the State to the extent of the tax. This may, again, impart an adverse psychological reaction on the national workers and may retard the progress of production. For it discriminates among workers as the perquisites are specially meant for the imported experts and technicians.

Bank Rate

The rise in Bank Rate has been singularised by the Finance Minister as one of the "significant steps" taken by the Government of India to arrest inflation and to tighten the Credit Supply of the country.

The general tension within the country, however, is that the rise in Bank Rate, accompanied by restricted purchase of securities by the Reserve Bank

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will, instead of curbing inflation, discourage accommodation to industries, deter investment and depress stock exchange leading to a further rise in prices.

In fact, as an immediate repercussion, it has depressed the prices of gilt-edged securities further down, causing a severe strain on Indian Insurance Companies who have been compelled to invest the bulk of their assets in Government Securities under the provision of the Insurance Act.

The efficacy of higher Bank Rate intending to tighten the credit is limited by the unorganised nature of the Indian money market. The existence of indigenous bankers outside the organised banking system is found to be one of the most serious obstacles. These indigenous bankers are responsible for the largest amount of banking credit available in this country. They are assets, especially to new and venturing enterprises who have little access to big financial groups. Again, a higher Bank Rate induces investing public to increase their deposits with banks in Western countries—where a slight change influences the world money market. A rise in Reserve Bank's Rate will in no way attract international investors. In fact, discount rate was the most potent instrument of central Banking control in the pre-war days. In recent years, the instrument has lost a good deal of its potency in Western countries and in India, it is blunt for all practical purposes.

As a disinflationary measure the Bank Rate will hardly produce any appreciable effect under present set-up. The high prices have been mainly due to low productivity in agriculture and also to higher cost of production in industries, as most of our established industries have to depend on foreign supplies for a large position of their raw materials. We have to pay almost fanciful prices for these imported raw materials and machineries. The tightening of credit will, on the contrary, reduce importation of raw materials and machineries and thereby retard the progress of industrial production. This will create scarcity and higher prices. Price level can hardly be reduced unless huge internal production or large imports are ensured.

This has been the problem of prices in India since the cessation of war in 1945. Towards the end of 1949 this was going to be automatically adjusted by improved supply of all commodities. But the adoption of the policy of Devaluation, following Great Britain, arrested that and in fact, gave an impetus to the general index to rise. There has been every possibility again, for the prices to come down with the declaration of cease-fire in Korea. This, assisted by cheap money policy, may have increased the supply and reduce the prices.

We apprehend that a hasty rise in Bank Rate, like a hasty and unplanned Devaluation, may cause serious hardship to the country. If a realistic survey of the effects of the rise in Bank Rate had been included in the speech of Sri Deshmukh, the down-trodden would have known in anticipation what was in store for them. For, considering the sufferings and destitution brought about to the general public, we have difficulty in drawing a balance in favour of Devaluation. We hope the same would not be the case in the aftermath of the raising of Bank Rate.

Government's Taxation Policy

Dr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, ex-Finance Minister of India, criticized the Government's Taxation policy and planning, at Madras, as follows:

Dr. Chetty said: "The problems that faced the Government were three-fold. Firstly, the problem of checking inflation and increasing production; secondly, the problem of capital formation and the mobilisation of domestic savings, and thirdly, the problem of attracting foreign capital.

"In the tackling of these problems, the rulers of the country were guided by their own pre-conceived notions, inherited prejudices and rosy ideologies," he said.

Six years after the termination of the war, Dr. Chetty said, the inflationary pressure in India, far from abating had gained strength. No doubt, inflation had now become a global problem. In U.K. and U.S.A. the price level had just exceeded the two hundred mark: while in India it had exceeded the four hundred mark.

"I cannot see in sight any factor which will effectively arrest the rise in prices," he added.

The real problem to be faced in the country, he said, was the problem of increasing production on a large scale. No amount of credit control would, in his opinion, bring down the price levels unless it was accompanied by an all-round and substantial increase in production. "It is in this sphere that the policy of the Government has failed lamentably," he remarked.

Dr. Chetty said the absence of a consistent economic policy on the part of the Government, the ideology of nationalisation and the attitude of labour to industry had been responsible for retarding industrial production. "Apart from the policy of indecision, the attitude of the party in power towards private enterprise in industry has very seriously affected the expansion of industry," he added.

Dr. Chetty said that production in agriculture was equally bad. The Government had "lost the moral support of the agriculturists with the result that all appeals for grow more food have proved futile."

He declared that "if the economic development of India is to take place in an orderly and expeditious manner there must be a clear and unambiguous declaration of policy about the ideology of nationalisation and the role of private industry."

Dr. Chetty referred to the change in the outlook

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of capitalist countries and said, "Time has now come for an unbiased re-examination of the problems of Capitalism *versus* Socialism in the light of what prevails today.

"Apart from the changed character of capitalism the techniques of taxation and controls have made it possible to achieve the ends of socialism even in a capitalist economy. If the fundamental objectives of socialism are an equitable distribution of wealth and a high standard of life for the common man, it is now possible to achieve these ends without bringing all the means of production under State control. I suggest that we may use the word mixed economy in place of capitalism. That would be a better description today of what is called 'capitalism.' A balanced combination of State-ownership and private enterprise is in the characteristic feature of the economies of most of the advanced countries in the world."

Pleading for a re-examination of taxation policy, Dr. Chetty said the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan as the Finance Member of the Government of India gave a hard blow to the capital structure of the country by his budget of February, 1947. Since then the tax burden had crippled the capacity of industry to save and reinvest. "I agree that a high level of direct taxation is inevitable in modern economy. But it presupposes a high level of production and employment. Heavy direct taxation during the early stages of industrial development will hamper and retard industrial expansion. That is exactly what has happened in India during the last five years. A re-examination of taxation policy in relation to industrial development is urgently called for," he said.

Commenting on the five-year development plan, Dr. Chetty said: "It is almost tragic to think that in 1956 that is eleven years after the termination of the war and nine years after the attainment of Independence we should be looking forward to the restoration of the low standard of life of our people that prevailed in 1939."

The first aim of the planners should have been to correct the lopsidedness of the country's economy. The plan did not even make an attempt in that direction. The estimate of expenditure under the plan was in the public sector even though the major productive activity was in the private sector. The plan, he held, was a mere catalogue of schemes and a statement of the intentions of the Government.

Foreign Aid

C. D. Deshmukh, India's Finance Minister, said at Bombay on the 29th December that he saw signs of an early flow of foreign assistance without any "political strings" in the implementation of the five-year plan.

"If we play our cards well the measure of foreign assistance that has been estimated in the first part of the plan will fully materialize," he added in an address before members of the Bombay Union of Journalists.

Discussing funds for the first year of the plan, the Finance Minister said that the Government had already Rs. 75 crores from the American wheat deal and expected another Rs. 15 crores from Canada and Australia under the Colombo Plan.

He had no doubt that the first year's programme under the five-year plan would be fully implemented.

He hoped to have a revenue surplus of Rs. 25 to Rs. 26 crores during the current year. Out of that he had already allotted an additional Rs. 10 crores for river valley schemes.

Replying to criticisms of the plan, he said in a democratic set-up such as that in India an integrated plan of development was not possible. Regimentation of resources was also not possible, and there was a limit beyond which people would not tighten their belts.

He described the plan as a framework of a "mixed" economy with an expanding private sector and a place for co-operative economy. It fully provided for consultation with industrialists. "They certainly have a right to advise us, but that also carries a responsibility to help us in carrying out the programme."

Answering a question, he said he did not expect foreign investment to come to India under existing world conditions. No one would be attracted to a new field when a better return for their capital was assured in their own countries.

Replying to another question, the Finance Minister confirmed that the Government had given an assurance to the three foreign oil companies which would shortly establish refineries in India that they would not be nationalized for a specific number of years. A similar assurance could be given to any "deserving" Indian enterprise.

Regarding socialization of insurance companies, he said that postal insurance was a step towards this goal. But today the question whether insurance companies should be nationalized was premature. "Sometimes we raise funds through insurance companies for the public sector. As a matter of fact, about 55 per cent of the funds in an insurance company was available for the public sector."

He was not in favour of a capital levy. In a poor country like India such a levy would not realize any large amount though at first sight this might seem possible. "At the present stage it may even affect current savings. Even richer and more advanced countries are hesitant to impose a capital levy."

Discussing death duties, he said the Government had decided to proceed with them and fully enforce them.

Referring to the production of jute, cotton and oilseeds, he said he saw no immediate signs of jute and cotton prices going down. There could not be any

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kind of control on oilseeds in view of the number of varieties involved. The Government could not hope to keep down food prices internally by importing food-grains. Foodgrains were costly and had to be subsidized before being sold.

It was not so much a question of increasing the supply of food-grains, but of getting hold of the required quantities to meet the rationing commitments through procurement. A large number of people held many times more food-grains than they actually needed.

India could not manage to import anything more than 5m or 6m tons of food-grains because Indian ports could not handle more than that amount.

Foreign Capital

Addressing the Bombay Economists' Discussion Group, Mr. Birla who recently returned from a tour of the United States and the United Kingdom, said that the prospect of foreign private capital flowing into India was remote, because of the threat of nationalisation and the restrictive measures adopted by the Government of India relating to private enterprise.

Mr. G. D. Birla said that India could get a loan from such overseas institutions as the Export Import Bank, "if only the Government of India were prepared to help private enterprise and back its request for aid."

Referring to India's foreign policy, Mr. Birla said that "we were very much misunderstood in the United States, and to some extent in the United Kingdom." This had a lot to do with the reluctance of foreign private capital to flow into this country.

Mr. Birla ruled out as remote the chances of India getting substantial help from countries like Italy and Switzerland. "There is, however, some prospect of getting capital from Germany because of fear of war.

"There is a tendency in Germany to think of India as a safe asylum for her capital," he added.

Referring to criticisms that private capital in India was shy, Mr. Birla said that private enterprise in this country had invested as much as Rs. 450. crores in the last few years, indicating clearly that capital was not on strike.

Countries like Japan, Mr. Birla said, could not only provide the technical know-how but also invest money to some extent in joint enterprises with Indian capital.

Whatever may have been the case in the past, Indian businessmen and industrialists were not averse to the flow of foreign capital into this country. As a matter of fact, some of the prominent industrialists went to the extent of assuring the Planning Commission and the Government of India that they would welcome foreign capital without any strings being attached, he added.

India's National Income

In the December 1 issue of the *Behar Herald* appeared an article by Doctor M. S. Nata Rajan, Director, Diwan Chand Political Information Bureau of New Delhi, entitled as above which bears reproduction in these columns. There is nothing new either in the presentation of the facts or in its method. But all the same these have value. The most eminent among Indian and British politicians and administrators have done this pioneer work, of whom the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji, was one of the first to expose the more insidious way than politics in which poverty was created by British policy. The findings of the National Income Committee are the latest; it was appointed in 1951 and based these on the 1948-49 statistics, differing from the previous findings of well-known writers.

Population—34.104 crores.

	Rs.
Net national income	8,710 crores
Net domestic produce at factory cost	8,730 „
Net national produce at market price	9,170 „
Net output of Government enterprises	300 „
Government administration	460 „
Private sector	7,970 „
Govt. share in national expenditure	840 „
Government draft on private income	690 „

Per capita income—Rs. 255 only.

There we have the contributions made by different classes of the Indian people engaged in different trades, industries, agriculture and animal husbandry.

	Figures in thousands	Percentage
Exploitation of animals and vegetation	90,537	68.2
Exploitation of minerals	633	0.5
Industry	18,019	13.6
Transport	2,448	1.8
Trade	8,250	6.2
Public force	1,909	1.4
Public administration	1,697	1.3
Professions and liberal arts	5,044	3.8
Domestic service	4,194	3.2
Total	132,731	100.0

Our readers will see that the first item in this list is five times than that made by the third. We have seen an estimate (*The Cow in India* by Satish Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratisthan) which said that animal husbandry—our cows, buffaloes, goats, etc.—produced about Rs. 1,000 crores worth of goods, though receiving the least attention from the State. This state of neglect has changed chiefly as a consequence of the food scarcity—a by-product of wars and economic maladjustment. The writer is sceptical of the labours of this Committee, and concludes his article with these words:

"On the whole, it has to be regretfully stated that the first or the interim report of the National Income Committee is of no great help in under-

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standing the trends in our national economy. Nor would it help much, if at all in regard to economic planning, budgetary and other policy making of the Government."

But where does his own labours lead us to? Like all human labour why cannot we accept the findings of this Report? Statistics are not absolute as proof of truth.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave's "Bhoomi-Dan" Tour

Acharya Vinoba Bhave's "Bhoomi-Dan" tour has completed more than 6 months' exertions. He fixed five million acres as the expected gifts to be received. But the results—about 65 thousand acres—have been disappointing, so far as figures went. Observers, specially foreigners, have, however, appeared to be keenly watching the "significance" of this tour, impressed by its natural appeal to India's men and women burdened with more than 50 million landless people.

Vinobaji wants a non-violent society based on co-operative activities with no money wages involved. Even in elections there should not be "any fights between parties." And in the bigger struggle for life and happiness, the same conduct should prevail. His remedy of "wages in kind," which was the usual thing in the world before the industrial revolution upset every arrangement, follows naturally as he, along with all thinking people, are dismayed at the "fraud perpetrated upon the poor by the continually decreasing purchasing power of money during an inflationary period, and the permanent fall which takes place over long periods." The remedy for this is a barter system, a standardized set of values for the exchange of goods and services within a village and groups of villages."

"This re-discovery of barter as a means of fair dealing is a curious example of the way in which the wisdom of one generation can appear folly to another. To Bentham, Mill and the orthodox economists of the 19th century, payment of wages in kind was abhorrent. The fact that the so-called sound money purchased less and less goods in every generation did not seem to worry them. Payment of wages otherwise than in money was called truck, and in Great Britain Truck Acts prohibiting it were passed in 1831, 1887 and 1896.

"In the wake of India's independence there have been many frustrations; because freedom came in a period of world economic crisis; because in many things experience has yet to be attained; and because of human failure to maintain ideals in face of tempting opportunities. Acharya Vinoba Bhave seeks to recall India to re-possess her soul. Beyond doubt, he has a magnetic quality. In his company one experiences a friendly glow and an immediate sense of intimacy, which is likely to attract an increasing number of disciples."

The above are summarized from an article in the *Leader* (Allahabad) contributed by Mr. Arthur Moore. The mind of modern humanity speaks through it. And we can only pray that India will help in the recovery of the soul of the world as a partner in a great experiment in decent living. We should also guard against the conceit of superiority that peeps through words like those used by Prof. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan addressing the Convocation of the Visva-Bharati on December 24 last, "The West must accept the Eastern philosophy that there was no conflict which men could overcome by reconciliation." This spirit of tolerance of dissimilars is no Eastern monopoly.

Bengal Academy of Literature

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat has to its credit a record of cultural activities that can compare well with other institutions of a like nature. We have received its latest report (1950-51) and we are glad and proud that progress is being maintained all along the line.

As the Parishat will be celebrating its 60-years' anniversary in the near future we take occasion to review its life. Started on the 23rd of July, 1893, the Parishat has been nursed by the most of Bengali men of letters, and expanded beyond its purely literary character, science and its various departments, research into India's past, etc. Its first president was Romesh Chunder Dutt whom Bankim Chandra had literally induced to write in his mother tongue.

Last year's report records activities of individual scholars, and they are up to the old mark with more care to what has been called the "evidence of stone," the "evidence of paper and metals." And in this connection we are inclined to think that in addition to making their results available through books and pamphlets, there should be arrangements made for discourses by competent people at stated seasons as is the practice in Poona where the Basant Vakyan Mala—Spring Lectures started by the late Mahadeo Govind Ranade about 70 years ago are still there.

Christian Missions and Their Future

The October, 1951 number of the *International Review* of Missions contains articles that are symptomatic of the changing mood, the repentent mood of the various Christian Churches of their leaders. We cannot do better than quote extracts from those to explain to our readers the workings of their minds:

"Alongside the prevailing political uncertainty, there is a great deal of cultural confusion. It is of importance to note, in this connexion, that there is a powerful pre-revolutionary 'hangover.' The Christian Church in its world mission has been and still is very heavily involved with governments—particularly in its educational, medical and philanthropic work. There is still a very general disposition on the part of governments to regard these Christian operations with favour and to encourage their continuance. There is, at the

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same time, a growing tendency to limit their freedom to function as agencies of Christian evangelism. The conception of the State as the primary instrument of human welfare grows, almost without question. And this unchallenged expansion of the Welfare State at once raises questions of a fundamental character regarding the future of the Welfare Church.

"These tendencies are not, of course, characteristically Asian. But they are powerfully influential there. There are, however, other forces which are even more potent in shaping thought and determining action in the relations between Church and State. The newer nationalism is expressing itself culturally rather than politically. There is a sharpened awareness of the relation between culture and religion and this expresses itself in a stiffening resistance to Christian expansion. This is particularly evident in India. But it is not, by any means, confined to that country. The Indian Constitution contains impeccable written provisions for the maintenance of full religious liberty—including the right of propagation and conversion. But it may well prove that these formal safeguards form an insufficient bulwark against a rising tide of cultural nationalism which tends to identify the Hindu conception of *swadharma* with complete loyalty to the State. The liberal idealism which has found expression in the Constitution runs counter to much deeply rooted tradition and to many contemporary trends in India.

"Secondly, there is the rapid fading of what has already been called the pre-revolutionary hangover. Buttresses of prestige which the Church enjoyed in the era of Western dominion are rapidly crumbling. There is, of course, another side to this medal in the fact that a Christianity now visibly dissociated from Western political influence has a better chance of being judged on its merits.

"Thirdly, the real bulwark of Christian freedom is found in the life of the Church and not in external safeguards. Both vigilance and action are often needed at the legal and constitutional levels. The work of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs has been of the greatest service—direct and indirect—to the churches of East Asia. But the only ultimate safeguard of the Church's liberty lies in the vitality of the Church, its loyalty to the Gospel, its faithfulness as a community to the task of witness.

"The point of departure for the Christian in the whole debate on Church and State is not found in any social philosophy or in secondary and derived ideas regarding 'freedom,' 'democracy,' or 'the worth of the individual.' The point of departure is the Word of God, which is the centre of history and the revelation of God's purposeful and redemptive activity in history. This is no mere rhetorical flourish. If we take it seriously, it has the most profound and far-reaching bearing upon all our practical policies."—(Ransom: *Church and State in Asia Outside China.*)

In the article entitled—"First Thoughts on the Debacle of Christian Missions in China"—by a China Missionary, the same mood is evident. The choice of the word "debacle" is its proof:

"I believe that we must think of the end of our work as a *judgment* upon our work and upon ourselves, and must realize that the end, when it came, was a dramatic demonstration of many weaknesses, the result not only of external but of internal forces. I have used the phrase 'first thoughts' because while I am sure that there are lessons to be learned for India and Africa and the Near East from the experience of the Church in China, I am less sure that we know what those lessons are; and our second and third thoughts may be very different from our first.

"There will probably never be indigenous theology as long as Indian, Chinese, Japanese and African Christians are compelled to think in the alien Greek theological tradition. There is a real sense in which Chinese church leaders have in many instances been obliged, culturally speaking, to become Anglo-Saxons in order to reach positions of leadership in the Church; and this is now disastrous.

"A closely associated problem—the most agonizing of all for many missionaries—is that of standards of living. A couple of years ago I did a little modest enquiry, and found that I was paid about three times as much as a Chinese of comparable age and responsibility in the ecclesiastical hierarchy; and that there were other missionaries paid three times as much as I."

We propose to devote a few comments on the second and third paragraphs quoted above. Greek Theological tradition dominates still. And the attempts made by Indian Christians to relate Christ to the traditions of Eastern peoples are more or less ignored. The late Upadhyaya Brahmabandhav made a mighty effort to build a synthesis of Hindu and Christian traditions. He succeeded more with Hindu than with his fellow-believers. The late Sadhu Sundar Singh chalked out a mystical path which few have cared to tread. About "standards of living," the less said the better.

"Missionaries generally have a guilty conscience not only about standards of living, but also about the whole complex of issues now labelled 'imperialism.'

"It should not be necessary in this review to remind ourselves of the close connexion (we like to think it 'purely coincidental,' as the movie-makers say —many Chinese consider it causal) between the arrival in China of missionaries and the arrival of merchants, gunboats, Indian opium and treaty ports; though we shall be well advised to remember that Chinese feel the whole 'invasion of China by the Western world' to be more wicked and more humiliating than we can readily recognize."

Sanskrit and India's Unity

Delivering the annual address at the Ganganath Research Institute (Allahabad) on the 16th December

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last Shree Kanaiya Lal Munshi, the Central Food Minister, asserted that India could attain her solidarity and cultural vitality through Sanskrit. And recalling the past he said:

> "With but rare exceptions, the great and the noble in all generations in our land, who influenced life as a whole, have found self-fulfilment with the aid of Sanskrit and what it stands for. In the recent past, India though a subject race, regained her lost prestige through scholars whose vision had also been enriched by Sanskrit studies."

The eminent Gujarati scholar appeared to suggest that the moderns in India lacked this interest. But Ganganath and his teacher, the late Aditya Ram Bhattacharya, to confine ourselves to Allahabad itself, contradict this assumption. It has generally been the select few, the elite, who had devoted themselves to the study and propagation of culture direct through Sanskrit or through knowledge in that language. Lokamanya Tilak did it; so did Rabindranath Tagore. Gandhiji without knowing Sanskrit influenced history.

Uttar Pradesh and Rehabilitation Scheme

The Uttar Pradesh has to its credit the most successful and widespread of schemes for the settlement of discharged people from the armed services. The Allahabad *Leader* of December 8 last published a report on the Afzalgarh Scheme which we share with our readers:

"This decision was taken this morning at a conference of the State's Agriculture, Food Production and Colonisation Secretary, Mr. A. N. Jha, Mr. Radha Kant, Director of Colonisation and Resettlement, and other officials. Mr. A. D. Mukerjee, Administrator of Kashipur Colonisation Area which is about 30 miles from Afzalgarh, was also present. He will be the administrator of Afzalgarh area also.

"The Defence Department of the Government of India has contributed Rs. 35 lakhs, partly as grant and partly as loan towards this. The U. P. Government has contributed Rs. 5 lakhs and another five lakhs have come from the U. P. Post-war Reconstruction Fund. The remaining Rs. 5 lakhs are to be contributed by the settlers—Rs. 500 each by 1,000 families of settlers who are to be settled here on land and small industries that sprout out in the wake of this development.

"Twenty-two thousand acres of the area have been acquired and the work of clearing the jungles will start straightway. Part of it will be left for cattle grazing and the rest will be cultivated or used in building houses.

"For three years the colony will be under State management and afterwards the settlers will form co-operative societies and get the land for themselves."

Kasturba Niketan

Six miles from Delhi, a new colony is rising fast. Named Kasturba Niketan after Gandhiji's wife, it is dedicated to her memory and provides a home for needy women, widows and orphans. It is one of the laudable efforts being made in various parts of the country to reconstruct the shattered lives of so many refugees who lost their all at the time of the partition.

Three hundred, neatly built, one-room tenements are nearly ready. Dry rations, a set of cooking utensils and a small dole of money are given to each woman for herself and her children, which means that she can run her own kitchen. This satisfies an average woman's craving to run a home and is psychologically far better than a community kitchen. A little over four hundred women and children are already living at the Niketan. When the buildings are all ready and the schools are functioning, the colony will have over 1,200 inmates.

A work-*cum*-production centre is the chief feature of the colony. Attendance for all able-bodied women is compulsory. Here the women learn useful crafts like cutting, tailoring, knitting, embroidery, weaving and carpet making. The articles produced are sold and the returns shared by the maker. Thus, the idea is to make the inmates earning members of society.

While the mothers work in the centre, the children are looked after in a nursery school in the colony. The school is run on modern lines and the young teachers are made to realise the importance of handling these unsettled children. As the school and work centre hours coincide, neither the mothers nor the children are disturbed while at work.

The orphanage has about forty children. Some women inmates who are not able to work in the centre are detailed to look after the children and are given remuneration. A few children are disabled and mentally deficient. Special care is given to them.

A whole-time lady doctor gives medical aid and runs the colony dispensary. Shortly, the colony will be completed, the school would have moved in, the gardens and gymnasium would be laid out and the roads all paved. Kasturba Niketan bids fair to be an ideal colony run on corporate lines, where the scars of partition would be slowly healed.

The beneficent activities of the Kasturba Memorial Fund have been slowly spreading over Bharat.

Buckingham Canal

The Madras *Hindu* has ventilated a grievance of the citizens that has become almost irremovable. The small Coum river which has been transformed into this Canal and named after a former Governor appears to be receiving less attention when the pressure on transport facilities has worsened. We quote our contemporary: "To the citizen of Madras the Buckingham Canal may appear to be one among the more regrettable features of the City. It is not commonly realised that this Canal runs for a length

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of more than two hundred and sixty miles and that, connecting up with the fresh-water, high-level canals of the Krishna and Godavari Rivers, it affords a total length of about four hundred and sixty miles of navigable canal. From Kakinada down to Merkanam in South Arcot this Canal is useful as an inland waterway. The development of the British-owned M. & S. M. Railway limited the usefulness of the Canal. Work on the excavation of the Canal in sections extended from the year 1801 up to the famine of 1876 when its completion was undertaken as a relief work. It runs within a few miles of the sea all its length and is a salt-water canal except near its head-waters, being influenced by the tides of the sea which affect it through bars and backwaters. The Canal is extremely liable to be silted up and lakhs have been spent upon preventing this. As long as there was no pressure on our railway system it did not appear economic to send goods along the Canal on shallow, non-mechanical, slow boats. But our City depends on it for its salt and firewood, which are available in the coastal belt and are sent to Madras along the Canal."

Nepal's New Set-up

The arrival of Sri Vir Bikram Shah, Nepal's King, has given rise to any number of speculations in India. His visit is off the record, and the studeid care with which questions are being avoided adds to the mystery of the thing. Bombay's newspapermen have been persistent in the pursuit of news—a contrast with Calcutta's silence. Maharaja Mohan Samshere Jang is at Bombay now on "medical" advice. The same advice may take him to foreign countries. He is today free of State responsibilities as Prime Minister; his place has been taken by a Nepal Congress leader, Sri M. P. Koirala.

But these speculations are of ephemeral interest. The people are more concerned with the immediate future which the Koirala Cabinet propose to build up. Nepal is proud of her armed forces, and its leadership has been a point of dispute between the old leaders and the new. Therefore, the news from Kathmandu has a certain significance that Maj.- Gen. Kiran Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana has been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Nepali Army in place of Gen. Kaiser Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana who is now Defence Minister.

Maj.-Gen. Kiran who was Deputy C.-in-C. enjoyed the full confidence of the Nepali Congress group in the old Cabinet. He is the son of a former Prime Minister, Maharaja Joodha Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, now in retirement in Dehra Dun. We hope that when the old Maharaja has retired with dignity and has accepted the new regime, the future of Nepal is assured, and the Nepali people will be able to co-operate in creating a better life for themselves.

Egypt and the Copts

A booklet of 24 pages has been sent to us published by the Phoenicia Press of New York. It reveals the skeleton in Egypt's cupboard. The Introduction gives the story why this book was printed in the U.S.A.:

> "The book was outlawed by the Egyptian government and the Arab States. Even the Christian Republic of Lebanon, under the government of Riad Solh, followed the Moslem Arab States in forbiding the entry and circulation of the book, as a courtesy toward Egypt.
>
> "The material in these pages, translated in each case from the 'original Arabic,' describes the religious, cultural, political and economic discrimination now suffered by the Copts. Each of the articles here included appeared originally in one of three places: the Coptic-owned Cairo daily, *Misr*; the weekly magazine of the Coptic community, *Al-Manarat*; or, especially, a remarkable book called *Farriq Tasud* (Divide and Rule), which was secretly printed in January, 1950, without mention of publisher or press."

And the author "who was daring enough to put his name to the book, Dr. Michael Zugheib, suffered the consequences in a terrible way. A group of Moslem youths, living near his town of Abu-Gurgas, came one Saturday night and attacked his home, shooting about thirty bullets into the house. They burned a house or two in a nearby Christian village. In one of these 'an old woman was burned to death.' Luckily, Dr. Zugheib and his family happened to be out of town at the time."

In page 7 we get some details of the story of discrimination:

> "The study of the Arabic language has become a Moslem domain, and the Copts are excluded from it. Those few Copts who have acquired a literary diploma with a specialization in the Arabic language, find the Ministry of Education not disposed to appoint them.
>
> "Foreign nations established free schools in Egypt to teach their languages to the people and make them love their cultures. But our ministers of education do not seem to understand that the Copts should learn to know and love Arabic! It seems they want the Copts to remain alien to Arabic, neither teaching nor studying it. In the Academy of the Arabic Language there has not yet been a single Copt, though there are Moghrabi, Syrians, Iraqi and Lebanese members. More than that, there even was an Iraqi monk!"
>
> "Other privations and grievances—like the regulations on the building of churches. He mentions the many university exchange missions from which brilliant Copt students are excluded, and he mentions sixty high offices in the Ministry of Health which Copts cannot fill."

Of political discrimination pages 9-11 gives but an indication of things as they are today in Egypt even under Nahas Pasha. The author mentions the "Moslem Brotherhood" and the "Shabab Muhammad" (Mahomedan Youths) who starting with oppressing non-Muslims have begun to murder Muslims. The late Premier, Nugrashy Pasha was a case in point.

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The charge-sheet, as we have quoted, is heavy enough. It is a saddening thought that a people fighting British imperialism should be found playing that discreditable game themselves!

Soviet Union and Islam

Since its foundation we have been hearing many creditable reports on the minority or nationality policy of the Soviet Union. Stalin's thesis on the subject, presented some time during years 1917-18, laid the lines of this policy of respect for dis-similars. And this the world has come to regard as the Charter of nationalities. But there appears to have been another side of the shield. The following from an article on Soviet imperialism is quite timely for all of us to ponder over:

"Soviet social policy in Central Asia hinges on the treatment of Islam. For, homogeneity throughout the region has been obtained from the fact that its peoples were almost solidly Muslim, constituting, together with the Muslims of the Caucasian Republics, the second largest religious group in the Union. Islam was the great unifier and its tenets were diametrically opposed not only to the secular Communist creed but its whole new way of life.

"Soviet rule could not afford to make concessions to such a challenger, although Muslim opinion had been led to believe otherwise. In the early years of the new Government a number of leading *Mullahs* made overtures of loyalty by attempting to reconcile the teachings of Islam with those of Communism; such conciliation was described in the Large Soviet Encyclopedia (1935) as 'counter-revolutionary.' Similarly the *Shari'ah*, whose validity was pledged by Stalin in November, 1920, was gradually superseded by a new unified legal system operating throughout the U.S.S.R.

"The Soviet authorities have opposed any emergence of a Pan-Islamic movement in Central Asia, *vide*, the Tashkent treason trials of 1929. They have kept the influence of the faith in check sometimes by force, imprisoning the *Mullahs* and expropriating or closing the mosques, and more persistently by indirect psychological undermining. Direct persecution occurred after 1917, in 1929 and again in 1936-38, and was each time succeeded by conciliation.

"Since 1939, ten new mosques have been built and the pilgrimage to Mecca has been renewed, after an enforced cessation of 20 years. This toleration has been coupled with a new campaign of Communist indoctrination from Moscow and new exhortations, particularly to the young in Central Asia, to rededicate themselves to the Marxist faith."

Is Russia Weaker than the West?

Only a few months ago, Soviet Russia was hailed by the entire Communist press as the greatest military power in the world, the Soviet Army as the invincible bastion of peace, and so on. Since the West, alarmed by Soviet Russia's growing military potential, has begun to rearm, we are treated to articles like John Gollan's.

In his second article, Gollan published a graph. Analysing the rate at which the defence estimates of the U.S.S.R., U.S.A. and Great Britain had increased. He said that by 1951, "The American arms budget has almost trebled since 1949, that of Great Britain has doubled. In the U.S.S.R., it has gone up by little more than one fifth." On the basis of the *United Nations Economic Survey for Europe*, published in June 1951, the amount of manpower devoted to armaments in these countries is as follows:

Great Britain: 82 labour man years per 1,000 of the population;

U.S.A.: 77 labour man years per 1,000 of the population;

U.S.S.R.: 49 labour man years per 1,000 of the population.

Let us see what happens when these figures are multiplied by the number of inhabitants. In 1951, the U.S.A.—with 150 million inhabitants—spent 11,100,000 labour man years on armaments; the U.S.S.R. with 200 million inhabitants 9,800,000; Great Britain with 50 million inhabitants—4,800,000.

To calculate the number of labour man years spent by each of these countries on armaments in 1949, let us take the proportional increase in their defence budgets, as quoted by the *Daily Worker*:

Labour Man Years

	1951	1949
U.S.S.R.	9800000	7840000
U.S.A.	11000000	3700000
Great Britain	4100000	2050000

This shows that in 1949, that is before the rearmament drive in the West, the Soviet Union was devoting twice as much as Great Britain and the U.S.A. put together.

As this first deduction is so revealing, let us compare the effort of the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. to create war potential during the post-war years. Let us calculate the labour man year figures for each year proportionately to their defence budget expenditures:

Labour Man Years

1951	9800000	11000000
1950	8000000	4650000
1949	7850000	3700000
1948	6400000	3400000
1947	6000000	4250000

According to these figures, during the three years preceding the rearmament drive in the West—1947, 1948 and 1949—Soviet Russia accumulated 20,850,000 labour man years, against the U.S.A.'s 11,350,000. In 1950, the difference of 9,000,000 labour man years grew to 12,750,000; even after the completion of the 1951 U.S. arms budget, the Soviet side will have 11,050,000 labour man years to its credit. At the end of 1951, that is after two years of increased armament expendi-

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ture in the West, the U.S.S.R. will still be a full year ahead of the U.S.A.

If the *Daily Worker* published these figures to convince us that the Soviet Union is not piling up armies and guns, it has made a mistake. We can only presume that its economic experts do not understand the difference between western peace economy and Soviet permanent war economy.

After de-moblisation, the Soviet Union quietly went on with her permanent war economy, and piled up armaments; the western countries passed over to peace time economy and small defence expenditure. As a result of this, during 1947, 1948 and 1949 the disparity between the Soviet Union and the west grew to an alarming extent, and the "doomed, decaying, disintegrating bourgeois world" had to make an effort for self-preservation.

Then Communist propaganda suddenly switched from boasts about Soviet invincibility, to statistics showing that the USSR was the least armed of the Great Powers. The truth is somewhere in between.

The most valuable lesson the west has drawn from the period of Nazi political blackmail, which preceded the second world war, was that in politics as in war, the Powers must rely on their war preparedness. Hitler's power of 'Diktat' must not be allowed ever to revive; the present day dictators must be forced to come down from their dreams of world supremacy to normal human relations, where the rights of individuals, of classes and of countries are respected and protected. This is the real basis of peace.

We are grateful to the *Daily Worker's* statisticians for having given us the opportunity of demonstrating the truth by means of their own figures.

On September 3rd and 5th, the *Daily Worker* (*New York*) published two articles by John Gollan to show that Soviet Russia's war potential was insignificant compared to that of the USA and Great Britain, for "the west is piling up the armies and the guns, not the Soviet Union."

New East which publishes this rejoinder has done a great service by this comparative study. The Western Powers will now realize their own strength and weakness—the surest way to remedy. Our neutral position stands more or less justified by this criticism of a non-Communist paper.

Difficulties of West Germany's Chancellor

We do not envy the position of Doctor Adenauer dragged by two groups of Great Powers—the United States and the Soviet Union. On the last day of November last appeared an air-mail news indicating his coalition Government, undergoing a serious process of attrition. The nature of this crisis will be found in the following words:

"As the party assembled for its annual Congress at Karlsruhe, it was forced to look back on an unbroken succession of reverses in provincial elections and by-elections to the Federal Parliament during the past 12 months. There are wide differences of degree: the Christian Democrats are still the strongest single party in all the predominantly Catholic States, while they are approaching complete collapse in such Protestant areas as Lower Saxony and Bremen.

"There are also different heirs; in Lower Saxony the votes have passed chiefly to the Refugee Party and the Right-wing extremists; in other areas chiefly to the Socialists.

"Of the minor partners in the Federal Government the Right-wing German Party, which exists only in the Protestant North, fully shares in the downward trend.

The Free Democrats, although profiting in some areas from the desertion of Protestant middle-class elements from their Christian Democratic partners, have also suffered a slight loss in their total poll.

"Together the Government Coalition parties have dropped a million votes compared with the last Bundostag elections in the 6 out of 11 States, where provincial elections have been held in the last year—from 6.2 to 5.2 million. During the same period, the Socialist Opposition gained half a million votes—from 3.8 to 4.3 million—in the same area, and the Right-wing extremists gained 200,000 almost doubling their 1949 vote. Though the next Federal elections are not due until 1953, this trend cannot fail to increase Mr. Adenauer's difficulties in holding his coalition together—chiefly in the fields of foreign policy and of industrial legislation.

"The Christian Democrats, founded after the war as the rallying platform for democratic Conservatives of both Protestant and Catholic background, find themselves more and more reduced to the traditional following of the Catholic Centre Party of pre-Nazi days.

"As the Protestant voters desert them, they become more and more committed to the active promotion of 'Western European integration' as its most distinctive policy—while its Protestant coalition partners try to present themselves as more jealous guardians of national German interests and to vie with the Socialist Opposition in presenting 'conditions' to the Western Powers.

"The result of all this is not that the coalition is threatened with political paralysis. It is natural in the circumstances that speculation among Allied observers returns periodically to the possibility of a coalition between the two big democratic forces of German society which are at present bitter opponents: the Socialists, now definitely the strongest single party but still far from any prospect of absolute majority; and the Christian Democrats who, despite their present decline, are likely to remain indispensable for any stable majority in Western Germany.

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"But even though the Christian Democrats may be sufficiently flexible in economic and social policy to make such a coalition possible one day, nobody has yet been able to envisage a compromise between the foreign policies of Dr. Adenauer and Dr. Schumacher."

Constitution of Federal Libya

The Constitution, recently approved by the Libyan National Assembly, creates a United Kingdom of Libya consisting of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan as a free, independent, sovereign State possessing hereditary monarchy with a Federal representative form of government.

The Constitution has come into force upon the declaration of the independence of Libya on January 1, 1952, in accordance with the U.N. General Assembly's resolution. In the meantime, the Federal Provisional Government, set up last March, exercised the powers transferred to it by the administering Powers until the establishment of a duly constituted Government appointed by the King.

The following are the main features of the Constitution approved by the Libyan National Assembly meeting in Benghazi on October 7.

The Libyan Parliament consists of two Chambers—the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Senate is composed of 24 members equally divided among the three Provinces, with the King appointing half of the members and the other half being elected by the three Provincial Legislative Councils. Membership in the Senate will be for eight years, with half of the appointed and elected members being replaced every four years. In the first Senate, however, all the members will be appointed by the King for a four-year period.

The House of Representatives will be composed of members elected in the proportion of one to every 20,000 inhabitants and in accordance with Federal electoral law to be promulgated within 30 days as from October 7 by the National Assembly. Elections must take place within three and a half months after the promulgation of this law. No Province will have less than five representatives, and pending the taking of a population census Tripolitania will be represented by 36 members, Cyrenaica by 15 and the Fezzan by 5. The term of office of the House of Representatives will be four years unless the House is dissolved sooner.

The first King of Libya is Sayed Mohamed Idris el Senussi. The order of succession of the male heirs will be determined by Royal decree but the heir is to be the eldest son. In case there should be no son, the heir will be appointed by the King.

The King's Ministers will be responsible to the House of Representatives. The Prime Minister will be appointed by the King, and at the Prime Minister's request the King will also appoint the other Ministers.

Every resident in Libya with no other nationality will be considered a Libyan if born in Libya or if he has held normal residence there for a period of not less than 10 years. Foreigners normally residing in Libya for the last ten years will be given opportunity within the three coming years to opt for Libyan nationality.

The constitutional provisions relating to the monarchial form of government or the order of succession to the Throne or the principles of liberty and equality will not be subject to revision.

For a review of the other provisions it will be necessary to obtain a two-thirds majority vote in each Chamber and the sanction of the King. For a review of the provision relating to the Federal form of Government it will be necessary, in addition, to obtain the approval of all the provincial legislatures and executives.

This double approval of the Federal Parliament and of the Provincial Legislatures and Executives is requisite because certain powers fall solely within the competence of the Federal Government and other powers are exercised jointly by the Federal Government legislatively and by the Provinces executively under Federal supervision.

The Federal powers include foreign affairs, defence, immigraiton, currency, armed forces and higher education.

The joint powers include Income-tax, Mining, Shipping and Navigation, Labour and the General System of Education.

The King of Libya belongs to a sect in Islam that is almost akin to Wahhabism whose present head is Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, the King of Arabia. In foreign affairs, these two States are likely to work together. In between lies Egypt with its Frenchified ruling class. The effects of this geography will be watched by all with hope and not a little anxiety.

Is China a Satellite?

There is more than a hint of insult in this question put even by our people. We are glad, therefore, that Sardar Panikkar, India's ambassador to China, has voiced the feeling of his people so consistently on this matter. Today, British politicians are found echoing the same sentiments. The Labour Government's Foreign Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, did well, therefore, in repudiating such an attitude of superiority over Communism. In a speech on the eve of the last election, he said: ". . . because China had a Communist Government, she should be treated exactly in the same category as the Soviet Union." It was "a msitake" to assume that she was "bound to be a slavish and subservient satellite." He hoped that the Government of Winston Churchill would avail itself of the earliest opportunity for getting "the effective

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Chinese Government to the United Nations. Such a step depended the peace of the East which is "vital" for the restoration of normal civilized life all the world over.

Meanwhile, news has been circulated from the circles about Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek that the 1952 spring will be signalized by attack on China. This is being financed and organized on all ways by the United States Government, the same sources assert. It is the madness of a confused and bewildered administration. If such an attack took place, India would stand in the way; so will other nations. We believe that U.S.A.'s ruling classes are not as mad as that.

Darbar Gopaldas

Another link with the Gandhian era, with the Non-co-operation Movement, is snapped by the death of Darbar Gopaldas at his 73rd year. Coming almost after a year after Sardar Patel's death, the event has a significance for Gujarat which they had helped to build up as a weapon to wrest power from the British.

Son of a *jaigirdar* in Kathiawar, inheriting its traditions and rules of conduct, ever anxious to conciliate whoever holds the State power, at the expense of individual and national self-respect, Darbar Gopaldas could have thus enjoyed life. But under Gandhiji's inspiration he broke away from the old order. This he found easy to do, because his chosen guide and philosopher was himself the son and grandson of Prime Ministers of two Kathiawar States.

Darbar Gopaldas had never wavered through any of the successes and failures of the Non-co-operation period. He never hankered after power, and thus we have not seen his name in newspapers. He was one of those silent men and women who are the real props of all movements of uplift and revolt.

Today we have to mourn his death. To his wife, Bakti Behn, and his family we send our condolences. May his soul rest in peace!

Dr. Wilbur Sawyer

On the 20th November last died Wilbur Augustus Sawyer (72), who developed the first successful vaccine against yellow fever, at the Merrith Hospital of heart ailment. He, former University of California professor of Clinical Medicine, developed the vaccine in 1931 when he was head of the Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Dr. Sawyer was Director of Health for UNRRA 1944-47, was Secretary-General of the Fourth International Congress of Tropical Medicine and Malaria in Washington in 1948. Though he died full of years and of honour, the death of this benefactor of humanity deserves notice. May his soul rest in peace!

Abanindranath Tagore

On the 5th December last departed from this world Abanindranath Tagore, the life-and-soul of Visva-Bharati and Santiniketan after the death of Rabindranath. He died in his 81st year, full of years and honours, as the symbol and representative of India's culture at its highest and best. He succeeded Sarojini Naidu as the third President of the Governing Body of the Visva-Bharati and its associated institutions. And well was it that he had been called upon to do it, because he was in a way, the handiwork of Rabindranath. And in beautiful Bengali he has described for all times the relationship that had bound these persons in mutual understanding, love and respect.

He was the torch-bearer not only in the renaissance of Indian art but as well of children's literature. Havell's name is associated with this art revival; Abannidranath has ever expresssed gratefulness to this British artist for drawing him out of his recluse life, devoted to the fine arts. In search of the old, Abanindranath not only went to Ellora, Ajanta, Rajput and Mughal paintings and their inspirations, but went to our villages, where Bengal's womanhood with their deft fingers, had kept alive *alpanas* (designs on floor, on blocks of wood); *kanthas* on old cloth which are comparable with Kashmiri work, and to our potters and carpenters. Thus was founded the Bengal School of Oriental Art which has made history in India since 1900.

Today we can only express our sense of loss at his death. To his sons and daughters we tender our condolences. A short life-history of his is given below:

"Abanindranath Tagore, a grand-son of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and nephew of Rabindranath, was born on August 7, 1871.

He was educated at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta and then privately at home. He took lessons in European art from Signor Gilbardy, an Italian artist and Mr. Palmer. After some time he gave up painting after European style and began studying ancient Hindu and Moghul art. He painted more than 200 pictures of which the most famous are perhaps the 'Banished Yaksha,' 'Passing of Shah Jehan' and the 'Queen of Ashoka.'

Leader of Art Renaissance in Bengal and the founder of the Modern School of Indian Art, he was the Vice-Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta from 1905 to 1916 and then became its Principal.

He was also founder of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts and elected President of Visva-Bharati in 1941.

In the words of Rabindranath: "He saved the country from the sin of self-deprecation. He has raised her from the depths of humiliation and has regained for her the honoured position which was hers by right. He has earned for India the recognition of her contributory share in all that humanity has realised for itself. A new era has dawned upon India through the awakening of her art consciousness. And it is from

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him that the whole of India has learnt her lessons anew. A proud place has thus been assigned to Bengal through his achievement."

Soon he gave up his studies in the general line. Between 1892-94 he illustrated Rabindranath's *Chitrangada*. He drew pictures for his own story books *Sakuntala* and *Kshirer Putul* during the period.

But experiments in European technique could not satisfy him and he felt within himself an urge to give expression to his inner impulses through colour and brush and the proper medium to express them tormented him a great deal. In his own words, "I grew restless. There was a yearning in my heart. I felt it, but could never define it. What next, I would often wonder."

In those days of inner torment he came across some English illuminations and an album of Indian paintings. Attracted by their decorative quality, he searched for Indian subjects to be executed in this newly found technique and at the suggestions of Rabindrnath attempted to illustrate the lyrics of Vidyapati and Chandidasa. His first attempt, however, was a failure as he could not get rid of the European influence. He then took lessons on the technique of illuminations from an expert Indian craftsman. The lessons were successful and he brought out Radha-Krishna series. This meant a new liberation for him from the influence of Western creation.

He has said of his experiences during this period: "How can I express wnat I felt during all that period? I was filled with pictures—that's how it was like. They dominated my entire being. I had only to close my eyes to get pictures come floating before my mind —form, line, colour, shade, all complete. I would take up the brush and the pictures painted themselves as it were."

After some time Abanindranath had an opportunity to meet E. B. Havell, the then Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta. This meeting was a turning point in his career. Havell fired the imagination of Indian people by the warmth of love for Indian ideals in art; he showed him some masterpieces of Rajput and Mughal paintings, which he had acquired for the Picture Gallery then attached to the Government School of Art. By quick assimilation of their technique, Abanindranath at once carried on experiments which were the seed-plot of the new spirit of nationalism.

Havell said of him: "Naturally being well-versed both in Sanskrit and Persian literature, he seeks inspiration from the great epics of India and from the poems of Kalidasa and Omar Khayyam and being gifted with a fine imaginative faculty, he gives a true interpretation of Indian spirituality and an insight into that higher world, the fairy land of Eastern poetry and romance which Eastern thought has created."

Sometime between 1901-1902, Abanindranath met for the first time two Japanese artists, Yokahama Taikwan and Hishida, who exercised considerable influence on his technique. His *Evening Lamp, Bharat Mata, Yakshas of the Upper Air* and many others painted during this pesriod, show considerable Japanese influence.

The new spirit of nationalism through the poetry, songs and literature of Poet Tagore, came to be felt in the country. Living at its centre Abanindranath with the help of his brother Gaganendranath, gathered round him a band of artists.

In time people came to realise the significance of this new art movement. Abanindranath's mission was realised. The artists of this school were requisitioned by other Provinces in India.

Numerous were the works executed by Abanindranath and they showed a gradual process of development in technique and style spreading through years of divergent moods and expressions. By the power of assimilation he was able to evolve a technique of his own. Our country's classics, the old tradition of Ajanta, the masterpieces of Rajput and Mughal miniatures, his critical study of the Japanese prints, his training in Western technique and the congenial artistic atmosphere of his family, all combined together, helped him in developing a style of his own.

Abanindranath was a great teacher also. Those who had the privilege of being his pupils would never forget the aflection and sympathy they had from him. Before imparting his lessons he would ask each and every pupil to be well acquainted wtih the vast art treasures—paintings and sculptures scattered all over India and to have an extensive study of Indian classics for developing power of thinking and for inspiration. He did not impose his own style on his pupils, but gave them suggestions or corrected their works according to the conception formed by them and not according to what the Master would have done in his own case. What he wanted of his disciples was originality and his genius consisted in drawing out the artistic faculty from the most mediocre students. He worked hard to inspire his pupils and encouraged them to draw and paint whatever subject they liked according to their own style.

He was also a talented writer. He wrote in a simple style and had a peculiarly witty way of giving expression to his ideas. Some of his Bengali books have been translated in foreign languages and highly appreciated in many countries. His small stories reveal a rare charm. His *Raj Kahini, Bhut-pelnir Desh, Buro Angla*, etc., are rich contributions in the domain of literature. His *Sadanga or the Six Limbs of Painting* (translated into English by Dr. A. Aronson and translated into French by Andree Karpeles) is regarded as an authoritative exposition of the theory of art.

He spent the last few years of his life in his quiet retreat, away from the din and bustle of Calcutta. The peace was often "disturbed" by his disciples who went to greet him and obtain his blessings on his birthday and similar occasions.

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GANDHIJI AND PROHIBITION IN INDIA

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By His Excellency Dr. H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,
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Gandhiji and the British Temperance Movement

In the absence of well-authenticated evidence to the contrary, it is probably correct to assume that the drink problem thrust itself into the notice of Mahatma Gandhi when he went to England to study law. One of the many strange and unusual things noticed by him, brought up as he was in an orthodox Vaishnava family, must have been the Western attitude towards drinking which carries no social opprobrium so long as moderation is observed. He has told us in *Young India* (April 18, 1929) how often he was placed in an embarrassing position because he would neither drink when visiting friends nor offer them liquor when they called on him.

It is well-known that many who observe moderation in drinking are guilty of lapses at least now and then. And we may be certain that such cases must have come under Gandhiji's notice for, in his own way, he was, in those days, something of a society man with friends among the educated, the cultured and at least the comparatively well-to-do classes among whom the majority of moderate drinkers in the West were and are still to be found. So far as the working classes were concerned, he found that they contributed the largest number of drunkards and wasted so much on liquor that they could provide neither proper accommodation nor the right type of food in adequate quantities for themselves and their dependents. The conclusion drawn by him from what he saw during his stay in England was that literacy by itself does not prevent a person from excessive indulgence in liquor and that education in primary and secondary schools, in colleges and in universities is equally valueless as a preventive of inebriety.

Gandhiji had been told that Great Britain had, by the method of trial and error, gradually evolved one of the most satisfactory systems for the control of liquor, that there were so many restrictions of various types on its manufacture and distribution that this country had practically solved the problem of securing maximum revenue with minimum consumption and that the people in general were so law-abiding that infringements of its excise rules and regulations were rare. But what he saw around him must have convinced him that, granting that the British system of control is one of the finest yet produced, it had failed to put an end to or even act as an effective check on drunkenness and its consequences, individual and social, as also that greed was responsible for many breaches of the laws governing the sale of alcoholic beverages.

Always interested in endeavours put forth either by individuals or organisations to remove or mitigate social evils, Mahatma Gandhi must have felt interested in the British temperance movement in which thousands of volunteers, men, women, adolescents and even children participated, in the largely attended public meetings organised and in the immense mass of literature issued by it. He must have been equally familiar with the efforts of temperance workers to establish contact with drinkers in order to dissuade them from indulgence in liquor. This technique for bringing about the elimination of drink had been started on an organised basis early in the 19th century and hundreds of thousands of people had devoted their means and their energies to put it through. And yet what has been called "moral suasion," and legislation for tightening up the excise system had, as his eyes told him, all ended in dismal failure so far as the elimination of drunkenness was concerned.

South African Experience

Professional work or rather Providence took Mahatma Gandhi to South Africa shortly after his return to India. The law there prohibited the supply of liquor to Africans; Indians were permitted to drink in shops licensed to sell liquor but not to buy and carry it home for consumption. There were no restrictions on whites. Here too drunkenness was found among the educated, the cultured and the well-to-do as well as among the poorer whites proving the correctness of the conclusions previously arrived at by him.

Gandhiji saw drunkenness not only among Indian men but also among Indian women settlers. He found that many of these who, if they had remained in India, would never have even dreamt of touching liquor felt no shame in visiting liquor shops and drinking in public. He also noticed drunkenness in the homes of Indians as well as of Africans. These got their supplies from covetous whites who purchased considerable amounts of liquor and then sold them to Indians and Africans.

The sympathy Mahatma Gandhi felt for the difficulties imposed by Government on his countrymen who had emigrated to South Africa led to various attempts on his part to champion their cause so much so that, within a short time, he became their undisputed leader and their spokesman. Greatly disturbed by what he saw around him and especially by the moral degradation and the economic loss suffered by his countrymen and countrywomen, he tried to utilise his position to persuade them to abstain from liquor. He has himself told us how he began active temperance work there from 1893. He was bitterly disappointed when he found that his efforts bore no fruit for his countrymen and countrywomen, to quote Gandhiji's language refused "to listen to any lectures on temperance, much less to any personal advice." Many were the steps he adopted, to encourage sobriety among

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them but realised only too soon and too well that he could not claim "any degree of visible success."

The lessons drawn from his South African experience in regard to the drink problem may be summarised as follows. Gandhiji was confirmed in his views about the ineffectiveness of literacy and education, of liquor control and of anti-drink propaganda as satisfactory methods for solving the problem. Two important facts which emerged were that the first and fundamental step must be withdrawal of all temptation, possible only when shops licensed to sell liquor are closed, in other words, when there is legal banning of liquor. The second thing he learnt was the utter worthlessness of that uninformed type of criticism which holds that prohibition should not be introduced as it would encourage defiance of law and loss of revenue. Mahatma Gandhi's experience showed that greedy men feel no hesitation in betaking themselves to illicit practices, control or no control, prohibition or no prohibition, so long as it is profitable to do so and that therefore this particular argument against the imposition of prohibition is meaningless.

Experience in India

Returning home at the request of Gokhale whom he called his *guru*, Mahatma Gandhi spent one year in touring India always travelling in the third class and mixing with high and low, keeping his eyes and ears open, drinking in all that he saw around him and drawing his own conclusions from them. One of these was that while some among the wealthy, the cultured and the educated in India indulge in alcoholic beverages, the bulk among the consumers of drink and drugs is always drawn from the poorer classes. He summarised his findings by saying:

> "Drinking is not a habit with the aristocracy, certainly not with the middle class man, it is a habit confined to the labourers and especially to the factory hands."

Gandhiji laid special stress on two evils which he held invariably follow the consumption of liquor and drugs. He quoted with approval a few lines from a pamphlet advocating prohibition written by a European Missionary of Madras who, basing his views on statistics published by Government, showed that the lower classes wasted the enormous sum of 80 crores or so on them, the saving of which would naturally mean a marked improvement in their standard of life.

Gandhiji who always attached a very high value to the moral improvement of man after supplying the above information to the readers of *Young India* (February 4, 1926) added:

> "The moral loss is even greater than the financial. Drink and drugs degrade those who are addicted to them and those who traffic in them. The drunkard forgets the distinction between wife, mother and sister and indulges in crimes of which in his sober moments he will be ashamed. Any one who had anything to do with labour knows to what state the labourers are reduced when they are under the satanic influence of drink. Nor are the other classes better off. I have known the captain of a ship forgetting himself in his drunken state. The ship had to be entrusted to the care of the chief officer. Barristers having drunk have been known to be rolling in gutters. Only these better-placed men are protected by the police all over the world whereas the poor drunkard is punished for his poverty."

Freedom and Prohibition Campaigns

Gandhiji's experience in India confirmed the views to which he had been previously driven namely that even the most efficient system of control and regulation is ineffective in stamping out addiction and that the only way to achieve it is the banning of drink and drugs through legislation. He realised quite well that while this is feasible in a free country provided a large majority of its citizens are in favour of such a step, it was an impossibility in a subject country like India where the rulers were no believers in it and where too nearly a quarter of the total revenue was derived from this source. Quite aware that they would persist in retaining the existing excise system in spite of the almost universal desire of the people to abolish the consumption of drink and drugs, Gandhiji was irresistibly led to the conclusion that only political freedom would give prohibition to India.

This explains, but only partly, the close association between the freedom movement and the prohibition campaign. But till freedom was acquired and as an item in the fight to win it, he stood for the application of pressure on such a large scale that it would be impossible for a foreign government to resist it. Naturally enough, public support for this large-scale pressure could come only when the fight against drink and drugs became part of a bigger struggle for the removal of more than one grievance. Further, it had, in his view, to be non-violent in character.

The opportunity for an all-India effort of a type more militant and much more effective than anti-alcohol propaganda in scattered and widely separated areas and personal contact with addicts so far only by temperance workers, came with the Non-co-operation Movement of 1920-22. Primarily, a protest against the Rowlatt Bills, the Punjab atrocities, the Khilafat wrongs and the unsatisfactory character of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, it, as the result of official refusal or inability to read and interpret the signs of the times correctly, resolved itself into a new type of political struggle with definite political, economic and moral ends, one of the latter being the purification of the country by the abolition of drink and drugs through peaceful picketing.

The Non-co-operation Movement

Gandhiji thought it necessary to issue specific instructions as to how workers should conduct their work (*Young India*, March 23, 1921). They were exhorted to adopt the method of "respectful entreaty"

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requesting the shop-keepers to give up their licenses and their patrons to abstain from the wares sold by them. They were to content themselves with merely warning the addicts against their evil habits but not to molest or otherwise prevent them from indulging their appetite if they declined to pay any heed to their appeals.

Thousands of people, most of whom were young men or students who had left colleges and schools, volunteered their services for picketing shops selling foreign cloth, drink and drugs. To ensure the absolutely non-violent character of their activities, these people had to undergo rigid tests and only those who passed them were registered as Congress volunteers. The general public was forbidden to participate in the picketing as it was apprehended that it might, under provocation, be tempted to depart from Gandhian principles.

Though the volunteers had often to suffer physical violence at the hands of addicts, shop-keepers and their assistants, as also from subordinates of the Excise and Police Departments, they persisted and the results achieved were remarkable. Gandhiji summarised them (*Young India*, April 18, 1929) in the following terms:

> "We were within an ace of complete success, at least in some provinces, many of the liquor dens were practically closed. Hundreds of opium dens were deserted."

The second uncompromising champion of total prohibition, Shri Rajaji, has told us (*Young India*, February 7, 1924) that

> "In the Southern Provinces young men of all classes went to prison in their hundreds in the Anti-Drink Campaign and the message penetrated the furthest corners of village life."

What was still more remarkable was that many social groups both among the classes and the masses vowed to give up the consumption of intoxicants and kept their promise. This happened because, in the language of Gandhiji:

> "There was an onrush of feeling, a desire, a yearning for self-purification. That yearning came, I do not know how,—we do not always know the mysterious ways in which God works."

Waning of Prohibition

The British Government, never a believer in prohibition, was alarmed by an unprecedented drop in the Excise revenue which, at that time, amounted to 25 crores or so. Unable to appreciate or unwilling to admit the ethical and moral aspect of the movement, it assumed that its primary object was to harass the administration. It started repression, generally drastic in character, so that, to quote Gandhiji again:

> "Thousands of volunteers were thrown into jail for the offence of picketing drink and drug shops on the plea of giving protection to addicts and licensed shop-keepers and for the maintenance of law and order."

Their disappearance from the scene gradually brought back the old situation.

Another reason for the gradual subsidence of the anti-drink and drug campaign was that many of the picketers in their enthusiasm to make it a success departed from the instructions given by Gandhiji. The moral and ethical motive behind the movement was replaced in numerous cases by the desire to embarrass the administration by reducing the revenue. Their adoption of pressure tactics not only deprived the movement of its moral appeal but also alienated the sympathy of the public.

The Swaraj Party and Resolutions in the Legislatures

Gandhiji was tried on a charge of sedition in March, 1922 and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. After his disappearance from public life, an influential section of Congressmen, known later on as Pro-changers, felt that, for the time being at least, the interests of the country would be best served by entering the legislatures and showing up the defects of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Others, known as No-changers, refused to give up Non-co-operation. For some time it appeared as though these differences would break up national solidarity to the extent that all effective opposition to our rulers would come to an end.

Gandhiji was released unconditionally after a serious operation early in February 1924. He met Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leaders of the Pro-changers, and after giving his qualified approval to their programme asked them and their supporters to move resolutions in the Central and Provincial legislatures one of them being "to abolish the drink and drug revenue and at least correspondingly reduce the Army expenditure." The No-changers were consoled by the assurance given by the Pro-changers that they could always rely on their co-operation in working the Constructive Programme one of the items of which was and continues to be the abolition of drink and drugs.

The Non-co-operation Movement was formally suspended at the annual session of the Congress at Belgaum in December, 1924. In his presidential address, Gandhiji suggested the following as indissolubly connected with Swaraj as he envisaged it:

> "Manual labour to be the qualification for franchise; the reduction of Military expenditure, the cheapening of justice, the abolition of intoxicating liquors and drugs and revenues therefrom, reduction of Civil and Military salaries, redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis, examination of monopolies of foreigners, guarantee of status to Chiefs without any hindrance from the Central Government, repeal of arbitrary powers, abolition of race distinction in services and religious freedom to various denominations, administration through vernacular languages, and Hindi to be the National language."

From the above, it is clear that such was the importance he attached to the abolition of drink and drugs that he placed it on the same level as guarantees in regard to religious freedom, repeal of arbitrary

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powers, reduction in military expenditure and of the salaries paid to officials, redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis, the replacement of English by a national language, etc.

The Constructive Programme

The campaign against drink and drugs had gone on though after 1922 it had lost much of its militancy. The No-changers who were to be found in every nook and corner of our motherland had worked faithfully, if silently, the Constructive Programme of 1920. Further, the formal withdrawal of Non-co-operation in 1924 had emboldened most non-Congress temperance workers to come out into the open and to take a more active part in the movement. The effect of all this was seen in a memorial presented to the Viceroy in 1925 and signed by 30,000 people asking for the introduction of prohibition as a much-needed social reform.

Mahatma Gandhi retired from the presidentship of the Congress in due course but his influence was there all the same. Among other things, this is seen from the following resolution passed at its annual session which met at Cawnpore in December, 1925:

> "The Congress is of the opinion that the policy of the Government of India in using the drink and drug habit of the people as a source of revenue is detrimental to the moral welfare of the people of India, and would therefore welcome its abolition."

The Simon Commission

Indian nationalism which was seeking for a definite issue on which to fight the British administration found it in the appointment of the all-English Simon Commission towards the end of 1927. Looking back at the matter after all these years, it has to be admitted that this was a political blunder on the part of our rulers especially as none of its members was at that time known in India or possessed any experience of the East. Followed an all-India boycott in which even the Moderates led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru felt compelled to join.

The statement of Lord Birkenhead that India's communal and other dissensions precluded the inclusion of Indian members in the Simon Commission led to the deliberations of the All-Parties' Conference of 1928 and the drafting of a Constitution for India which, among other things, accepted prohibition.

This Constitution was ratified with certain reservations with which we are not concerned here by the All-Parties' Convention attended by many members of the Central and Provincial legislatures, representatives of various political, communal, labour, landholders,' Indian States,' women's, backward classes,' journalists' and other organisations. What is important is that, in spite of differences in other matters, there was absolute unanimity so far as the clause of prohibition was concerned—the best possible proof that the anti-drink and drug campaign initiated on an all-India basis in 1920 and carried on under Gandhiji's inspiration by the Congress had the support of all sections of the Indian public including even people who had deliberately kept themselves aloof from this organisation.

The Congress at its annual session of 1928 with Pandit Motilal Nehru as President considered the Constitution approved by the All-Parties' Convention. In order to save the country from sufferings inevitable if an all-India struggle was precipitated at this juncture, it offered to accept this Constitution provided it was accepted "in its entirety" by Government on or before the 31st December, 1929 failing which it declared its intention to launch "a campaign of non-violent Non-co-operation" in the shape of refusal to pay taxes and "in such other manner as may be decided upon." One of its resolutions laid down a ten-point programme probably to prepare Congressmen in particular and Indians in general for the struggle into which our country might be drawn if our rulers refused the above offer. We are concerned with its first item which reads as follows:

> "In the Legislatures and outside, every attempt will be made to bring about total prohibition of intoxicating drugs and drinks; picketing of liquor and drug shops shall be organised wherever desirable and possible."

The Working Committee which met immediately after the Congress session appointed a number of Sub-Committees to carry on the work contemplated in the above resolution.

Rajagopalachari and Total Prohibition

There was at least one champion of prohibition in India who would not allow the grass to grow under his feet once the Congress had passed a resolution like the one just quoted. Always alert to take the fullest possible advantage of each favourable opportunity as soon as it presented itself to uproot addiction to drink and drugs, Shri C. Rajagopalachari drafted a scheme for implementing it. Even a cursory glance at its fifteen items will show how practical were the suggestions put forward and how eminently fitted the scheme was to combat the drink and drug evil through the organisation, on an all-India basis, of all opposed to it.

This was accepted by the Working Committee and a Sub-Committee consisting of Dr. M. A. Ansari, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Shri C. Rajagopalachari was appointed to put it through. It will be noticed that the selection of members was such as to ensure the all-India character of the campaign.

This scheme which found nation-wide publicity and support was published in *Young India* (April 4, 1929). Rajaji who had been entrusted with the task of organising the prohibition campaign circulated his programme of work among the Provincial Congress Committees, a work which received the blessings of Gandhiji (*Young India*, May 23, 1929).

The results of the picketing campaign directed against licensed shops appeared in *Young India* on

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April 18 and 24 and on October 17, 1929. The detailed information given in these articles possesses unique interest for all students of the prohibition movement in India.

Quite alive to the fact that picketing would sooner or later be countered by repressive measures of different types and that only Congress workers could be expected to face them unflinchingly, Rajaji thought out a plan for securing the active help of the vast mass of non-Congressmen who too were equally opposed to drink and drugs but were not prepared to suffer in person and property for their convictions by taking an obviously militant part in the campaign. This consisted in seeking and obtaining the support of Caste Panchayats which exerted social pressure on addicts and, wherever possible, on persons engaged in the drink and drug trade.

The effectiveness of this method in discouraging the production of intoxicants thus indirectly bringing about prohibition has been narrated in detail by Shri Mahadev Desai (*Young India*, November 21, 1929).

In order to meet this two-pronged attack, the officers of the Excise Department encouraged liquor-sellers to break regulations breaches of which had been punished, and sometimes heavily punished, in former days. For instance, men who did not possess licenses were permitted to sell liquor. Instead of sales of two bottles at a time, sales up to six bottles at a time were winked at. The purchasers were permitted to dispose of what they did not themselves consume to the public. Sales were also permitted outside the hours fixed under law.

Efforts were made to thwart the prohibition campaign in other ways also. For instance, a village munsiff of Singarpet, District Salem, Madras, was suspended for one year because he was accused of taking disciplinary action through caste organisations against drinkers, taking pledges of abstinence from Adi-Dravidas, etc.

When the Viceroy granted an interview to Gandhiji, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Vithalbhai Patel in December, 1929, he made it perfectly clear that he could not give any definite undertaking that even Dominion Status as demanded in the Constitution of the All-Parties' Conference would be granted to India as the result of the Round Table Conference proposed to be held next year. This precipitated the long impending conflict between the rulers and the ruled. In the annual session of 1929, the Congress declared Complete Independence as India's goal, called upon Congressmen to resign from the various legislatures, asking them to "zealously prosecute" the Constructive Programme and empowered the All-India Congress Committee to start Civil Disobedience at its discretion.

Civil Disobedience, 1930

Two statements made by our rulers in January, 1930 in regard to our political future proved disappointing. Mahatma Gandhi who had been requested to take the leadership in the impending conflict thought of negotiating with the Viceroy to which end he made an eleven-point offer the first of which was prohibition, as a preliminary to efforts to arrive at an agreed solution of India's political problem. When this was ignored, he wrote to the Viceroy on the 2nd March, 1930 explaining the reasons for his decision to initiate Civil Disobedience by breaking the salt law. In this celebrated letter, he gave India's views on the drink and drug problem:

> "It saps the foundations both of their health and morals, it is defended under the false plea of individual freedom, but, in reality, it is maintained for its own sake. The ingenuity of the authors of the Reforms of 1919 transferred this revenue to the so-called responsible part of dyarchy so as to throw the burden of prohibition on it, thus from the very beginning rendering it powerless for good. If the unhappy Minister wipes out this revenue he must starve education, since in the existing circumstances he has no new source of replacing that revenue."

Then came the march to Dandi lasting for 24 days from the 12th March to the 5th April in the course of which he preached prohibition, requested the people to cut down palm trees and set the example himself.

On the eve of his arrest which happened at 1 a.m. on the 5th May, 1930 he dictated a last message in the course of which he said, "Women should picket liquor and opium shops and foreign cloth shops." This work was allotted to them because he felt that, by nature, they are better fitted to carry it on in a truly non-violent spirit.

The Congress Working Committee which met at Allahabad after Gandhiji's arrest passed a resolution on prohibition which reads as follows:

> "The Committee once again emphasises the necessity of carrying on an intensive propaganda in favour of total prohibition and calls upon the Provincial Congress Committees to picket liquor or toddy shops."

This resolution marks the second all-India attempt to eliminate drink and drugs through our own efforts and in the face of official opposition. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has described the results achieved by the end of 1930 as follows. The picketing of liquor shops in Bihar "caused a loss of 40 lacs to Government," in the Central Provinces, now known as Madhya Pradesh, "liquor bids went down by 60 per cent," in Kerala toddy sales went down by 70 per cent and in Tamil Nadu. "stoppage of toddy sales was the scene of firing and several lathi charges."

It is to be noted that Gandhiji was in prison when most of these events took place and the fact that they happened in different and widely separated parts of India is a clear indication of the universal popularity of the prohibition movement.

(To be continued)

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CONGRESS—OLD AND NEW

Face Facts

By BIRENDRANATH GUHA

In a few days the nation would go to the polls to elect representatives to Legislatures. The Congress has appealed to electors as the legatee of Mahatma Gandhi, and also as the representative of the nation. The legatee forfeits legacy if he fails to act or do not act as a legatee. Has the Congress in Government acted as the legatee of Mahatma Gandhi? Has the Congress today the complexion that gave it the national character? It is time these questions were assessed.

The Congress was the spearhead of the national will to win back lost freedom. And that gave it the nation's support. The Congress promised a new economic order: it was pledged to reconstruct India's economic independence according to her genius.

With the attainment of political freedom and assumption of power the Congress dropped its national character and resolved itself into a party. The Congress thus almost imperceptibly underwent a sea change. What was a whole became a part now. Conservative by nature people are slow to recognize a change. But not so Congressmen in Government. Even in 1947 they knew what they wanted and where they were drifting. A reference to the nomination of the Congress President after Acharya Kripalani had resigned would bear testimony to what we say. Louis Fischer in his *Mahatma Gandhi* writes:

> "The choice of a successor to Kripalani assumed key importance. The election of a puppet who obeyed the Government would signalize the elimination of effective political opposition. Gandhi proposed the name of Acharya Narendra Dev, the Socialist leader. The Socialists were then still inside the Congress party. But their ideological, political and personal differences with right-wing Congressmen presumably encouraged Gandhi in the belief that they might be able to control and check trends within the Congress."

But neither Nehru nor Patel would have Acharya Narendra Dev. They induced Rajendra Prasad to accept the Presidentship. Gandhi advised him not to.

Louis Fischer writes again:

> "Nehru and Patel were heads of the Government. They were also leaders of the Congress Party. Their popularity and hold on the Congress machine enabled them to dominate the party. Why then should they accept the Congress President as a curb on their power? Why should they give him a veto on their proposals?"

From the above a clear picture of the post-independent Congress emerges. Gandhi sought to give the Congress a new shape. He wanted to make it the vehicle of the new economic order he had envisaged. He asked the Congress to turn itself into Lok Sevak Sangh, his last gift to the nation, and be the builders of a new civilization and the watch-dogs of the people's interest. The last gift of the Father of the Nation too was not acceptable to Congressmen in Government and their supporters outside.

Let us look into the question—if the Congress is what it had been before political freedom was attained—from another aspect. The Ahmedabad sitting of the All-India Congress Committee passed a unity resolution. And on the eve of the Nasik Session of the Congress a Central Cabinet Minister Shri R. R. Diwakar gave us a 'Serve and save the Congress' prescription. Later on, the Congress Working Committee unanimously agreed breaches 'must' be dealt with in accordance with the rules. The maintenance of discipline among Congress workers was particularly necessary 'in the circumstances of today.' The Nehru Resolution, the Diwakar Prescription, and the Working Committee decision have all failed to take note of the all-important thing, the nature and extent of the Congress malady. Unity efforts or a prescription or stern disciplinary action to be effective must first determine the disease.

A thing cannot rest in the air. It must either have legs to stand upon or pegs to hang from. The Congress edifice rested on two pegs. The struggle for throwing off the foreign yoke represented the first peg. The other peg was the constructive activities of the Congress which aimed at replacing the centralised economic order by a decentralised one. Under that scheme each village was to be a small republic, the unit of the State, self-sufficient in primary needs of life. So one peg represented political freedom of India and the other the economic independence of India as Gandhi envisaged it.

Political freedom may be compared to the heart whose function is to pump blood to the limbs according to their needs. And the blood so distributed represents the economic freedom of a country. Economic freedom of a country is good, bad or indifferent according as this distribution is good, bad or indifferent.

Britishers were made to quit. The usurped heart was recovered. And with that the function of the first peg ended. It, naturally, fell off. But it fell off not before it had given us political freedom—the heart—without which you cannot proceed to reconstruct. To construct the other half of our freedom we were now free to push blood to the various limbs equitably, with, of course, a liberal flow to the hitherto starved ones. But at the crucial moment we hesitated. We quailed before the task. The Congress forsook Gandhi, the one true revolutionary. It went the other way about. Congressmen in Government and their

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supporters outside chose to walk the way of Western democracies; they blindly subscribed to the unplanned science 'the salvation of mankind' theory. So the economic independence of Gandhi's conception so long subscribed to by the Congress also went overboard. Thus Congress forgot the mission Gandhi gave us, the mission to create a new civilization. And that one urge in spite of our differences bound us together. That mission, the self-forgetting urge, the second of the two pegs that yet sustained the Congress also went. Mission forgotten only lure for political power remained. So the Indian National Congress came to be a party, but it all the same clung to its claim to be the representative of the people it had once been.

Naturally fissures appeared in the Congress. You cannot contain the whole in a part. The container in that case is bound to burst. And so the Congress has burst. Nature provides for checks as it does for escapes. And a thing disrupts to create anew. We failed to recognise this and the malady has gone deep. You cannot restore it to health unless you have given it back some strong cementing force.

The Congress party swears by Democracy. Now, true Democracy invites criticism and evolves opposition. Honest criticism and effective opposition are the life breath of democracy. But the Congress party is behaving to the contrary. Rather than welcome the growth of an effective opposition it has been seeking to prevent its formation. In fact, top Congressmen in Government made no secret of their opposition to the formation of an opposition. They demanded (the word is used advisedly) that there should be no opposition for a decade and a half to come. That, they said, would mean ruin for India. This opposition would have been intelligible if the pattern of the Union Government were not after the Western Democracy, or if the rulers were cast in the mould of Dharma-Asoka or Omar.

To resent opposition is to deny democracy. Gandhi detected this trend in the Congress Government. And it made Gandhi uneasy. How to check that was the question that exercised his mind. This is how one from a Western democracy, Louis Fischer, has analysed it in his *Mahatma Gandhi*:

"Gandhi seldom made an adverse criticism without suggesting a concrete cure. He had criticized the Congress Party and the new Government of independent India. What did he propose?

"Gandhi was quick to see that the freedom of India raised the question of freedom in India. How could India remain a democracy?

"There was only one major party, the Congress party, and it enjoyed vast prestige as the party of Gandhi, Nehru and Patel, the party which had fought and won the battle for liberation from Britain. Other parties like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Communists were insignificant.

"The question Gandhi pondered was: Could the Congress party guide and curb the Government? He had not studied political conditions in the Soviet Union or Franco Spain or other totalitarian countries, but by intuition he arrived at conclusions which others had reached after long experience and analysis: he realized that a one-party system could actually be a no-party system, for when the Government and party are one, the party is a rubber stamp and leads only a fictitious existence.

"If the one important party in India, the Congress, did not maintain an independent, critical attitude towards the Government, who could act as a brake on any autocratic tendencies that might develop in the Government?

"Without free criticism and potent opposition democracy dies.

"Without political criticism and opposition, a nation's intellect, culture, and public morality stagnate; big men are purged and small men become kowtowing pygmies. The leaders surround themselves with cowards, sycophants and grovelling yes-men whose automatic approval is misread as a tribute to greatness.

"Could the Congress party, with aid from Gandhi and from the free press, prevent such a development in India?"

We have seen above that Gandhi's recommendation in respect of the nomination of Congress President was rejected. Acharya Narendra Dev was rejected: Gandhi was rejected. That the Congress was unable to guide and curb the Government was plain also from the speech of a retiring Congress President, Pattavi Sitaramayya, and the manner of expulsion of the succeeding President Purushottamdas Tandon.

So that is the complexion of what we parade as democracy. You cannot claim to be a democrat and seek all the same to stifle opposition. And that is exactly what the Congress party is doing. Our constitution is largely an ill-assorted carbon copy of British and American constitutions but minus the most striking trait that there is in the British constitution. The British constitution provides for, fosters and respects opposition. The Government there is called the King's Government, and the opposition the King's Opposition. One may say the King of England asks one party to rule, and at the same time asks the other party to oppose them. Healthy growth needs healthy checks. As in nature, we find in the British constitution provision for healthy checks. But our Congress Government resents criticism and opposes the formation of an opposition.

Now to the 'Serve and save the Congress' slogan. Serve what Congress? And save what Congress? The old Congress is dead. The Gandhian Congress stood for decentralization of industries so as to prevent concentration of capital and hence of power in a few hands. The Congress today seeks salvation in centralised big industries. The Congress was then working for making each village a small republic, self-sufficient in primary needs of life. And the State was to be composed of congeries of such village republics. Through

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various works Congress then was seeking to organize the masses for united action against any encroachment on their rights by the rulers. In other words, the aim of the Congress then was to put in the hands of the masses a weapon, satyagraha, which the power-that-be could not snatch away. The post-independent Congress has forsaken that ideal, that path. So 'serve' today means anything but what it meant then. Serving the Congress today is canvassing support for Government policy, good, bad or indifferent. Congress cannot be saved that way. That way you may only kill it. To save the Congress you must give it back the mission it has forgotten—the mission to fashion a new economic order, a new civilization. If you do not, then there is no resurrection of the Congress that is stone dead. And for that Congress will have to walk the way of a Fakir. They in China are doing that. Outside office hours ministers there jostle their way into buses as others do. No cars are to be seen in the streets. There is therefore small wonder that they have succeeded so effectively to collar corruption and black-marketing. The way of the Ameer the Congress has been walking would involve the Congress in ruin and with that the Government. We may not forget that India today in the name of the Congress is riding to her ruin. And in her ruin India will kill the promise of liberation Gandhi held out to the down-trodden of the world.

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LONDON LETTER

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

It was observed when Mr. Churchll rose to make his first speech in the new Parliament he began in gathering darkness. As he proceeded, the lights came on all over the House. This seemed an appropriate and excellent omen—and may it indeed foretell the shape of things to come. But even if the lights after putting in an appearance had ended in a general fuse, I do not think they could have cast a chill on the present purposeful mood of the country.

After six years of Labour Government, latterly working on a shoe-string majority, everyone is glad of a change. Everyone is glad that there is a man at the head of the State whose courage is undoubted and who will have the assistance of able and fresh minds. (There is plenty of new blood in the Government. Indeed there have been several surprises in the people who have been passed over.) Mr. Attlee, perhaps, is the most relieved of all. He has just been awarded the O.M. But no one feels like conceding it to any others in his late Government. And if in fact he had been returned to power, could he have got a team together? My guess is that he would have had to seek a Coalition. In no other way, it seems to me, could he have got over the problem of what to do with Mr. Herbert Morrison and Mr. Aneurin Bevan. The one is the strongest organizing force in the Labour Party, impossible to pass over, and yet at Albadan he had landed the country in its biggest humiliation since the days of Charles II and, worse still, in doing so had completely upset the apple cart in the Middle East. The other, though returned at the head of the poll in the voting for the party Executive —and so not to be passed over by anyone observing the ordinary rules of constitutional procedure—is anathema to the T.U.C. whose leaders he has attacked and who are determined to be rid of him. Nothing but party trouble was in store for another Labour Government: party trouble piled on top of the formidable troubles besetting the nation. It was a good thing for the Labour Party that they lost the Election. It will be a good thing for the country if they reflect upon this.

The new Government, for its part, has begun in conciliatory mood. It is plainly anxious to get as much support as possible for the measures that must be taken to overcome the present two-fold crisis in our monetary and our international affairs. It took an early opportunity to prove this. The Labour Party, with doubtful political wisdom, challenged the traditional method of selecting the new Speaker. (The first time this has happened for fifty years.) Though it has been the accepted thing for the Government to choose the Speaker and the Opposition the Deputy-Speaker, Labour put forward its own nominee for the Speakership. Defeated on this they sulked in their tents and declined to nominate the Deputy-Speaker—which meant that the Government must provide both and thereby reduce its voting majority by two as neither the Speaker nor his Deputy vote. The Government could have made good this loss if they had done what everyone had expected them to do and that was to restore University representation. But Mr. Churchill showed a political wisdom of another kind. He decided it was not the moment for controversy. Perhaps the *Spectator* is worth quoting on this point. "The Prime Minister, as he said on Tuesday, would be fully justified in introducing legislation for the restoration of the university seats forthwith. The Speaker's Conference of 1944, on which the Labour Party was largely represented, recommended unanimously that 'the existing University representation and methods of election shall be retained.' From the moment the Labour Party disregarded that decision and carried a clause abolishing the seats Mr. Churchill has repeatedly stated that when the Conservatives were returned to power they would restore them; no one knew then what the Conservative majority, if any, in the House of Commons would be, and its size is, in fact, irrelevant to the main issue. But at a juncture like the present first things must come first. . ."

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Close on the heels of the Opening of Parliament came the Lord Mayor's Show and the Guildhall Banquet. If the King had been in good health—and had opened Parliament in state—what a feast of pageantry would have been crammed into our wet and gloomy November streets. As things were, the Speech from the Throne was read by a Lord Chancellor struggling manfully against a heavy cold and the Lord Mayor's Show was shorn of all the usual tableaux. But at the Banquet at the Guildhall there were many consolations. First of all Sir Leslie Boyce is something quite out of the ordinary in the way of Lord Mayors. He is an Australian; he has a flair for history and feels the pull of London's long past; and he is a very good and forthright speaker. Mr. Churchill, as we have seen, is being very circumspect about University representation. He is all for letting sleeping dogs lie. But the City of London representation, also abolished by the Labour Government along with University representation, is in the Lord Mayor's view a dog of another kidney. A watch-dog in fact! And the City wants its dog back again. In plain set terms the Lord Mayor asked the Prime Minister to give them an assurance that very night that their representation in Parliament would be restored to them. Mr. Churchill said in his reply that he shared the Lord Mayor's regrets that we have no member for the City of London in the House of Commons. But he added: 'We must not introduce party politics on this occasion. . .' But is the representation in Parliament of the ancient City of London a matter of party politics? Mr. Churchill, like King Harry, 'loves a man.' How he must have enjoyed being tackled on a ticklish question by a man who knows his own mind and who moreover took his stand on Mr. Churchill's own chosen ground of history. Indeed our new Lord Mayor is pithy and to be remembered. His watch-dog is stirring in its sleep. "Since Queen Elizabeth opened the first Royal Exchange," he insisted, "it has been not only its pre-eminent position in the world of commerce which has given the City the right to speak with some authority on affairs of State. At many of the most critical periods of our national history it has been the influence of London, and of its Lord Mayors, which has turned the scales in favour of the people's liberties. There were even times in the eighteenth century when the City of London turned the scales against the House of Commons, in defence of the people's liberties." I must not linger on this point. But in these days of irksome if inescapable controls, it is stimulating to find a breath of liberty blowing from the City of London.

Mr. Churchill's speech, as with every relevant speech these days on the general situation, was concerned mainly with Russia and her satellites and America and the rest of the world—the Gog and Magog of the present age. The point which everyone has seized on is his allusion to the fact that in East Anglia we have provided the principal atomic base for the United States. It is indeed amazing how few people, either at home or abroad, seem to be aware of this truly momentous undertaking. For, as he pointed out, we have in consequence 'placed ourselves in the very forefront of Soviet antagonism.'

Soviet antagonism . . . Is there any way of inducing the Russian Government to relax? In England now the magic word is *climate*. The Government attaches tremendous importance to this spiritual thing. Only if they can create the right climate, secure the co-operation of men of good will of all classes regardless of party interest, do they see any hope of pulling the country out of its near to desperate economic difficulties. With Russia also, is not the problem one of changing the mental climate?

I must confess that the idea of getting Russia to change her methods seems to me, on the face of it, about as feasible as drinking oceans dry. For if Russia wanted to change the international climate, she could do so tomorrow by taking a very simple step. She could release those Russian wives and allow them to join their husbands in England. No other action of hers has created more indignation. It is considered on a par with the Nazis' cruel trick of forcing compulsory divorce on German-Jewish couples.

But in Europe of course Russia does her greatest mischief in Jugo-Slavia. Before the War Jugo-Slavia, under King Alexander, tried to bring about an entente between the Balkan Powers. For decades their relations with one another had been bedevilled by Russia or Austria, latterly by Italy and Germany, who were all competing for supremacy in that area. Jugo-Slavia had hoped to give them a Balkan entity, but that hope faded when Alexander was murdered (with Italian connivance). To-day Russian imperialism is the bird of prey which hovers over the Balkans; and her satellites—Roumania, Hungary and Bulgaria—surround Jugo-Slavia, spying on her, harassing her, and kidnapping her nationals. Jugo-Slavia is their victim because she is the only Communist country in existence which refuses to come under the Russian umbrella. (As a Russian orthodox bishop, now ministering to Orthodox communities in this country, remarked the other day: "The present tyranny in Russia is the only tyranny in history which has arrogated to itself the words of the Saviour: 'He who is not for me, is against me'.")

The Russian Government may not wish to do anything to improve the international climate, but the climate certainly has altered a little since Mr Churchill's Government took office. America, Britain and France have put forward a proposal for the regulation of arms and there is the new project for creating a Middle East Defence Command which is sponsored by America, Britain, France and Turkey. M. Vyshinsky rejected the proposal about regulating arms in a speech which amused himself and the Russian satellites immensely (but if any of them knew their Swinburne it may have occurred to them that such laughter was rather

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'like a man's laughter heard in hell.') Russian diplomatic methods in fact have robbed the word *diplomacy* of its age-old attributes. Until the present age, to be 'diplomatic' meant to be tactful and conciliatory in manner. But Russia's principal 'diplomat' glories in disappointing other people's hopes and in employing the brusquest and most derisory language he can find. He is not sent to the United Nations, evidently, with the injunction to seek some means of coming to terms with his fellow delegates. He must even *pretend* that he does not understand them.

But however blind it suits M. Vyshinsky to seem when he attends United Nations conferences, we may feel quite sure that in Moscow Mr. Churchill's speech at the Guildhall has been scrutinised by the sharpest eyes they have. Over and over again they must have pondered what he had to say about Gog and Magog. And in one passage at least it does seem as if he believes that war can be avoided. Here it is: 'World politics, like the history of Gog and Magog, are very confused and much disputed. Still, I think there is room for both Gog and Magog.'

The Government is only a fortnight old and has scarcely had time to look about its business. None the less there is the conviction that Mr. Churchill will make a supreme effort to settle the Russian problem. I cannot recall his exact words but, during the Election, he certainly said that he would like to be able to make one more effort to win the peace. One way of winning the peace is to continue to build up armaments and alliances until Russia is at last 'contained.' Another and better way is to convince M. Stalin and the Polit Bureau that we want war just as little as we want Russian imperialism. At the moment of writing Lord Beaverbrook has informed American newspapermen that he expects Mr. Churchill will try to have a meeting with M. Stalin. This may be merely kite-flying but it is a good kite.

It will not be enough for the West to escape a collision with Russia. Somehow a way must be found of persuading Russia to get rid of her iron curtain. The Russian Revolution is unique in history in that it has never been upset. In other ages there have been revolutions followed by counter-revolutions. But this does not happen in Russia. The Bolshevik Revolution succeeded because Russia was in chaos, as a result of the collapse of her armies, and so a determined minority was able to seize power. No minority now, however determined, could seize power from the Bolsheviks. They would first have to overcome the Secret Police and the Red Army.

Still, a huge segment of the world cannot indefinitely cut itself off from the rest of mankind. Sooner or later, indeed, the Russians themselves will want to get out. For if the Bolshevik regime seems to go on for ever, the nature of that regime itself is undergoing great changes. A most interesting series of articles is appearing in the London newspaper the *Sunday Times*. It is entitled *Beyond The Iron Curtain* and is written by Sir David Kelly who until recently was our Ambassador in Moscow. It gives a picture of present-day life in Russia and it is not an attractive one. Innocents abroad who imagine that Communism is another word for a worker's paradise will be sharply disillusioned. The one class in Russia which has a perfectly awful time is the working class. "A worker who is over twenty minutes late gets up to six months' corrective labour in his place of employment and is fined one week's wages a month; for being over twenty minutes late three times in one month he gets two to four months' imprisonment—much longer if the factory is working for defence."

The ordinary worker in Russia just does not get a look-in. Only the exceptional person can make a good life for himself and his family. In England today a clever boy or girl (often merely a studious one) can reach the university whatever the merits or demerits of his home background. But in Russia this would depend on the parents' earnings. It is the same with housing. Only the exceptional person will get the more adequate living space. It is worth quoting the Ambassador on these very material points. "Inequality in salaries is now on a scale fast becoming unthinkable in England, but even more important is inequality in privilege. The very fact that all activities are controlled by the State has enabled the use of privilege as a reward and incentive to remain the basis of the whole system . . . the benefits of privilege are extended to all those workers in farm or factory who by supernormal efficiency earn the right not only to vastly greater wages but to greater privileges for themselves and their families in facilities for travel, holidays, amusements, motor-cars, education and, perhaps, most important of all, in housing accommodation. From these privileged workers are recruited the new entrants into the governing class, especially owing to the educational facilities. Not only can they alone of their class afford the fees and expense now necessary for higher education; it is also that their better housing conditions give their children an obvious advantage in scholarship and other competitive examinations."

The Workers' Republic has lost sight of the worker and it is the old story of 'the zeal of my house hath eaten me up.' But perhaps after all Russia will owe her escape from the Bolshevik dictatorship to the privileged class which it is creating. How long can these privileged people, with their motor cars and their travel, be content to remain behind their Iron Curtain? And this worship of efficiency, surely in time it will spread to things of the mind. History students will find their researches leading them to sources in other lands. Greek scholars will want to visit Athens and architects to visit Rome . . .

And then no doubt Russian diplomats will learn to be 'diplomatic.'

Westminster, London, November, 1951

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UNION EXECUTIVE IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

A number of learned articles have lately appeared in the pages of this and other journals in this country on the above subject and a good deal of discussion and controversy, sometimes heated and acrimonious, has already taken place. If I am adding another to the already numerous papers on the subject, it is not with a view to entering the lists against those who have already appeared in the field before me, but to give in as clear language as I can, my own reading of the subject, and the only justification that I may offer for my writing on this much debated subject is that on a subject like this there cannot be any last word and hardly any two people will look at a constitutional problem from exactly the same angle or view it exactly in the same light. Moreover, our constitution has only just come out of the anvil, it has hardly had time to take a proper shape which it will do only in course of its working. With the lapse of time it is bound, as any other constitution in the world, to undergo changes both in its form and substance, as in the course of its working it confronts new and ever changing situations, calling for fresh interpretation of the institutions set up by the original constitution. This is equally true of both the so-called written constitutions like ours and of unwritten constitutions like that of England. I have a feeling that this aspect of the matter has not been adequately appreciated, if at all, in most of the previous papers written on the subject. The controversy has mainly turned, as I have understood it, on the question whether the nature of the Union Executive is of a pure and orthodox brand of the parliamentary system as it has evolved in England or not. In the nature of things two constitutions cannot be exactly alike, even though one is modelled on the other; because the constitution of a country is the visible expression of the organic life of the community. It must necessarily fit in with the peculiar conditions of each country and with the passage of time it tends to deviate more and more from the original pattern. We have only to study the working of parliamentary system in France and the Self-governing Dominions to verify the truth of the statement. So it is idle to attempt to describe the nature of a constitution by reference to a particular type and place it rigidly under a known category.

Coming to our new constitution there is no doubt that the system of government both at the Centre and in the States has been modelled by and large on that of England, but not wholly so, we have borrowed extensively from other constitutions also. As. Mr. S. N. Mukherjee, Joint Secretary to the Constituent Assembly points out*:

> "The authors of the Indian constitution have drawn from the rich experience of the working of the most of the modern constitutions of the world."

In this article we shall confine ourselves only to the Executive of the Indian Union and see how far it follows the English model and also where it deviates. The position of the Union Executive is dealt with mainly in Chapter I of Part V of the constitution. At the very outset it may be pointed out that unlike England and like France and U.S.A. we have set up a Republic with a President as the head of the State. But then our President unlike his opposite number in U.S.A. and like the English King is not the head of the government. Here he is analogous to the President of the French Republic. Like both the French and American Presidents he comes to office by a process of indirect election† and does not hold office by hereditary tenure like the English King. He is elected by an electoral college consisting of the electoral members of both Houses of Parliament and of the members of the State Legislative Assemblies. (Sec. 54). Thus the elective character of the office lends some strength or at least a conciousness of strength to the incumbent which cannot belong to a hereditary king. Of course, that strength deriving as it does from indirect form of election is not of such a character as to make it a rival of the Prime Minister and the council of Ministers who are virtually the direct nominees of the people. It is exactly this consideration that induced the authors of the constitution to discard the process of direct election for presidential election. But the Presidential electors being elected representatives of the people throughout the union both at the Union and the State level, the President is expected to have a consciousness of authority which does not quite fit in with the orthodox type of parliamentarianism which requires an absolutely powerless, ornamental, constitutional figurehead as the head of the State. How far, if at all, this advantage will be utilised by our president only the future can decide and it will also depend on a conjuncture of circumstances, such as personal factors, party affiliation of the President and the ministry, etc. But the fact is, that this is a feature which introduces the potentiality of a departure from the orthodox type as it prevails in England.

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*Vide his article "The Constitution of India, An Analysis" in *A. B. Patrika, Republic India supplement*, January 26, 1950.

†In the case of the American President formally and legally it is a process of indirect election, though in fact it has now been converted into a process of direct election by growth of convention relating to Presidential election.

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We shall first of all look at the specific provisions of the constitution dealing with the President and the council of Ministers. The executive power of the Union is vested in the President, as the head of the State.

Let us describe the specific powers granted to the President under different sections of the constitution before dealing with the general executive powers. This will, however, be only illustrative and not an exhaustive list. The President has been given the power of appointment to a number of highest offices within the Union, such as the Prime Minister of the Union directly and other Ministers on the latter's advice (Sec. 75), the Attorney-General for the Union (76-1), the Supreme Court Judges (124-2), the Judges of High Courts (217), the Comptroller and Auditor-General (148-1), the Governor of Part A State (155), the Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners (324-2), the Chairman and other members of the Union Public Service Commission (316-1).

The President forms an integral part of the Union Parliament (579). He has the power to summon and prorogue the Houses of Parliament and dissolve the House of People subject to some conditions (85-2); he may address either House of Parliament or both Houses together and require the attendance of members, may send messages to either House (86-1) and (2); he is required to address the joint session of both Houses of Parliament at the commencement of every session (87-1); he is required to assent or withhold his assent to a bill passed by Parliament or if it is not a Money Bill to return it to the Houses with messages for its reconsideration in whole or part (Sec. 111); he is required to cause to be laid before Houses of Parliament the annual Financial Statement of the Union (112-1); no demand for grant may be made except on the recommendation of the President. No financial bills can be introduced in Parliament except on the recommendation of the President (Sec. 117-1). The President has the power to grant pardon and to suspend, remit or commute sentences in certain cases (Sec. 72); when Parliament is not in session and circumstances arise requiring immediate action in the opinion of the President, he may, subject to some conditions, promulgate ordinances having the force of law (123-1). He has some powers with regard to bills passed by State legislatures and reserved by the Governor for his consideration (201). The administration of Part C States is vested in the President acting through a Chief Commissioner (239-1). Lastly we come to the emergency powers of the President detailed in Part XVIII of the constitution (Secs. 352-360). Wide powers are given to the President to the extent of even practically suspending the constitution, only if the President is satisfied that a grave emergency exists.

It will thus be noticed that the powers assigned to the President like those of the English crown are sweeping and all-embracing. They are not limited to the executive sphere alone but extend to legislative, financial and judicial spheres also. The question is, and it is moot point, how far if at all, the President is free to exercise these powers independently. In order to answer the question we have to discuss the provisions of the constitution defining the position of the President and the council of Ministers and their relation to each other and the implications thereof. Under Section 53(1), "the executive power of the Union shall be vested in the President." As it is not possible for the President to exercise all such powers personally it is stated further that it "shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him, but in accordance with the constitution." This allows him to delegate the exercise of any part of the executive power to Ministers or other subordinate officers, provided that is in accordance with the constitution as he interprets it. There is a qualifying clause, *viz.*, clause (3) lagged on to the section which provides that no functions conferred by any existing law on the Government of any state or other authority will be deemed to be transferred to the President and enables Parliament to confer executive functions by law on authorities other than the President. The measure of the executive power is defined in Section 73 which states that subject to other provisions of the constitution the executive power will extend to all matters within the legislature jurisdiction of Parliament as laid down in Part XI of the constitution and to rights, authority, jurisdiction, etc., exerciseable for implementing international agreements and treaties by the Government of India. There are two limitations to this definition. Firstly, the proviso to the clause prevents the extension of the executive authority of the Union to matters within the legislature jurisdiction of Part A and Part B States, unless expressly provided in the constitution or any law made by Parliament. Secondly, clause (2) of the section protects the power and functions which any State, or any of its officers or authorities might be exercising immediately before the commencement of the constitution, notwithstanding that such power and functions fall within the legislature jurisdiction of Parliament under the constitution, until Parliament by law provides otherwise. Besides the executive power of the Union in general as stated above, Section 53(2) vests another very important function in the President, without prejudice to the former, *viz.*, "the Supreme Command of the Defence Forces of the Union," which necessarily implies the power of declaring war and making peace and directing the armed forces of the nation in the event of a national emergency. Besides these, the President has been granted under the constitution the numerous specific powers already enumerated above.

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THE MIDDLE CLASS AND ITS FUTURE

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By Principal P. C. Malhotra, M.A.

According to Marx and Engel, "The History of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." In ancient Rome there were patricians, knights, plebians, slaves. In the Middle Ages, there were feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs and in almost all these classes there were subordinate gradations. The modern society has not done away with class antagonism, but a complicated social stratification has been the result.

The term "Middle Class" impiles the existence of a number of social layers in society, some above this intermediate group and some below it. It presumes the existence of a 'society with classes. The emergence of a society from the simplest one gives rise to the birth of human groups in it with different statuses. The position is a fluid one to begin with and social stratification takes place later on. The rise of a feeling of class consciousness is a still later growth and is made possible by the shattering of shackles—imperceptible so long as the issues are not raised in a clear form and perceptible when political freedom makes organization possible on the part of the dispossessed or possessionless classes.

Whether viewed historically or as a present-day phenomenon the middle class cannot be considered a homogeneous social layer. The break-up of the feudal economy created a distinction of division of labour as between the producer of raw materials and the small manufacturer. The small manufacturer and trader concentrated in towns created a somewhat cohesive intermediate social and functional group (Mittle-stand). The inhabitants of the towns united into self-conscious burghers for purposes of securing legal privileges and rights and bringing to an end restrictions imposed by the feudal landowners. This commercial and industrial bourgeoise of the towns occupying as it did an intermediate status between the older privileged states on the one hand and on the other the serfs and peasants riveted to the land speeded up the transition from the mediaeval to the modern economy.

> "The gradual transformation of this early 'intermediate estate' (*Mittle-stand*) into a 'middle class,' comprising a mixture of more or less heterogeneous elements, is a reflection not only of the decline of the older privileged estates but also of the tendnecy toward increasing complexity of social structure manifested in the successive stages of the unfolding of the capitalistic system."

Economically the status of a class may in main be determined by its economic position resulting from its share in the distribution of national wealth. The transfer of the concept of status into that of a class is the result of new ideologies introducing new cleavages in society, *viz.*, the modes of production and with whom the means of production rest *i.e.*, whether means of production are owned by the capitalist or by the society.

According to Marx, the modern bourgeosie which constitutes the new middle class in present-day society is a privileged upper minority feeding on surplus value and state favouritism and drives its victims into the ranks of the proletariat. The new middle class therefore belongs to the same family groups as the new petit bourgeosie of small investors, senior officials, administrators, and minor professional men. The economic importance of this social group has been increasing with the advance of capitalism.

To understand the middle class let us try to understand the basis on which social and economic stratification takes place.

> "Social stratification," according to Sorokin, "means the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically superposed classes. It is manifested in the existence of upper and lower social layers. Its basis and very existence consist in an unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, social values and privations, social power and influence among the members of a society."

Socio-economic stratification in a broad sense means simply the descriptive ordering of people into higher and lower categories with respect to some objective differential or differentia, primarily economic or at least quasi-economic in character. The strata thus formed may or may not form a cohesive group although Marx who reads history along a straight line believes so.

The basis of stratification can be economic, political, occupational, social, etc., and although any one of these may be having a predominating influence, class differentiation may be due to a combination of all these factors.

Stratification is something objective. The process of getting a living imposes upon certain functions, statuses and roles. Social and economic groupings and categories of people distinguished on the basis of occupation, power, income, standard of living, education, function, intelligence or other criteria are denoted by the term strata. Classes are psycho-social groupings, something that is essentially subjective in character, dependent upon class consciousness. A man's class is a part of his ego—a feeling on his part of belongingness to something, an identification with something larger than himself.

The Middle Class and Social Change

The middle class has been considered to be bulwark against sudden changes in society. This class is the preserver of traditions. It believes in transition and not in change. This class which consists of several layers—the upper and the lower middle class—hobnobs with the capitalist and the proletariat. It is averse to sudden changes and has remarkable capacity for compromise. It can think but cannot act. It has divided

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intellectual sympathies and is afraid of parting company with its ways of life. It suffers from a queer snugness which savours of snobbery.

> "It is a mixture of heterogeneous elements, some in undisguised conflict. The farmer desires a high protective tariff, but the artisan desires low commodity prices, while the industrialist and merchants export, the public official favours high salaries, the small shopkeeper and tradesman favour low taxes; as regards ways and social policy the salaried employees have the pronounced interests of those who are given work, but the small capitalists have the equally definite interest of those who give it."

The middle class has preferred security with even pittance to uncertain high incomes; it has cherished prestige to power; it has favoured stability to revolutionary progress. The intellectual proletariat—the doctors without patients, the lawyers without clients and the writers without readers—have lip-sympathy with the proletariat arising not out of conviction but born of a natural sense of frustration, and the spirit of rebellion in this class clashes with the remnants of pretensions and ideals implanted in the impressionable years of academic training.

> "While the dispirited lawyer or journalist or artist is seldom averse to airing his impatience with the common run of the middle class he shows little inclination to sacrifice his deeply ingrained sense of personal integrity and self-sufficiency to the rigid discipline of socialist organization and tactics. If pressed for his positive social ideals, he would subscribe to diluted co-operationism or anarchism, provided that his own scheme of values was left untouched or not infrequently he might disclaim any ideals . . . . . In so far as such intellectualization eventuates in any formal point of view the tendency is towards vindication of the status quo."

The middle class has tried to steer a middle course in the midst of conflicting ideologies. In this attempt it has presented a spectacle of a man who seeks escape from his oppressor but who while in flight is recaptured and returned to his former master. This class may well remain in a state of indecision between surrender and resistance, but it will become apparent that merely nominal opposition to financial capital may not be essentially different from outright support and that the logic of the situation demands active co-operation with the workers.

Many writers in the thirties and forties of this century emphasised the importance of increased co-operation between labour and the so-called middle class as a means to peaceful and democratic change towards a socialised order. Fascism succeeded in Germany because of a lack of this type of co-operative arrangement. As socialism approached political power in Germany, declared Covy:

> "It was immobilised by failure to get the support of the non-proletarian groups necessary for a democratic majority. The emphasis on the proletariat alienated the middle classes and peasants, who saw in socialism an expression only of proletarian interests."

The importance of alliance between the working class and the middle class so as to enlarge the appeal of the British Labour Party to the nation was pointed out by Prof. Laski in the following words:

> " The Labour Party has got to make the man of science, the technician, the managerial class, recognise that the kind of society for which it stands offers them an opportunity, a power, a security, which they cannot attain under the present order. It has got to win for a planned democracy groups that have so far largely failed to recognise its claims, groups, moreover, upon whose contribution the success of a planned democracy in large part depends."

The Middle Class in India

In India the middle class has often been treated as synonymous with the educated middle class; persons who are not well-to-do enough to dispense with earning their own livelihood, are included in this classification. It is the most vocal and enlightened group of Indian society and yet it is the least organised one. A good percentage of the educated middle class in India is accounted for by employment in public service in which the workers are supposed to have no politics, that is they must keep their views to themselves and because, apart from the abnormal rise in prices since the last World War, conditions of work and emoluments were such as to give status, reasonably living wages, security and consequently contentment. Persons belonging to the liberal professions who had good incomes became leaders of men in Indian society. The middle class has been having prestige, position and even power in contemporary India. The last world depression led to an increase in the value of money-incomes of fixed-incomist group, but the growing un-employment amongst educated middle classes during this period led to a serious study by various provincial committees regarding the causes of widespread unemployment. The educational system the lack of industrial development and the desire to follow soft professions were considered to be the chief causes aggravating unemployment in this group. But the middle classes in India on account of the general prevalence of the joint family system were able to absorb the shock of educated unemployment amongst their ranks. The small zamindars, the small capitalists, the small enterprizers and the traders also constituted parts of the middle class lump in India. The middle class has been the preserver of India's tradition as well as the harbinger of the new light in the country. The democratic surge throughout the world exempted their class from a sort of antipathy growing against the rich and the sort of condescending sympathy that was developing in favour of the labouring class. The middle class derives its forte from this situation and a sort of middle class complex which was supposed to give to the people belonging to this class the best of both the worlds began to make the people of this class conscious of their special role in society. This middle class com-

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plex may as well be called snobbery of the middle class because it began to give itself airs which prevented them subsequestly from confessing their miserable plight when the economic tide turned against them during the last decade of rising prices and when this class found itself being ground between the two millstones of the rich capitalist and the labour class.

A middle class family in India is supposed to be one with an income varying within a range of Rs. 100 to Rs 400 according to *The Report on the Diet and Health Survey of Middle Class Families in Bombay City* conducted by the Indian Statistical Institute. Another enquiry conducted by the Ministry of Commerce in the from of *The Report of Enquiry into the Family Budgets of the Middle Class Employees of the Central Government* found the average monthly income per middle class family varying from Rs 159-6 in the province of Madras to Rs. 268-1 in Delhi. The report discovered a disequilibrium between income and expenditure everywhere. The deficit varied from Rs. 15-7 per family or Rs. 3-8 per consumption unit in the case of Delhi to Rs. 51-5 per family or Rs. 10-7 per consumption unit in the Punjab block and Rs. 10-2 per consumption unit in Bombay city. Deficits were met in many instances from previous savings made during the good times before the War or from temporary loans from relatives and friends.

The Eastern Economist's Index Number of the Middle Class cost of living in India has revealed distressing conclusions. The Index Number in the case of lower middle class families (income between Rs. 30 and Rs. 300 per month in August 1939) rose to 385.5 in July 1950 as against Bombay Working Class cost of living Index of 303.8. As the rise in incomes in the case of the middle class has not been proportionate to the increase in the cost of living, the burden has been borne by way of cuts in the consumption of those articles which constituted the differtnce in the living of the middle class and the labour, *e.g.*, fall in the consumption of milk, milk products, oil and fats. The liquidation of this class is a loss which cannot be computed in economic terms, for the characteristics of the obliterated middle class cannot be transferred to the labour class into which it is being transformed. The higher income brackets have not escaped from the attritioning effects of high prices, and there have been increasing signs of uneasiness on the part of this section of Indian society too.

Income, however, is not a correct index of social and economic position. The question is not what a man's income is but what he derives from it. As a consequence of the high prices prevailing, a large section of what now constitutes the so-called middle class may in reality form a part of the proletariat as the merest daily labourer. In fact, economically the position of the labourer may be much better than persons of equal income belonging to the middle class as the latter has to conform to a certain external standard of life which has made his position pitiable. The business community has been able to pass on the incidence of higher cost of production to the consumers, persons with variable incomes are able to shift the weight of higher prices on to the persons with fixed incomes. The middle class in India has consequently been squeezed between the double pressure of the manufacturing-*cum*-trading community and the wage-earning class. The question is how long can the middle class stand this double pressure. The middle class from the Punjab, Sindh and Bengal have been crushed as a consequence of partition. Thus the forces tending towards the liquidation of the middle class in India have been gathering force rather quickly.

The epitaph of the middle class is being written. The question is what attitude may be expected of this class in the crisis. It cannot afford to remain in a state of oscillation between surrender and resistance to the forces working against it indefinitely. Mere nominal opposition to these forces may not be different from outright support. The logic of the situation demands a positive attitude and determined action. The Government of the country will also have to follow a positive policy towards this class. Does the ship of the state need the stabilising ballast of the middle class? Can the cultural and social renaissance in the country be accomplished by permitting this class to be attritioned if not liquidated ? Can the high tide of the growing power of labour forces be permitted to have their full sway? The attitude of the middle class and that of the State towards the above-mentioned questions is going to be the major determinants of the social and economic patterns of the future in the country.

India's middle class have made it possible for the ship of the country to move on even keel even in the midst of stormy seas. The demoralisation of this class would tend to unleash the forces of an undesireable revolution. It would be a great misfortune if timely notice of this portent is not taken widely. The caveat contained in the following lines taken from the London *Economist* points out succinctly the imperativeness of the situation.

> "In a normal society the ideals of youth fade away with age and family cares and a secure job. But in an inflation even the able find themselves chasing the pot at the end of the rainbow. No matter how hard they work, no matter how many promotions they receive, taxes and cost of living seem to go up as quickly as their pay, while the average number of the middle class faces a low squeeze of all his standards, a slow destruction of all his hopes for his own future and those of his sons. When the shop-keeper flourishes and the clerk starves, revolution is round the corner, for the educated middle class will tolerate only so much."

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THE TRAGEDY OF A WALL

By Principal S. N. AGARWAL

A few months ago I had occasion to go and see the sanatorium at Gorakhpur and stayed there for a fortnight at the suggestion of Shri Mahavir Prasadji Poddar. I knew there were a few sites round about Gorakhpur associated with the life of Lord Buddha, but it was a pleasant surprise to hear that the sacred birth-place of Mahatma Kabir was only about fifteen miles away. It is called Magahar, one of the smaller stations on the O. T. Railway. Kabir's tomb is about half a mile from the station; one can even see from the train white structures clustering round the place. The village of Magahar is close by where weavers have been plying their trade since olden times.

I have loved and revered the personality of Kabir since my childhood. His poems are simple but deeply suggestive. Not only was he a saint who had attained the final beatitude but a great synthesizer, one who had striven with might and main to bring amity between the Hindus and the Muslims and to rescue them from the evils of bigotry and fanaticism.

Naturally I wanted to go and pay my respects at Kabir's tomb and one day found myself at the place. It is said when Kabir died, the Hindus and Muslims quarrelled among themselves over the final rites of his remains. The Muslims wanted to bury them, the Hindus to cremate them. Finally, happening to lift his shroud, they found that two flowers were all that remained of his mortal frame. The Hindus took one, the Muslims the other and both erected shrines over them in accordance with their respective customs. The two memorials, one a Temple and the other a Masjid, are still standing, places of daily worship and prayer.

First, I went to the Hindu temple, and found two Kabirpanthis engaged in a religious discussion. I learned that every evening poems are recited from Kabir in the temple. Once a year, on the full-moon day of Agrahayan, Mahant Rambilas Dasji of Benares comes to Magahar and a great festival is held which is called Bhandara. I sat in the temple for some time and then expressed a wish to go to the Masjid.

"There is no way from here to the mosque, Sir!" I was informed.

I exclaimed in surprise, "Why, how is that?"

"There is a wall in between."

"And why a wall between two such places as these?"

"Please don't ask that, Babuji! The wall has been there since very long."

"Isn't there even a wicket gate to let one pass from one shrine to the other?"

"No, Sir, what good would a gate be? We don't go there at all."

I felt very grieved to hear this. There are both Hindus and Musalmans among the followers of Kabir who had so tirelessly laboured to bring the two communities together. All that effort has been in vain; a dark wall stands erect between them.

I came out of the temple and wended my way to the Masjid. Entering the shrine, I chatted with a Muslim follower of the saint and learned that here too they held a great Bhandara once a year.

"Of course you all, Hindus and Musalmans, must be eating together on the occasion of the festival," I naively asked.

"Oh no! We send flour, dal, rice, sugar and other things to the temple. All the cooking is done there."

"Then the Hindus too must be sending the same things to you at your own festival."

"No, they send us of the feast ready cooked."

"Now, how is that? Why can't the Hindus eat food prepared by you? Are you not both followers of Kabir?"

"That is right, we are both followers of Kabir. None of us ever takes meat or fish, but the Hindus will not eat food of our cooking. We don't object to eat theirs."

So even the followers of the great Kabir keep to this don't-touchism! It was very sad to hear this. The terrible chasm of don't-touchism that separates the two communities has at last cleft this land of ours in two and verily a wall has been raised between them.

I was curious to know whether the wall had always been there, and questioned my friend.

"No," he said. "There was no wall at first. But always there were quarrels between the Hindus and the Muslims. So about eighty years ago, an English officer raised this wall between the two shrines."

How very symbolic! It was an English officer who raised the wall between the Hindu and Muslim followers of Kabir at Magahar! Eighty years later an English Governor-General raised a political wall between the Hindus and Muslims of the whole country, to rend it in two. Here too no door is to be seen in between! Did not that wall at Magahar rising eighty years ago lay the foundations for a future Pakistan? At least I felt it so. Oh the tragedy of it all!

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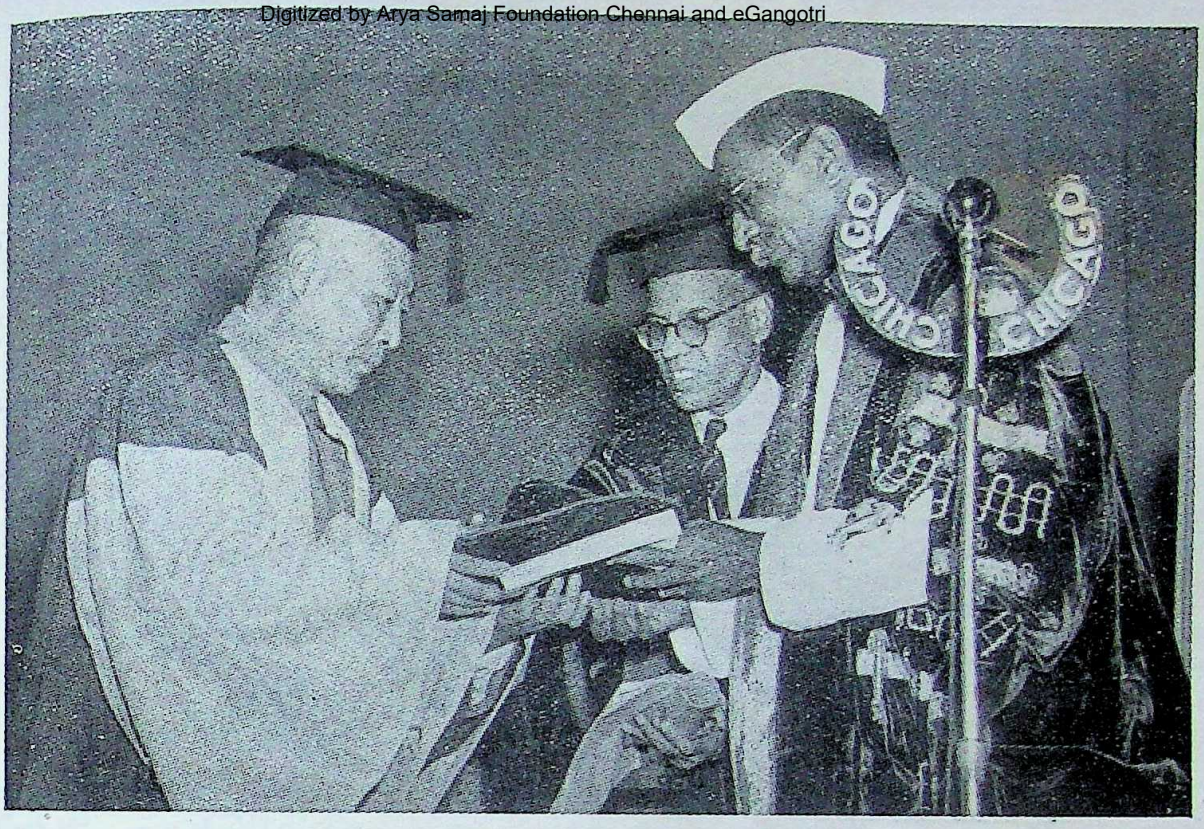
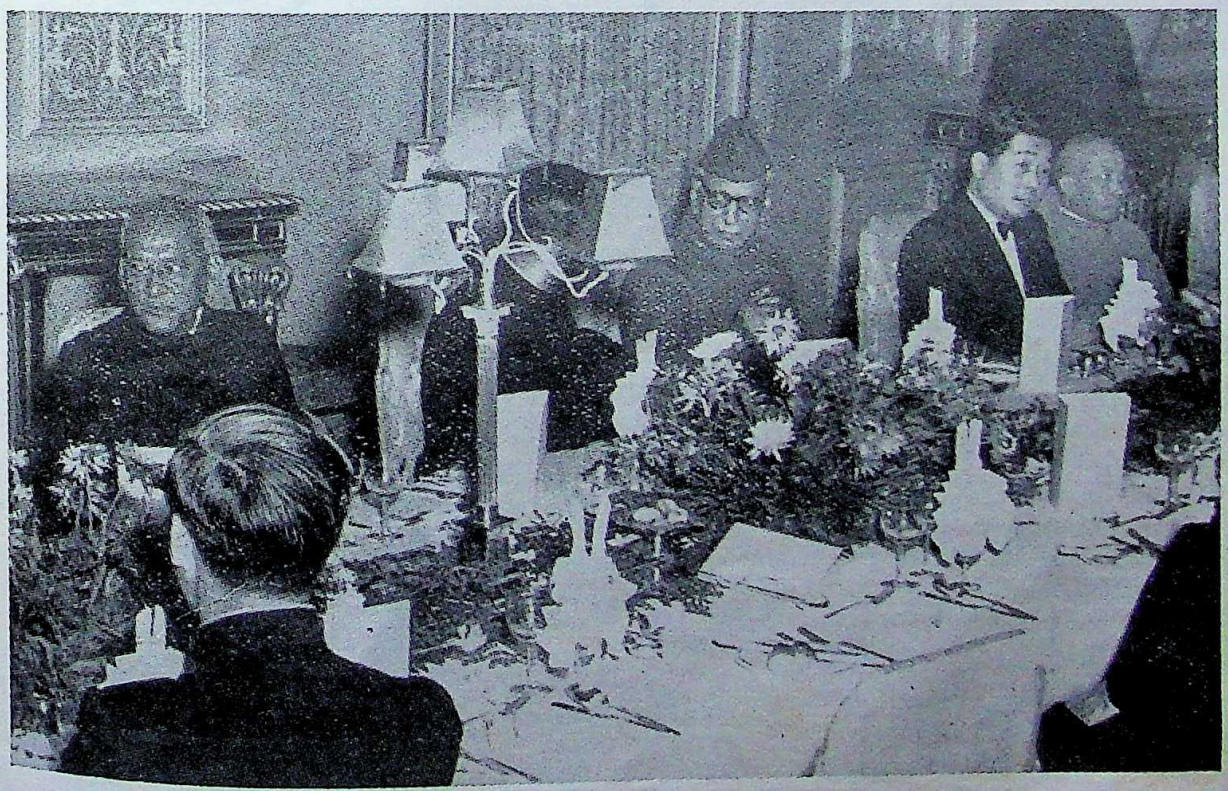


President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Chancellor of the Delhi University, conferring the degree of Doctor of Letters *Honoris Causa* on H. E. Mr. Ting Si-Lin, leader of the Chinese Cultural Delegation at a special convocation



A State Banquet was given in honour of the Chinese Cultural Delegation at Hyderabad House, New Delhi, on November 28, 1951

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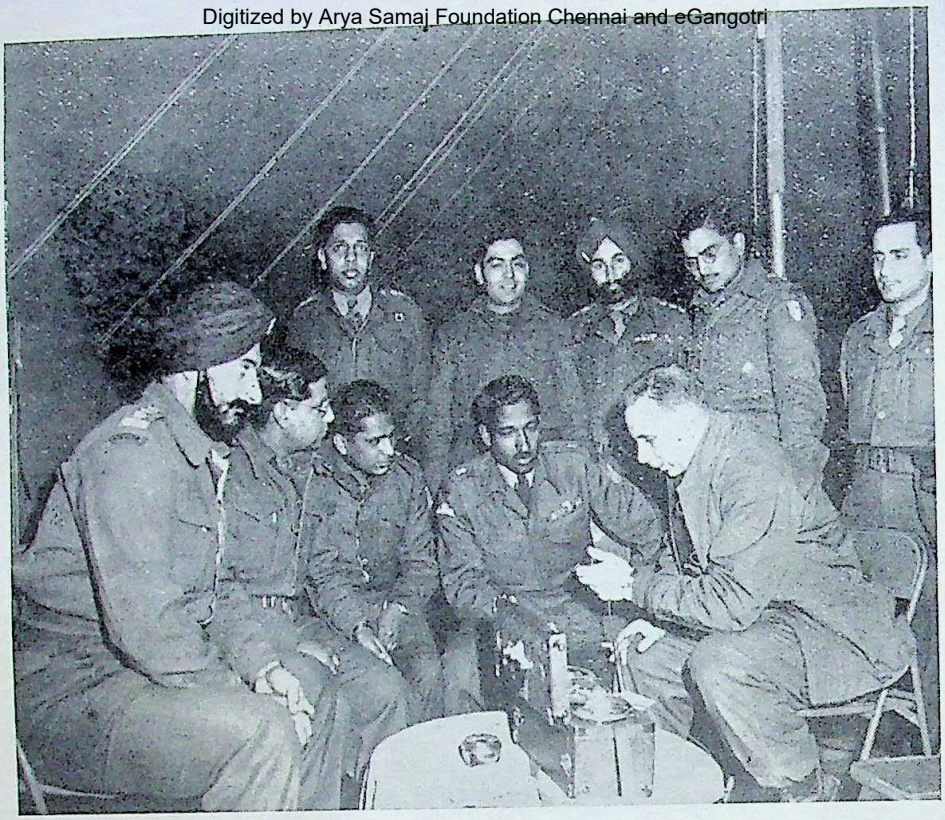
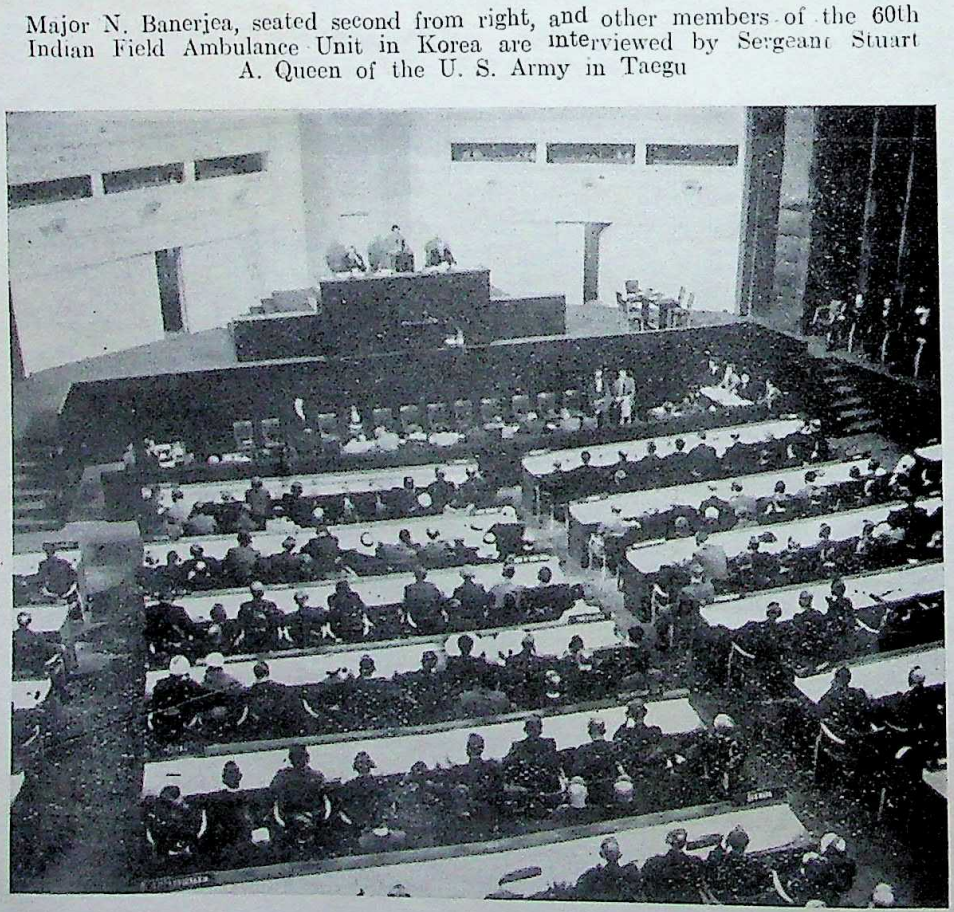


Major N. Banerjea, seated second from right, and other members of the 60th Indian Field Ambulance Unit in Korea are interviewed by Sergeant Stuart A. Queen of the U. S. Army in Taegu



The Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly opened in Paris on November 6, 1951

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POST-GRADUATE TEACHING IN SANSKRIT
In the University of Calcutta

By Mahamahopadhyaya VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Introductory

As certain changes are going to be made in the near future in the University of Calcutta, likely affecting, among others, the Department of Sanskrit, I may, as a life-long student and lover of Sanskrit and also as a retired Head of the Department of Sanskrit, offer here a criticism on the administration and teaching of the department and make some suggestions which may be considered by the authorities concerned.

Sanskrit, though originally a language of the land, is no longer confined to it, but owing to its intrinsic merits it is studied all over the advanced countries of the world making tremendous progress in its various branches, which can in no way be ignored by a real student of it.

Methods of Teaching

When this department was opened more than three and a half decades ago, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee seems to have thought that neither of the two methods of teaching, indigenous or traditional and modern, should be ignored, but both of them should be given their proper places in the University. Thus in spite of the fact that there was such an institution for Sanskrit education, as the Sanskrit College, so well-known in the country, he created this department in the University and appointed two distinct classes of teachers, one belonging to the orthodox group trained on the traditional line, among them being some renowned Pandits of the Sanskrit College, and the other knowing English, in other words, some M.A.s in Sanskrit, who were supposed only for their knowledge of English to have been familiar, or to become so gradually with the modern method. At first the teaching work of these latter class teachers was very light, being for one or two hours a week, as they were mainly advised by the great architect of the Post-Graduate studies, I mean, Sir Asutosh, first to prepare themselves, so that they might do full justice to their students by their extensive and intensive studies, specially in modern researches on Sanskrit and Sanskritic subjects.

Having arranged thus Sir Asutosh entertained a hope that students even from Oxford would come to this University to learn Sanskrit. But this pious hope of his is not yet fulfilled, nor is there any possibility of its being so, as the present condition shows.

Unscientific Methods of Teaching

Our Sanskrit students are generally not made acquainted with the modern researches of their subjects. Because most of the teachers who were meant specially for the department and were supposed to have been familiar with the subject are in reality not so, nor have they made any serious attempt for becoming so. Consequently in this respect there is, in fact, no difference between the orthodox and modern classes of teachers. I am afraid the majority of the members of the teaching staff of the department are indifferent to the question. And so, speaking truly, the traditional method, too, is not followed properly. Again, the two distinct classes of teachers noted above do not or cannot work harmoniously. For only that teacher who is fully conversant with both the methods referred to above can teach a student well and adequately, but if the same subject is taught by different teachers quite in two different methods the consequence cannot be a good one.

Owing to such defects, the department cannot be regarded as imparting the knowledge either of a University or of a Sanskrit Pathasala.

Prakrit as Essential to Sanskrit Scholarship

In the very beginning Sir Asutosh introduced into the Sanskrit Department also the study of Prakrit, and this shows his deep linguistic insight even at that time. Apart from the question of the high poetic or literary excellence of Prakrit I shall touch only a few other points with regard to its importance and utility. Now-a-days in our University, Prakrit is much neglected among the so-called Sanskritists, but that was not the case with our old teachers. The great Sanskrit poet Banabhatta could not begin his *Harsacharita* composed in Sanskrit, without praising first Prakrit poems, such as *Setubandha* of Pravarasena, and the *Gathasaptasati* of Satavahana. The renowned Sanskrit poets, such as Subandhu in the *Vasavadatta,* Banabhatta in the *Harsacharita,* Dandin in the *Kavyadarsa,* and Dhananjaya in the *Dasarupaka* enthusiastically extol the *Brihat-katha* (Great Story) of Gunadhya, originally composed in a Prakrit called *Paisachi.* Unfortunately, it is now extinct. But there are three reductions of this great work in Sanskrit by old teachers. Unlike the present time, none was in the past regarded as a Sanskritist without the knowledge of Prakrit. Prakrit was evidently in old days a compulsory subject for a Sanskrit student. It is to be noted that Sanskrit dramas are composed not exclusively in Sanskrit, but partly also in Prakrit, and

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sometimes more than one kind of Prakrits are employed therein. The author of the *Sahityadarpana*, Visvanatha Kaviraja, who was regarded as 'the Helmsman in the Ocean of Literature,' (*Sahityarnava-karnadhara*) knew not less than eighteen languages, and extols himself, poetically saying of the fact that he was a devoted master of eighteen languages just like a paramour much attached to a number of his courtesans, of these eighteen languages except one, *i.e.*, Sanskrit, all others were Prakrit. His father, the author of the *Bhasarnava* (the Ocean of Languages) was also a master of varieties of Prakrit. The renowned poet Rajasekhara was famous as a master of all languages (*Savvabhasachaura*, i.e., *Sarvabhasachatura*) including, of course, different kinds of Prakrit along with Sanskrit. Celebrated authors of Sanskrit grammar are found also to have been the authors of Prakrit grammars, such as Hemachandra, Kramadisvara, and Purusottama.

Our rhetoric literature in Sanskrit also shows that one devoid of the knowledge of Prakrit is not thoroughly conversant with that branch of literature.

The importance of Prakrit can in no way be ignored. One may become a great Vedantist or a Mimamsist without the least knowledge of Prakrit, but it may sound strange to some that without the knowledge of Prakrit a Sanskritist is no Sanskritist in fact, for such a person cannot fully or accurately explain numerous points in the Sanskrit texts before him. Often one takes recourse to such statements as *arsaprayoga* 'employment of the Sages,' as beyond the range of rules of an ordinary grammar, or *Chhandasa* 'Vedic' meaning thereby that like a Vedic speech, the particular point cannot be restricted by ordinary rules of a grammar.

Scholars know that even the speech of the Rigveda and the Upanishada is full of Prakritism or dialectual mixture. As regards the language of the Epics, Puranas, Tantras, etc., the influence of Prakrit on Sanskrit is tremendous.

Wrong Method of Teaching Sanskrit Dramas

In this connexion I should like to point out a most defective method of teaching our Sanskrit dramas even in some of the University classes. It will be seen that the Prakrit portions of a drama are taught by teachers not reading the original Prakrits, but the corresponding Sanskrit *chhayas, i.e.,* approximate Sanskrit renderings. And this is obviously due to the utter negligence of teachers for Prakrit. Consequently the students, though they may come out successful in their examinations even with First Class, will hardly be able to teach the subject adequately, when they will be employed as teachers in a college in future. Thus there will follow an uninterrupted tradition of teaching which is detrimental to Sanskrit learning.

Besides, it is evident that when a thing is devoid of its own essence it can in no way keep its own merits. If milk coagulates, it invariably changes its taste. Similarly if Prakrit is rendered into Sanskrit the former loses all its beauty and charm, it cannot be expressed in words, but is to be felt only by one who has the deep insight into the subject, just like the difference of the sweetness of such things as milk, sugar, honey, etc.

Here the poetical remark of the great Prakritist Rajasekhara as in the prologue to his *Karpuramanjari* may be quoted:

> "The composition in Sanskrit is harsh, while that in Prakrit is tender; the difference between them is just like that between a man and a woman."

Now let one form one's own estimate regarding the difference between the originals and their corresponding *chhayas* in Sanskrit dramas with which we are concerned here.

In this actual state of things in the University, I am much surprised to see in the revised syllabus of the department that while such a subject as the "general principles of *Indian Politics*" is made a compulsory one for all the students, Prakrit is ignored altogether, though, it may be noted in this connexion that it is a compulsory subject in different Universities here in the country and abroad.

It may also be observed that by not making Prakrit a compulsory subject of studies Buddhist Sanskrit texts, so many in number, such as the *Mahavastu*, etc., various inscriptions and documents are simply made sealed books to most of our students. We cannot also allow our students to remain ignorant of the canonical literature of the Jains, composed in Prakrit. The authorities may now think over the matter calmly and carefully about my insistence on the value and importance of Prakrit as a subject to be taught along with Sanskrit in our University.

The Vedic Literature

It is quite befitting for our country that we have the provision for teaching the Vedic literature. But it is to be regretted that not a single Vedic scholar worth special mention has yet been produced in the province after the establishment of the department.

That no student can here make a *padapatha* from the *Samhita-patha*, and *vice-versa*, nor is he able to recite a single line with proper accents from the Rigveda which is one of his text-books, is to be much regretted, thinking specially that ours is an Indian University, students reading here are Indian and the subject taught is also Indian.

The Modern Interpretation

Our students must first know how we the Indians interpret our Vedas, but undoubtedly they require something more without which they cannot do. They

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must not be allowed to remain ignorant of the modern interpretation put on the Vedic words by Savants, both of the Orient and the Occident. One may or may not accept such interpretation as always true, but one must know what all views really are, and they must either accept or refute them by advancing reasonable arguments.

The Ideas of Vedic Sacrifices

A considerable portion of the Rigveda with the commentary of Sayana dealing with different Vedic rites or sacrifices is prescribed as compulsory for all the students of the different groups, specially for those of the B or Vedic group. In order to give them some ideas of old sacrifices there are collected in the department some Vedic utensils, so that a teacher may deliver some lectures on them demonstrating therewith, so far as possible. There is no want of such a competent teacher yet this lecturing is now unfortunately stopped and as it appears under the present circumstances all the utensils will erelong be removed from the Sanskrit department to that of Anthropology.

The Avesta

Again so far as Sanskrit and specially the Vedic Sanskrit is concerned, our students cannot shut up their eyes to the language of the Avesta. And so a few years back, a small text-book of it was prescribed at least in the Vedic group, but unfortunately in the revised syllabus it is cancelled to the immense loss to the students. This among other things clearly shows that the department has now begun to follow a regressive course. Authorities should, therefore, keep a cautious eye on it. In the field of knowledge such consideration of something as being Indian or non-Indian, or Aryan and Mlechha and action, in accordance with it, of accepting or rejecting that thing are simply suicidal.

At least I can in no way comprehend what harm can the Avesta as a language do to Sanskrit or a Sanskrit student.

The Syllabus

As regards the syllabus in general it requires much modification, but here only a few points may be touched refraining from prolixity:

(i) *Vedanta*: One may observe here that though there are so many systems of Vedanta only those of Sankara and Ramanuja are represented in the syllabus, there being even no mention whatsoever of others. Consequently the students are deprived of the benefit of knowing the origin, growth and mutual relation or comparative views of all of them.

(ii) *Buddhist and Jain Logics*: In the Nyaya-Vaisesika group, so far as the Indian logic is concerned a glaring omission is made by completely ignoring the Buddhist and Jain logics, the contributions of which are so great and are for so much glory of the country. It is to be regretted that an Indian student of Indian logic should know absolutely nothing of them.

(iii) *Sanskrit Grammar*: As regards Sanskrit grammar, though the syllabus is high-sounding, it will be admitted on all hands that the teaching of the subject in the department is not satisfactory at all, and it is well-known in the University circle, and felt acutely by the students themselves. Certainly it is due not so much to anything else as to the text-book prescribed for it. The Board may, therefore, consider if the defect can be removed by recommending the *Kasika* in place of the present book. Undoubtedly the former will enable a student to have a firm footing in the subject, helping him thereby much in a very easy way in understanding Panini, which can in no way be overlooked, as it is not merely a grammar but also a rich mine of valuables.

It may be suggested that in preparing the syllabus, attention should first be paid more to the detailed subjects to be studied than to the text-books. This will be more helpful both to the teachers and the students alike. And it goes without saying that in making the syllabus specially with reference to Indian philosophy, Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, the well-known author of the *Syllabus of Indian Philosophy in the University*, may be followed with much benefit.

Tibetan and Chinese in Relation to Sanskrit

As a Sanskritist I remember here again Sir Asutosh for his introduction of Tibetan and Chinese into the University, sowing thereby a seed of restoration of the invaluable treasure of the Sanskrit lore in most cases now lost in its original form, but fortunately still lying mainly in Tibetan and Chinese. This fact may not generally be known to most of us, but let one cast a glance on Bunio Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka* (Oxford, 1883), and P. Cordier's *Catalogue of the Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur, i.e.*, the Speeches of the Buddha himself and of those of the old Buddhist teachers dealing mainly with religion and philosophy (*Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain du la Bibliotheque Natinale*, Paris, 1909, 1915). There is a number of translations in Tibetan also of Sanskrit works on various secular subjects, such as *Kavya Alankara, Vyakarana, Nyaya*, etc. For instance, *Meghaduta, Kavyadarsa, Panini*, etc.

This Sanskrit treasure, though originally of India, is now of the world, as shown by its own position held over all the advanced lands of the world. No Indian can rest idle until and unless these works are restored, or retranslated, or their contents are made known in any way. Difficult is the work, no doubt, but the labours of modern scholars show that it is not absolutely impossible. One may refer here to the *Abhidharmakosa* of Vasubandhu edited, annotated and translated into French by the late Prof. Lois de la Vallee Poussin utilizing among others the materials mainly from Tibetan and Chinese sources.

It is, therefore, our incumbent duty for getting

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back our lost treasures from Tibetan and Chinese, to encourage and engage our young and energetic students, both of colleges and Sanskrit Pathasalas alike, for taking up, in right earnest, the studies of Tibetan and Chinese, and this is to be done in relation to Sanskrit.

Here, again, comes to my mind Sir Asutosh, as he himself gave the first start to such a work in the University. On December, 1921, Prof. Sylvain Levi as the first Visiting Professor, came to Santiniketan. The Visva-Bharati was formally established at that time. Sir Asutosh then placed Dr. P. C. Bagchi, then a lecturer in the Department of Indian History and Culture of the University, under him. Professor Levi trained him specially in Sino-Indian studies for a few years, Sir Asutosh meeting through the University all sorts of expenses for him and his publications as noted below. While in Paris with Prof. Levi he edited two old Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionaries (*Fan yu Tsa Ming* of Li Yen and *Fan yu Ts'in Tscu Wen* of yi-Tsing). These dictionaries were mainly meant for the Chinese people who wanted to read Sanskrit. We have also much to learn from them. These two volumes are published by our University from Paris under the title: *Sino-Indica: Publications de l'Universite de Calcutta*. Besides, in the same series Dr. Bagchi wrote in French another two volumes entitled *Le Canon Buddhique en Chine* being the Catalogue of Buddhist saints in China.

We may think here over the nature of the work of translation in the past, and the number of men to whom the work was entrusted extending over centuries. It was simply surprising, yet it was finished. And if it was possible in that time why is it not to be so in the present? And if the Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian peoples having studied Sanskrit could translate the works into their respective languages, why cannot the Indian people do the similar work in the present days?

It goes without saying that the liberal help from the State is a great factor in such performances, without which no encouraging attempt can be made on such work in a large scale. Unfortunately neither the state nor the University pays any serious attention to it. But this condition of things should no longer be allowed to continue when the country is independent.

Language Classes

It is now known to us all that language classes in Tibetan and Chinese are being held in the University. It is good undoubtedly. I feel inclined to believe that this has been done probably with a view to meeting the political, commercial, economical, or some similar requirements of the people. But the authorities of the present University and those who are interested in Sanskrit can never remain complacent until and unless there is the complete restoration from those sources of the lost Sanskrit works, referred to above.

A Note of Warning

In connection with the Tibetan and Chinese works I should like to strike a note of warning to the authorities of the University requesting them humbly to be careful about the keeping of the rare and valuable books in the Library. Once a big collection of the Chinese *Tripitaka* of the Sanghai edition was completely eaten up by moths and whiteants. Again, when I was directed to arrange the Tibetan works in Xylographs and manuscripts deposited in an obscure corner of the Darbhanga Buildings, they were found not to have been kept properly.

It is to be specially noted that there is in the University a number of Tibetan manuscripts, *viz.*, of the *Prajnaparamitas* written in gold and silver. They are *extremely* rare. If they are somehow or other lost, there is hardly any hope to replace them in any way.

Preservation of a Vidya ('Science')

En passant it may be observed that if a most important, yet much neglected *vidya* or science is acquired from a foreign land it must be preserved by all possible means, so that none should take again the same trouble for its acquirement. The preservation of a particular branch of knowledge is nothing but to offer an opportunity to the man eager for acquisition of it, so that a school of teachers and students may be created to work properly. Here every one interested in the University will be glad to know that such a scholar with a study experience of about ten years, so far as the Sino-Sanskrit studies are concerned, is among the students of the Sanskrit department itself. He has recently returned from China where he went as a Government scholar. The University will be a gainer if such a scholar could be given a suitable appointment in the Department.

Sino-Sanskrit Studies

In connection with the Sino-Sanskrit studies Sir Asutosh appointed here one Prof. Yamakami Sogen of Japan for delivering some lectures on Buddhism mainly from Chinese and Japanese sources. These lectures are embodied in a volume entitled *Systems of Buddhist Thoughts* and published (1912) by the University.

Tibeto-Sanskrit Studies

A few years back in the University Tibeto-Sanskrit studies were taken up seriously and rather in a short time a few Tibeto-Sanskrit books were published therefrom, *viz.*, Dandin's *Kavyadarsa* with both the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions and *Hetutattvopadesa* of Jitari, a work on Buddhist logic, being restored in Sanskrit from Tibetan by containing both the versions.

Incidentally it may be mentioned here that long before it, it is again owing to Sir Asutosh that two more Tibetan works one a grammar and the other a dictionary, *viz.*, *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language*

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by H. B. Hanna (1912) and *An English-Tibetan Dictionary* by Lama Dawasamdup Kazi (1919) were published from the University.

French and German

It is well-known that as in other subjects so in the field of Sanskrit, too, the contributions made by French and German scholars are by no means negligible. High scholarship even in Sanskrit is therefore not complete without the knowledge of those two languages. It is difficult to study Sanskrit thoroughly without keeping up-to-date information from the researches of foreign scholars. Therefore for a University student those two continental languages, at least one of them, must be made compulsory, without any further delay.

The Achievement of the Department

Here is a pertinent question and every one interested in the University would like to have an answer to it. Since the establishment of the department an enormous sum of money amounting to about fifty thousand a year is spent for its maintenance. But excepting the passing of some students in the M.A. examination what is the contribution of the department to Sanskrit learning taking the teachers individually or collectively? Has it produced a single page that can be considered as essential to or indispensable for learning Sanskrit, even just like Jacob's *Concordance to the Principal Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita*, which is merely a mechanical work, not to speak of such monumental books as the *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by Monier Williams? The public demands a reply.

The Works Proposed and Undertaken

One would also like to know as to what has become of the *Darsanamahakosa or the Encyclopaedia of Indian Philosophy in Sanskrit*. The scheme of it was formally presented to the President, Council of the Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts by Sir Radhakrishnan who declared: "If it is completed it will immortalize the University." Unfortunately it has been given up.

Similar is the fate also of some useful works that were undertaken, such as *Sankhya-yoga-kosa* and *Kalidasa-kosa, i.e.,* (i) *A Concordance to Samkhya-Yoga*, and (ii) *A Dictionary of Kalidasa.*

These were being prepared by a Union of teachers and students, present and old, belonging to our University as well as to other institutions. There was no arrangement of any remuneration for this work, yet the output was considerable. Much enthusiasm was evinced specially by the students. But as ill luck would have it, these works could not progress much. If the schemes alluded to above are not commendable and as such are rejected, new ones could easily be made. But this, too, is not being done. We also hear nothing now about the already started *Asutosh Sanskrit Series*, nor of the manuscripts for which a separate man is appointed. But let us hope that both of them are being continued.

We were discussing the achievement of the department through useful works by our teachers, which may justify their own appointment there. But there may not be any commendable or useful literary work produced by a teacher, yet his appointment may be quite justifiable if his teaching is of extraordinary quality. We should feel proud of such a teacher whom in the word of Yaska we may rightly style as a *nidhi-gopa* (protector of a treasure). But there are not many such teachers in the University.

Too Many Teachers

Many new part-time lecturers have recently been appointed though not a single new subject is added to the syllabus and naturally to accommodate all these old and new teachers, necessity was keenly felt to increase the number of classes to be taken by them even on Saturdays and for six hours a day in contravention of the time-honoured convention of the department, which was introduced solely for the benefit of students. Once the then President of the Council of the Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, having come to know that classes were then being held for *eighteen hours a week* strongly expressed his disapproval in the following words:

> "Do you want to kill the students? Have you forgotten that they are Post-Graduate students? They are not only to attend classes, but also to make private studies by reading in the library! When will they do so?"

Comment is not necessary.*

Constant Change of Necessity

As regards the necessity of the department there is a constant change. Applications are invited from candidates for a particular subject, but the appointment is invariably made for another subject. This has become a practice in the department, as is well-known in the University circle for the last few years. But why so?

Some Practical Suggestions

Finally, apart from the question of the acceptance of the modfiications suggested above it may be taken into serious consideration, under the present circumstances, if the teaching of some of the subjects common to both the department and the Sanskrit College, such as *Veda-Vedanta, Nyaya-Vaisesika, Sankhya-Yoga* and *Smrti-Mimamsa* can be arranged in the Sanskrit College only as there is hardly any remarkable difference in this respect in these two institutions. Now let the authorities and the old and new friends of the University ponder over calmly and seriously on what is really good for it and act accordingly, so that it may bring about the actual "Advancement of Learning" for which it stands.

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* Since then the routine has been changed.

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MECHANISATION OF AGRICULTURE

By "KISHAN"

Mechanisation of agriculture began when man used his first primitive tool to grow crops. Animal power was introduced and machines were improved. With the invention of tractors, the designing and improvement of machinery took a new turn and this new turn has brought revolutionary progress in agriculture. Now-a-days by mechanisation of agriculture we generally mean this later stage of development, *i.e.*, the use of power-driven machinery.

Aim of Mechanisation

Increase in economic efficiency is the primary aim of mechanisation. Effiiciency is measured by the ratio of output to input. The main inputs in agriculture are measured in the form of land, labour and capital. Capital includes outlay on homesteads, livestocks, deadstocks, fertilizers, seeds, irrigation facilities, machinery, etc. All these affect output directly as also indirectly by affecting land and labour. The last two also affect the output directly. Let us see how far are these affected by mechanisation.

It is still a debatable point whether mechanisation in agriculture increases the output per unit of land. It has been seen that lands heavily infested with weeds yield better when tilled with power-driven machinery. This is, however, not the case when weed infestation is not very heavy. On the other hand, mechanised farms being large farms, and the farming system being extensive, the yield per unit of land is lower than small farms where farming system is usually intensive. This has been shown in a recent survey in England and Wales. In India in absence of proper statistics we may tentatively conclude that keeping other factors, such as manuring, irrigation, use of seeds and weed control constant , mechanisation alone does not affect the output per unit of land.

Output per unit of labour is, however, strikingly affected. By utilising the high power of tractors and with the help of time and labour saving devices of modern implements one can do the work of many. The requirement of labour is cut down. Hence the output per unit of labour is increased considerably; that means increase in the efficiency of labour.

On the other hand, output per unit of capital is lowered since the gross output remains the same whereas capital investment increases very much due to the use of costly machinery and increased expenditure in its running, maintenance, repair, depreciation and interest.

If the saving due to increase in efficiency of labour is more than the extra expenditure incurred on running, maintenance, repair, depreciation and interest, mechanisation will be financially successful. Otherwise it will fail.

Essential Pre-requisites

The factors which can bring about this condition are, therefore, essential pre-requisites for the success of mechanisation. Low pressure of population, scarcity of labour, high wage level and high economic standard are some of these. In addition, the people should be enterprising and mechanically minded. In Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Argentina and Russia, mechanisation is successful for these reasons.

In densely populated European countries like Germany and U.K., high industrial development has created shortages in agricultural workers. In thickly populated countries industrial development brings about conditions suitable for mechanisation. In U.S.A., there is vast land compared to its population and industries are also highly developed. The result is that mechanisation has reached a very high stage of development in that country.

Conditions in India

India is thickly populated. Absence of suitable occupation in other directions during the last 200 years has compelled most of the ever-growing population to work on land. Hence we find the small scattered holdings of peasants who are hardly productively employed more than half the period in a year. People are backward educationally. Low economic standard has kept the general mass far away from the modern scientific achievements. That is why they are not mechanically minded. Physical and mental impoverishment have left them anything but enterprising. Due to inflation wage level is rising. Labour is very dear. People who farm by hired labour have been hard hit. Those who have got large blocks of lands are now in search for tractors. The peasants who work their own land do not pay for labour in cash and therefore do not feel the bad effect of increasing wage so much. The condition is, therefore, favourable to mechanisation but the obstacles, such as overpopulation in agriculture, low average income and absence of mechanical mindedness have yet to be overcome.

Overpopulation in Agriculture

Collective farming on co-operative lines is sometimes the remedy suggested for small holdings. Those who have attempted consolidation of holdings in India, know the difficulties due to social customs, ignorance and illiteracy. Then again, the introduction of co-operative farming particularly on mechanised lines will

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increase the efficiency of labour, there is considerably the number of men required for farming the consolidated block. Either all of them will work and derive their income from this consolidated block, meaning thereby, that each individual owner does not gain much in the form of increased income, or a very small number of men will derive increased income at the cost of others. The question is where to find the employment for these displaced persons. If it could not be found, general introduction of mechanised farm on co-operative lines may not succeed. Russia is often cited as an example of the success of mechanisation on co-operative lines. In Russia, however, there is enough land to keep the whole population fully occupied in agriculture alone. In India even if all the available land is ploughed up it will not raise the average holding appreciably.

The alternative suggestion is to go in for industrialisation (both factory and cottage) to absorb persons displaced from the land. At present in India roughly 69 p.c. of the population depend on agriculture for sustenance. England with less pressure of population only engage 6 p.c. of the population in this line. To reach the standard of mechanisation of England, and that is not very high compared to other advanced countries, over 60 p.c. of our population should be employed elsewhere. And 60 p.c. of our teeming millions is a fairly large number for our industry to absorb within the next 100 years. Still this is the only line of approach to bring about a radical solution of our problem, the problem of unemployment which is frustrating all our attempts for agricultural progress in this country.

Technical Efficiency of Machines

Success of mechanisation depends to a great extent on the technical efficiency of the machines, since on it, depends the extent of labour that can be cut down for a given work. Machines that are on the market are mostly designed to suit the country of manufacturers and therefore fit in well with their crops, system of cropping and the environmental conditions. These differ widely from what we find in many parts of India. As such many of these machineries cannot cut down labour to the extent they should do. There are certain distinct stages of operation from the time a land is ploughed up till the crop is made ready for marketing. These distinct stages are broadly: preparation of the land, sowing, intercultivation, harvesting and post-harvesting operations. The nature of operation depends on the type of crop and the local practice of growing it. The latter in most cases is the product of environment. Requirement of labour also differs in different stages according to above. It is generally high for intercultivation and harvesting stages. For certain crops sowing and post-harvesting operations also require a fairly large number of labourers. The machines that are available at present can fairly efficiently cut down the labour required for preparation of land and sowing. In some cases harvesting and post-harvesting work can also be done mechanically quite efficiently. In many cases the present mechanical aid can do very little to replace manual labour in sufficient numbers. Take for instance, the crop of jute grown so widely in Bengal. Weeding, harvesting and post-harvesting work cannot be done mechanically for want of suitable machines. In this particular crop, expenditure for those works will account for 90 per cent of the total expenditure on labour head. Similarly in the case of transplanted *aman* paddy mechanical help can do very little to reduce puddling and transplanting cost. At the time of harvesting, if the land goes dry, machines can be used but that not without difficulty. In the case of *aus* paddy mechanical intercultivation work will not be possible unless a suitable drill is designed and the crop is sown in rows instead of broadcasting it. Then again, at the time of harvesting *aus* paddy, there is usually rain and the land remains too wet to receive any heavy machinery. In Bengal, with the present machinery and with the present system of cropping, a very high level of efficiency in general, cannot be expected since the performance of the machines with regard to two of the major crops, paddy and jute, is low.

To be efficient mechanically either such crops should be grown as fit in with the present machinery, or cropping system and designing of the machines should be so altered that crops, cropping system and the machines fit in with each other. To do that extensive field trials and research work are necessary. The urgency of this line of work cannot be overemphasised since it is the high performance of the machines which can increase the output of work per unit of labour, so essential to make mechanisation financially successful.

Decrease in Capital Outlay

It has been said before that mechanisation decreases the output per unit of capital. Every attempt, therefore, should be made to decrease the capital outlay. The price of tractors and machinery should be lowered. At present the price of tractors and machinery is very high in the world market. Over and above a heavy amount is paid as freight, duty, clearing and insurance charges, in addition to the profit charged by the local dealers. All these sometimes increase the cost by over 60 to 70 per cent. Development of industry to manufacture these in India will cut down these costs and will thus help towards mechanisation with these costly machines, every attempt should be made to select only those which can be put to economic use. At present the public has to depend entirely on the dealers and therefore machines are sold mostly on advertisement and salesmanship.

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Investigations, therefore, should be made to find out the suitability of machines of every kind and make that are on the market so that the ordinary public may not suffer for wrong selection. In U. K., the National Institute of Agricultural Engineering is meant for these purposes. The machines which have been purchased should be maintained properly so that they may not fail when needed. Agricultural machinery work under rough and difficult conditions. Breakdown is, therefore, natural, particularly in our country where trained and skilled hands are so few. This occurs usually when the machines are at work and that is in busy seasons when they are needed most. Quick repair is, therefore, of utmost importance. This greatly depends on the ready availability of spare parts. While in advanced countries there are spare parts and repair shops almost in all county towns, in India this facility is available only in two or three important cities. One has to wait several weeks before one can get the help. Sometimes, and this happens fairly frequently, the part required is not in stock and in such cases one has no alternative but to keep the machine idle for several months. The position, therefore, should be improved by making spare parts and repair services available in at least all the provincial capitals. Incidentally it may be said, that the development of tractor and machine industry will solve the problem of spare parts.

Mechanisation in Small Holdings

As India is a country of peasant farmers there is often the idea of introducing baby tractors and equipments suitable for their small holdings. Several types of such machines are on the market. Most of these, if not all, depend on petrol for fuel supply. This means that the running cost is tremendously high in addition to the very high capital cost per unit of land. The cultivator, however, does not gain much by increasing all these costs. He reduces the labour cost and that mostly on account of preparation of land. For sowing intercultivation and harvesting the crops he usually grows, he will have to depend on manual labour. Furthermore, a peasant who is farming on subsistence level does not usually engage hired labour and therefore there will be no visible saving from mechanisation. After all a cultivator who is already under-employed does not gain anything by the help of costly time and labour saving devices. On the other hand, these small machines are suitable for market-garden crops. When such gardens are near large consuming centres the value of crops is high and at the same time labour is very dear. Higher capital and running costs, therefore, can be justified in such cases. The use of small machines, therefore, may be successful in market gardens but not in small holdings of the peasants which are usually grain farms.

Spheres of Success of Mechanisation

From what has been said before it appears that in general we will be at a low level of efficiency if mechanisation is adopted as such. There are, however, certain spheres where mechanisation will be of immense value. The big farms, which grow specially sugarcane, cotton, potato, wheat and big livestock farms which grow fodder, can very profitably go in for mechanisation. Machines for these crops will fairly efficiently cut down labour requirement and therefore will increase considerably the output of work per unit of labour.

There are wasteland areas which remain uncultivated since in most cases reclamation of these lands without proper mechanical aid is either impossible or involve heavy expenditures. Machines will do them at a very low cost but their job will be finished as soon as the land is reclaimed. It is, therefore, neither possible nor advisable for individual owners to buy these sets of machinery unless the area owned is large enough for the machines to be used for several years. Government and private parties can buy these sets of machinery and hire them out to the public. They will thus render a great national service and at the same time will receive good financial returns.

Conclusion

The economic aspect of mechanisation is sometimes overlooked. Mechanised agriculture is recommended very often since advanced countries have adopted it. It is forgotten that these countries have adopted it only because of economic reasons. It is primarily a natural consequence and not a cause. If in India conditions are made favourable, mechanisation will come in automatically. The main obstacles are under-employment in agriculture, low average income, low technical efficiency of imported machinery, high capital cost and running expenditure, absence of quick repair service, absence of trained men and absence of mechanical-mindedness amongst the general mass. Development of industry alone will remove the major obstacles. Other obstacles are not difficult to remove if the people so desire.

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COURTALLUM

Where Lord Vishnu Turned Lord Shiva

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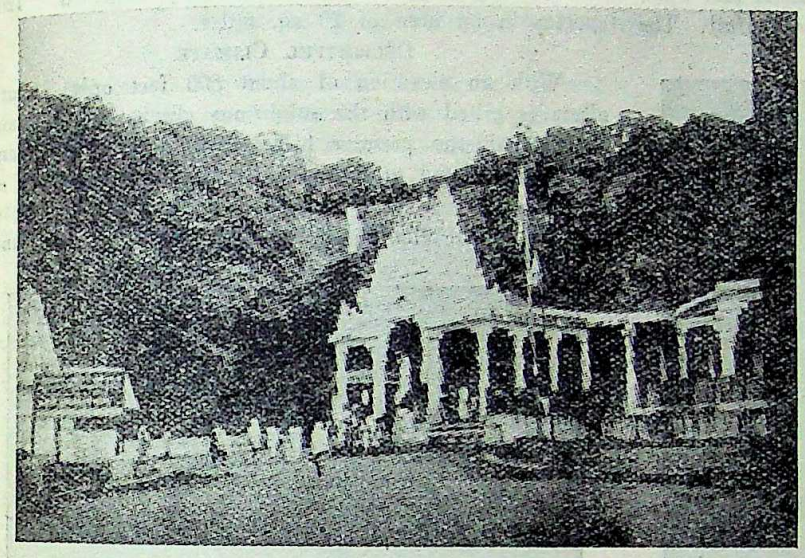
By O. S. KRISHNAMURTHY

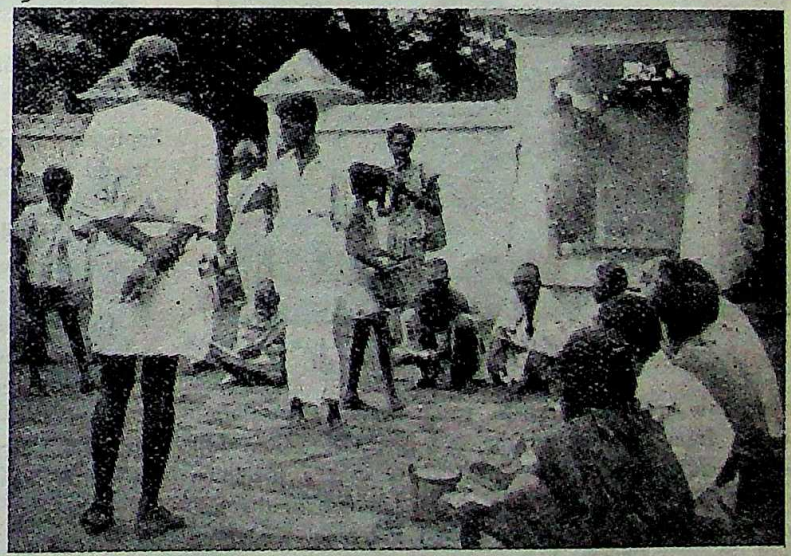
COURTALLUM, a very ancient place of Hindu pilgrimage in South India, lies at a distance of three miles from Tenkasi Railway Station in the Mathurai-Shenkottah line of the South Indian Railway. *Sthalapuranas* refer to this place by various names, such as Tiru-Courtallum, Kuttalum and Tirukudam.



The temple at Courtallum with the waterfall and picturesque landscape in the background

Courtallum is in proud possession of a beautiful shrine dedicated to Lord Shiva, the presiding deity being called Courtallaswamy (the Lord of Courtallum). The extant Tamil literature testifies to the antiquity of the temple and the local folklore narrates an interesting story about the origin of this temple. At the time of Lord Shiva's marriage in Mount Kailas, there was such a vast concourse at the gala function as to seriously disturb the balance of the earth and the South began to rise up. This situation created a sense of consternation in the minds of the Devas who ran up and reported the matter to Lord Shiva. At Lord Shiva's injunctions, Rishi Agastya, being the shortest figure known to Hindu mythology and having the stature of a thumb, went to the south and corrected the balance. During his peregrinations in the south, Agastya came to Courtallum where he found a temple dedicated to Lord Vishnu. Being a Shaivite, Rishi Agastya was refused entry into the shrine. With much chagrin, he went to the temple of Lord Subramania (son of Lord Shiva) nearby to seek his advice. Accepting his advice, Agastya returned the next day to the Courtallum temple with *namam* (Vaishnavite caste mark) and *Tulsi* beads and obtained an untrammelled admission into the *sanctum sanctorum*. By his touch he converted the idol of Lord Vishnu into Shivalingam.

The legend of Lord Vishnu turned Lord Shiva has gained wide currency in Tamil literature. Though much veracity cannot be attached to the magical touch of Rishi Agastya, the story itself cannot be summarily dismissed as the figment of the imagination of the Tamil *litterateur*. Those were the days of regular polemics in South India between Shaivites and Vaishnavites as to the superiority of their respective religious creeds. The ruling chiefs of the South were not free from these sectarian rancours and it is not improbable that a fanatic Shaivite king in his crusade against Vaishnavism wrought destructions to the temple dedicated to Lord Vishnu. In one such incursion the idol of Lord Vishnu at the Courtallum temple might have been replaced by a Shivalingam.



Mendicants swarm about the Courtallum temple for alms

WATERFALLS

Nowadays, Courtallum is chiefly remembered for its

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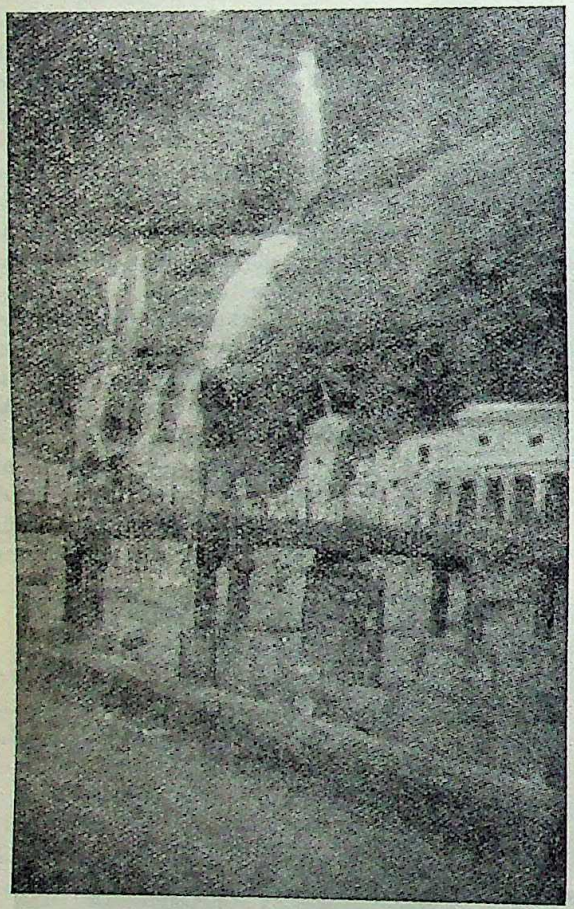
waterfalls—the bewitching beauty of this place. During the season which generally lasts from July to September, there is a considerable influx of visitors from all parts of Madras State and the Union of Travancore and Cochin. The Chittar (little river) or in its Sanskrit form, *Chitra Nadi* (beautiful river), being a tributary of River Tambraparni flowing in the extreme south, has its source in the hills above Courtallum. It reaches the plains at Courtallum after precipitating into a succession of beautiful cascades, the three main being *Then Arivi* (Honey Fall), *Shenbaga Arivi* and *Vada Arivi*, otherwise called the Courtallum waterfall. The



The famous Courtallum waterfall

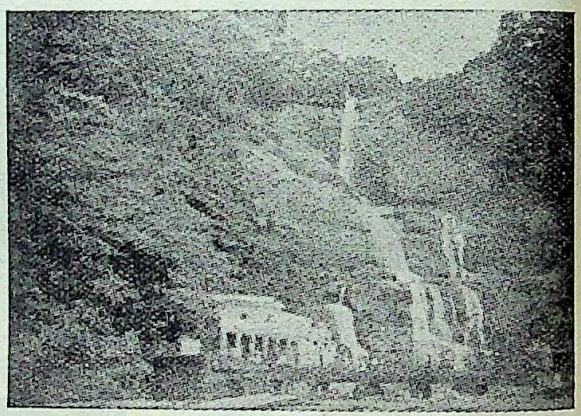
former two are within easy reach from Courtallum. Viewing from the foot of the fall, the Courtallum fall rushes headlong from the jungle above over a precipice of about 180 feet. A few feet above the base of the hill there is a pool 30 feet deep called Ponguma Kadal or the 'boiling sea' into which water from the top plunges in. Presumably the pool was carved slowly in the surface of the rock by the constant beating of water from immemorial times; and this check on the way retards the velocity of water reaching the base where all classes of people delight to bathe. This is the cascade which evoked the praise of the Right Rev. Caldwell, the famous Christian missionary, who said, "It may be asserted without risk of exaggeration that Courtallum is the finest freshwater bathing place in the world."

Picturesque Scenery

The jungle scenery which abounds in this place is extremely fascinating. Courtallum is a cynosure for plant-collectors and the forest is reputed to possess about two thousand species of flowering plants. Dr. Wight who explored the region in the beginning of the last century seemed to have actually collected 1200 species in an area of 20 sq. miles.

Delightful Climate

With an elevation of about 500 feet only, Courtallum is gifted with the salubrious climate of Ooty and Kodaikanal, the premier hill-stations of the South and this is attributed to the very location of Courtallum on the southern arm of a deep gap in the Western Ghats. The winds of the south-west monsoon during June-



The Courtallum waterfall with landscape on both sides

September and the north-east monsoon during October-December blowing through the rains falling on the Ghats reduce the temperature of this place and substitute for sand storms and stormy winds a cool and delightful breeze.

Sanatorium and a Place of Tourist Traffic

Courtallum is a rendezvous not only for pilgrims and philosophers but also for convalescing patients. It has been recognised as a Sanatorium from early times and was also a place of regular resort for Europeans during the British regime. The Report of the Medical Committee as early as 1811 stated:

> "What conduces much to the restoration of invalids at this singular abode is the waterfall under which most of the Europeans daily bathe. . . . . The falling of the water, after its first shock is over, gives an indescribable feeling of pleasure by its constant beating, it quickens the circulation and produces a fine glow all over the body."

Some years back the Tourist Traffic Committee was set up by the Government of India with a view to work out practical schemes for development, particularly of

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foreign tourist traffic and to show to the foreign tourists the best things in Indian life, past and present. Courtallum has a wealth of attraction to offer to the tourists—the temple of historical importance, the fine cascades, an infinite variety of scenery and a wholesome climate. However, amenities at present available for foreigners such as accommodation, catering of meals in the western style, conveyance, publicity, provision of basic information, etc., are far below the standard and need improvement all round.

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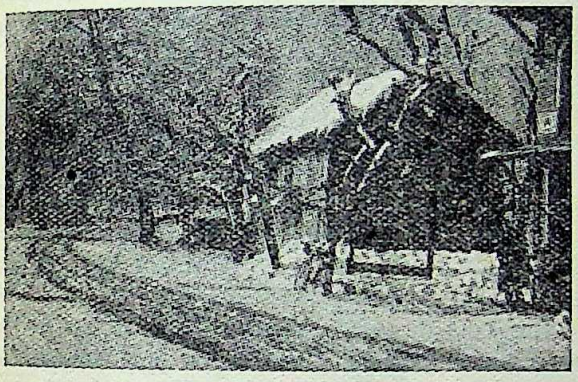
CLIMATIC CHANGES IN KASHMIR

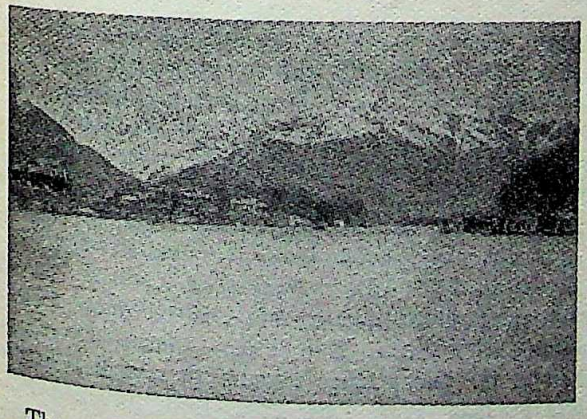
By R. L. MEHTA, M.A. (Hist.), M.Sc. (Geol. & Geog.)

The intermontane valley of Kashmir is a perfect natural region as it has been carved out by nature as a separate physiographic unit amidst the largest mountain ranges of the world, the Himalayas. It has a typical relief,



The valley is now passing through a temperate cycle of climate
Photo by Dutta Studios

characteristic rainfall and vegetation as well as a distinct culture of its people which they have gradually evolved through course of centuries.



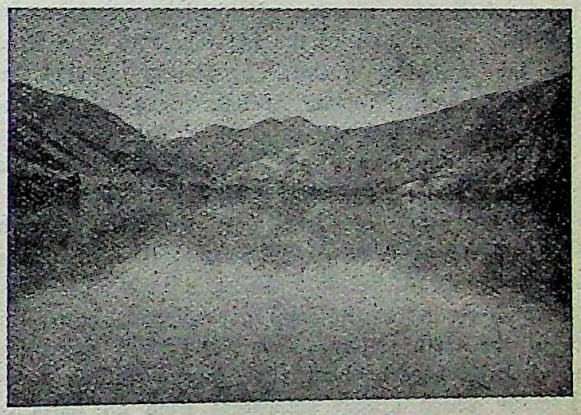
The embankment of the Jhelum, on which stately houses stand, runs along its course
Photo by Royal Photo House

There have been marked changes in the climates of the valley of Kashmir since time immemorial as in other parts of the world and this scientific truth is writ large on the pages of its natural history.

In the past and present there have been many changes in climates of the different parts of the world. Old men have often been heard saying that when they were children they used to experience "intensity of cold during winter season" or "intensity of warmth in hot weather."

Tourists and travellers, geologists and geographers like Visher and Huntington who set out to study the past climates of a vast part of Central Asia have made numerous scientific observations regarding Kashmir.

The valley of Kashmir has experienced all those climatic changes as witnessed by Northern Europe and



The mountain-girdled, serene lake of Manasbal formed part of a once mighty lake which filled the valley from end to end
Photo by Royal Photo House

North America in the great glacial ages as well as the interglacial periods. The morainic matter at the base of the Mahadev mountains beyond Harvan, about 20 miles from Srinagar bears testimony to the fact that the adjoining mountains of Srinagar were, once upon a time, buried under a thick covering of snow and ice that moved in the form of glaciers. This was in the glacial epoch when northern Europe and British Isles were covered under a huge mantle of ice and snow and formed part of the Arctic glaciers. Even the profiles of the Kolahai valley that contain enormous morainic stuff bear testimony to the fact that once they were thronged by numerous valley glaciers.

The interglacial periods in the valley, as in Europe and America, modified the rigours of climates of the

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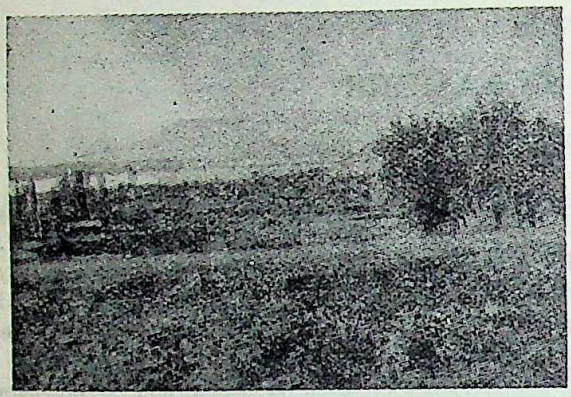
glacial periods into less cold and somewhat dry climatic cycles.

The most interesting climatic phenomenon has been that which occurred at the end of the glacial period but before the dawn of human history. This intermontane valley at that time had become a big lake of huge



Such stretches of water, not uncommon in the valley, prove beyond doubt that they are the shrunken remnants of the old lake
Photo by Dutta Studios

dimensions. In ancient books like *Rajatarangini* by Kalhana there is mention of this lake, Satisar. In fact, Satisar was a part of the big lake. As time went by this lake dwindled in size. The present lakes of the valley of Kashmir, Woolar, Anchar, Manasbal, Kokersar, Bod-dal, Lokut-dal are only the shrunken remnants of that once big lake which completely filled the valley from end to end.

Small deposits of lacustrine sediments known locally as Karewas, were formed in that lake where the valley streams entered into the main body of lake-waters and discharged its load of sediments into the quiet of the main waters. When the lake dried up, these deposits became land. The famous saffron fields of Pampur which attract sight-seers from all parts of the world lie over such deposits.

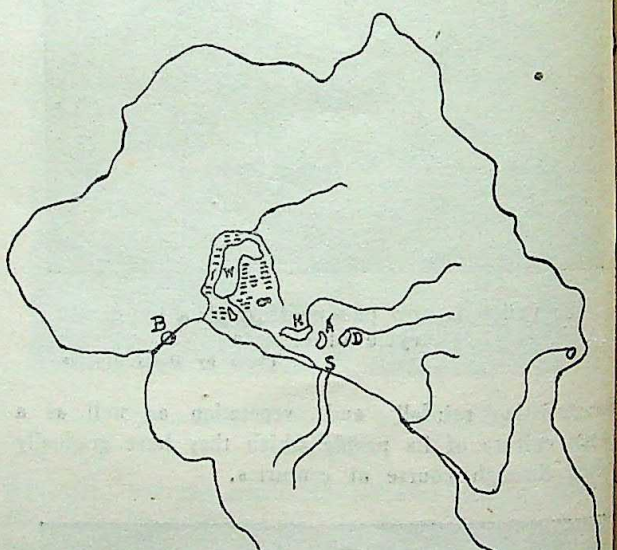
Modern researches into the past climates of the valley of Kashmir prove that in the early years of the Christian era the valley used to experience severity of cold, so much so that only wandering nomads would spend a couple of months in the interior of the valley and that, too, only in midsummer.

In the early centuries of the Christian era the climate of the interior of the valley was more humid and malarial. One reason was that the Jhelum used to branch into distributaries and consequently mosquitoes bred. The settlements although sparsely populated, were malaria-ridden. Thanks to Raja Parvarsena, who, with the help of his people, got dug up one main channel for the branching river. Into this channel the flow of the Jhelum was diverted. The embankments that border the channel of the Jhelum even to-day consist of the earth dug up from the main channel. These embankments or bunds known locally as *Sathu* flank the main river throughout its length in the valley. Since the day the river was diverted into the main channel the valley has practically become free from malaria.

It was in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., that the modern type of climate congenial to the cultural and material progress of the Kashmiri really began.

In the middle of the eighth century it rained so heavily in the Valley that the river Jhelum very often went in spate; the small lakes of the Valley spread in size; the villages were flooded with water; most of the land remained covered with water; houses collapsed and incalculable loss of cattle took place. In fact it was a climatic catastrophe of alarming proportions.

In middle ages Kashmir Valley again became a land of snow and ice and severe winters followed. The surface waters of the Jhelum in the years 1087 and 1088 A.D., became frozen up; means of communication were totally stopped and Kashmir became once again isolated from the Indian mainland.



Map of the Kashmir Valley
B—Baramula, S—Srinagar, V—Verinag, D—Dal Lake, W—Woolar Lake, A—Anchar Lake

Again in 1350 A.D. the valley of Kashmir passed through a temperate climate and established its cultural relations with India. But, these connections again severed at the end of the seventeenth century. In the winters of 1658, 1759, 1764, 1816, 1835, 1879 and 1895 the river froze. But the winter of 1759 was so severe that the Jhelum remained frozen till the end of March.

Now-a-days the Valley is passing through a temperate cycle of climate. Even in our own times it may be observed that in 1905 heavy floods inundated the Valley. The year 1928 witnessed heavy floodings in the Jhelum and elsewhere. The last one came in September, 1950

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when the whole of Ram Munshi Bagh became converted into a virtual lake. Even the ground floor of the Amar Singh Club remained submerged under water, five feet deep.

In May 1941 it was feverishly hot. In November 1942 it rained so heavily that a number of houses tumbled down into huge debris and enormous loss of life occurred. In 1943 the winter was so severe that even at such hot places as Udhampore precipitation occurred in the form of snow for some time. In that very year the surface waters of the Dal Lake became partially frozen where boats got stuck up.

Scientists like Humphrey, Tyndall, Chamberlain, Fusch, Kraft, Wegener, Brook, Huntington, Visher and Bruckner have advanced their theories regarding changes of climates in the past and in the present but Bruckner's observations have been most popular. According to him, changes in temperature, rainfall and pressure are universal, and they recur after every thirty-five or thirty-six years.

The complex science of the changes of climates in the Valley forms a fascinating and instructive study.

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OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY

That Gives the Disabled A New Start in Life

By M. B. S. RAO

As an aftermath of World War II, it is but heartening to see the advancement that the Social Security of many countries has made all the world over, in Europe, Russia and America, and also in South-East Asia. Great changes for the better have been noted in various spheres of life; and especially in the field of public health much has been done to the great relief of mankind, through research, adoption and adaptation on modern scientific lines. India, one of the foremost of Asiatic Nations, has not lagged far behind in this world's onward march.

These recurring wars have in their wake affected humanity disastrously. On account of the loss of thousands of male members in war, their widows have been left in utter destitution along with other dependents of their families. The bombing of cities and towns have left hundreds of children orphaned and uncared for, whilst thousands more have been left disabled due to war injuries and are in utter despair of their future. Unable to bear such inhuman sufferings of the war-scared remnants, Society and State co-operating with each other have tried in many ways to rehabilitate their miserable conditions.

The Disabled are At Present No Burden to Society or State

Go wherever you will, in the distant United States, Britain or Russia, you will see that the physically disabled are not burdensome burdens to either society or State at present, as they were before. For, the society, as well as the State, together provide for these unfortunates who have been disabled through illness, congenital defects and injuries caused by accidents or war. Particularly in the United States, the Social Security Act of 1935 passed by both the Houses of Congress has set up the Federal System of Old-Age Insurance, and provides for every State to start its own Unemployment Insurance Schemes with Federal aid for the financial assistance of the aged, the blind, the crippled and their dependent children and other relatives, and looks to their Health problems and Vocational rehabilitation. All this is, as laid down in the Atlantic Charter of Human Rights.

Such social facilities with wide popular support have resulted in the formation of various Social Service Agencies in U.S.A. So that, in 1950, the Government were able to provide for the employment of approximately six millions of its disabled people. This forms nearly ten per cent of the total number of its workers. All this was facilitated by a co-operative enterprise of 48 State Governments and the Vocational Rehabilitation Service Society Agencies. In England, the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act of 1944 passed by the British Parliament, promotes the employment of the disabled, offering them free required medicinal or other remedial treatments. This is all handled by the State's Labour Ministry, which looks after the financial and other problems of the disabled. Under the above Act of 1944, Britain was able to employ 29,500 of its disabled men and women after due remedial treatments and suitable vocational training.

Rehabilitation of the Disabled in India

In respect of the rehabilitation of its physically handicapped, India, the leading South East Asiatic country has not fallen back. During the recent post-war years the Metropolis of Bombay—the Gate-way of India—with the attainment of Independence has seen three Institutions of such a kind springing up. Of these, mention may be made of the School and Home for the Blind at Bombay, a scheme of the Tata School of Sociology and Economics; the next one being the Orthopaedic Hospital for crippled children

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at Mahalaxmi started by the Society for the Rehabilitation of Crippled Children, under the able and indefatigable social worker Mrs. Fatima Ismail. This has seen three years of active life in caring for crippled children. Whilst the third, the subject of this article, "The Occupational Therapy Training School and Clinic" of Bombay, is a pet project of another equally enthusiastic and enterprising lady Mrs. Kamala V. Nimbkar, for the benefit of the handicapped ones of this our country, India.

In the occupational therapy workshop at the King Edward Memorial Hospital, Bombay, a paralytic works a treadle

Occupational Therapy

Quite a unique system of remedial treatment, Occupational Therapy, is harnessed for the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped men, women and children, to whom it gives a new start in life, thus creating for them a sort of new existence from an otherwise dry and drab listless life of despair. This prevents them from brooding over their dismal destiny and staring at the ceiling, or enviously watching the able-bodied ones from their solitary windows. Hence, this sort of active life engaged in a useful employment helps them earn their own bread, as per the output of their work which depends on their physical or mental capacities. So, they are enabled to raise their heads in confidence and look to a blissful life that is "something, sweet, sound and serious."

Remedial Measures of Occupational Therapy

The Medical Fraternity has found by experiment, observation and research that, Occupational Therapy is a physical or mental activity prescribed as a valuable remedial measure to hasten the recovery of the disabled and for their rehabilitation. The remedial measures employed are the following:

1. Thorough Medical Examination that determines the extent of disability and the disabled person's capacity for work.
2. Counsel and guidance of the Therapists to assist them in choosing an occupation.
3. Surgical and psychiatric treatment to remove or reduce their disability.
4. Fitting of Artificial Limbs, Hearing aids, Trusses, Braces and other equipments of the like.
5. Specialised training in trade, business, or art schools and colleges under tutors or on-the-job instructions.
6. Maintenance and transportation during treatment and training process, tools, licences and other necessities needed to start the rehabilitant on his new job.
7. Follow-up contact with the disabled person to ensure that he is satisfied with his job and that his employer is satisfied with him.

The Occupational Therapy Training School and Clinic

The Occupational Therapy Training School and Clinic is located in the commodious premises of the King Edward Memorial Hospital, Parel, Bombay 12. It was founded by Mrs. Kamala V. Nimbkar in 1949, and is one of the first of its kind in the whole of South-East Asia. It is financed by both Mr. and Mrs. Nimbkar with their innate desire to serve the physically and mentally disabled of their country, and is running with success.

Mrs. Kamala V. Nimbkar A Genial Personality

Mrs. Kamala V. Nimbkar as the Director of the Occupational Therapy Institutoin looks after its all-round activities herself. She is by birth an American who has adopted this country as her own by right of her marriage with Mr. Nimbkar. Born at Mount Holly in New Jersey, her former name is Miss Elizabeth Lundy. She spent her childhood in Pennsylvania and after graduating from the Columbia University, she was for some time an Economist and Statistician in some business firm there. It was there and then, that she met Mr. Nimbkar and accompanied him to get married in India. This was about two decades ago. She has adopted all the various customs, etc., of her husband's people even in the matter of dress, and has

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taken great pains to learn the language of this country which brings her closer to the heart of its people.

Under such a genial personage as Mrs. Nimbkar who has adopted this country as her own, its disabled and despaired ones will find in her great relief and refuge, thereby, divertnig their minds from their dismal lot in life. Engaging themselves in suitable occupations taught to them with cheerful words and smiles of encouragement, they will find that life indeed is a great comfort. One will observe this from the great sigh of relief they find in her cheerful presence.

To assist Mrs. Nimbkar is Mrs. Gerda Boggild, a lady from Denmark who has a wide experience in Occupational Therapy work in her own country. To get such an equally genial lady to help her in her work in the service of the handicapped, is indeed very fortunate.

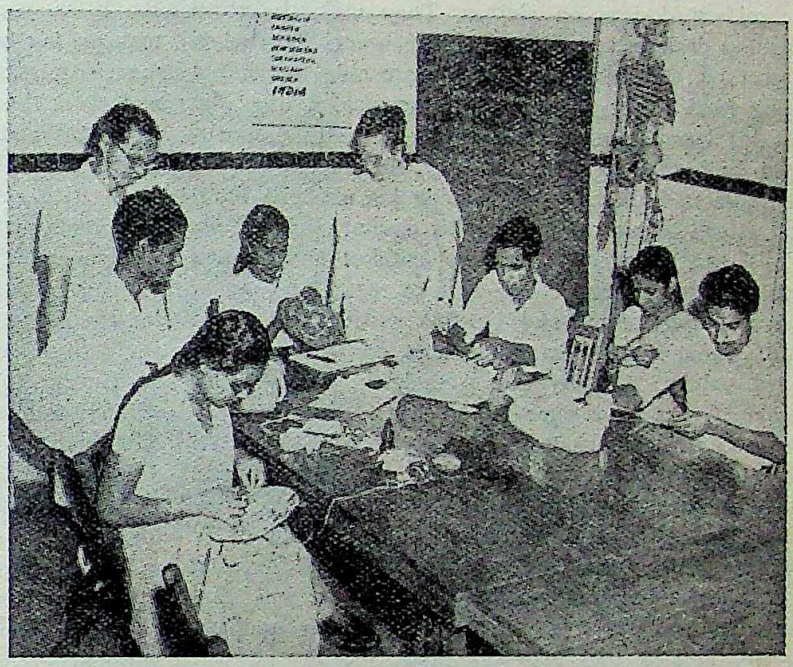
Life Begins at 45 for Mrs. Nimbkar

Life begins at 45 for Mrs. Kamala Nimbkar as it had begun for the late Mrs. Ford (senior) of the automobile industry. For, at such a period of her life she yearned to serve India's disabled through Occupational Therapy. Hence, proceeding to the country of her birth in her middle forties, she received training at the Occupational Therapy School, at Philadelphia. Thus, fully equipped in this novel system of remedial treatment for the handicapped ones, she travelled widely in her own country, as well as in England and Enrope. This gave her quite a familiar grasp of the practical sides of occupational therapy employed there and emboldened her to launch a school and clinic of her own to train personnel and to look after the rehabilitation of the disabled.

Training of Occupational Therapists

In 1949, through the financial help of Mr. Nimbkar, she founded the Occupational Therapy Training School and Clinic at the K.E.M. Hospital, Bombay. Although at the initial stages she met with obstruction and discouragement which usually such novel ventures have to meet, she overcame all these with tactful patience and received her first batch of eight students to be trained as full-fledged Occupational Therapists. Within three months of its inception, she observed much progress with her work. So that, at present the strength of the school is 17. All of these have to undergo a full two-years' course in theoretical and practical sides of Occupational Therapy.

The subjects which the would-be Occupational Therapists have to master consist of Anatomy, Pathology and Psychiatry, along with Social Hygiene, Old-Age Problems, effects of infectious diseases and corrective exercises. They are also expected to have a knowledge of something of medical and surgical conditions of the body and the various diseases that affect it, and about the nervous, visual and auditory disabilities. This knowledge, combined with 20 handicrafts, makes them full-fledged Occupational Therapists attached to Clinics or Hospitals. Mrs. Nimbkar says that she has at her Institution students from Matric to M.A., and that it makes no difference in their qualifications, for they have all to undergo the complete two years' course, including 20 handicrafts.



Class room of occupational Therapy School, K.E.M. Hospital, Bombay. Mrs. Kamala Nimbkar, standing at centre and her assistant, Miss Gerda Boggild, standing left, watch some of their students at work

The Clinic

Working with patients in the various wards of the K.E.M. Hospital at the beginning, a separate Clinic and Workshop has been set up early this year to look after the rehabilitation of the handicapped through remedial treatment in Occupational Therapy. After the patients are hospitalised, they are thoroughly examined by the doctors concerned and sent to the Occupational Therapists after being prescribed suitable remedial treatments, etc. The Occupational Therapists give them various occupations that will help them strengthen particular parts of the body that are affected or disabled. In due course, these remedial measures help them either to fully eradicate their disability, or enable them to do work in spite of their

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disabilities helped by artificial equipments as limbs, hearing aids, etc. At the Occupational Therapy Workshop various handicrafts are taught to disabled patients. Paralytics are made to work on the treadle or bicycle saw or to prepare toys out of fret wood. Polio-affected children are given at first beads to string, cloth rags to make dolls and toys, such as Rabbits, Toddy, Bears, etc., out of them. Some are able to weave braid rags and mats, after gaining control of their nerves. Whilst, patients who cannot raise themselves from bed are taught to work out embroidery designs on clothes. They make beautiful coloured designs as per their artistic urges. Thus when discharged, these disabled patients are able to make a living from their earnings. For instance, a boy who lost his legs in some accident was made to use artificial limbs and taught carpentry. In due course he was able to walk by himself using his artificial limbs and attend to his work under his employer cheerfully. Whilst another young man, who had lost one leg and two arms was in due course able to regain the use of the amputated arms and practise writing with great skill. Thus, learning some suitable crafts every disabled patient, partially or completely cured of his disability, is found some suitable employer who can pay him well for the work he does in some industrial craft of utility, through the efforts of its ever-kind Director Mrs. Nimbkar.

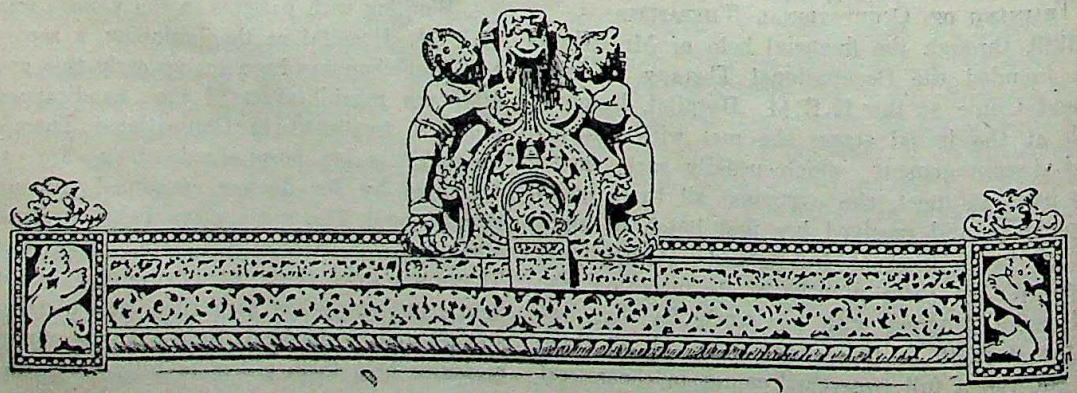
Mrs. Nimbkar Has Much Work Ahead

One visiting the Occupational Therapy Training School and Clinic on any day of the week, will find the alert and active smiling Mrs. Nimbkar and her equally kind-hearted assistant Miss Boggild at the workshop with their disabled patients and students teaching them some crafts or adjusting some of their artificial limbs, etc., enabling them to do some crafts of their own accord with their disabled organs as fingers, arms and legs with their minds diverted from their miserable plight of their life. In all this a word of encouragement here, and a cheerful smiling appreciation there make the patients feel their lives are worth-while. During school hours they are busy with their students in their class rooms either instructing them in handicrafts or technical lessons in Occupational Therapy subjects. When Mrs. Nimbkar is not at the School or Workshop, she is found outside with patients searching for them some suitable employers who can offer them work and pay them good remunerations.

Mrs. Nimbkar has much work ahead. At present the financial aspects of the school and workskhop are met by Mrs. Nimbkar, herself contributing monthly about Rs. 500 and the Municipality giving an aid of Rs. 12,000 yearly. Though these resources help her to manage her work at present, she has to get more monetary help when the institution gains popularity and work increases, which means more expenses for personnel and other necessities to run her noble institution efficiently. She has also an idea to start work with outdoor patients when trained personnel and funds permit it. But Mrs. Nimbkar is averse to receive any donations, as she finds that most donors offer conditional donations with directions that are impossible to be carried out and mar the high standard of efficiency she wants to maintain at her Institution. Provided funds are forthcoming from willing and large-minded donors with no conditional directions, they are welcome and the donors will be doing a great and noble service to disabled sufferers. In case the State also co-operates much can be done for India's disabled.

India Figures at the World Conference for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled

Mrs. Nimbkar who is now attending the International Polio Conference at Copenhagen will also attend the conference of the International Society for the Welfare of the Cripples at Stockholm where she will read a paper on evolving a world-wide Occupational Therapy Organisation. She will along with Mrs. Fatima Ismail be sharing the great honour of representing India as a leading Asiatic Nation in the South-East to start work for rehabilitation of its cripples. Thus India will be placed on the World's map along with other forward nations.



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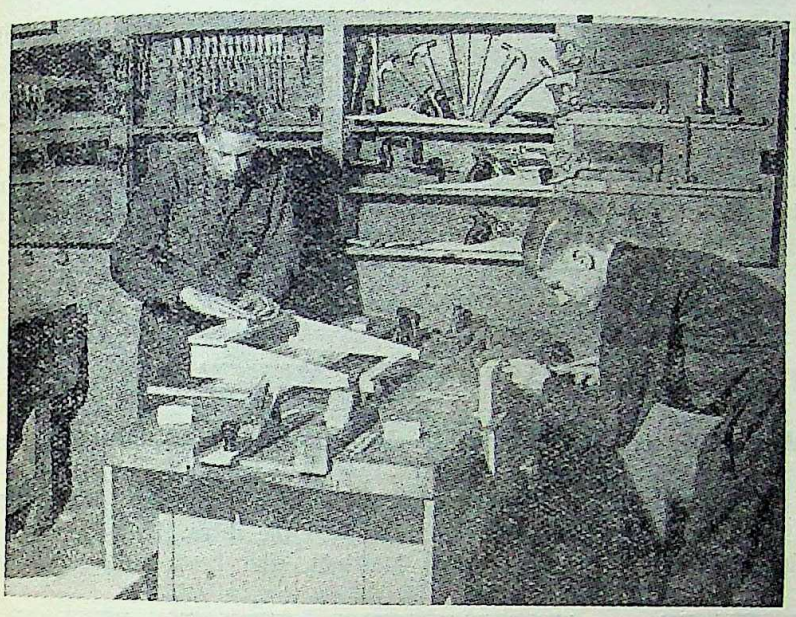
BRITAIN MEETS SHORTAGE OF SKILLED LABOUR

By HAROLD HUTCHINSON,
British Industrial Correspondent and BBC Economic Analyst

Expansion of industrial production in Britain since the war to about 50 per cent above 1938 has taxed the national resources of manpower—as well as raw materials—to the limit. The three-year rearmament programme will require about half-a-million additional workers, mainly in engineering and shipbuilding. They can be drawn from the less important industries, but a proportion of them will have to be fully skilled workers.



Young apprentices in Britain, busy at work at the carpenter's bench

Normally the flow of skilled men is supplied by the apprenticeship system, in which a boy enters a trade at 15 or 16 and serves five to six years. The war created a six-year gap, so that an expanded industry in Britain has been short of fully skilled men ever since. The normal development of industrial production has reduced the proportion of craftsmen needed, but even so there can be no further substantial expansion of production in some specialised fields without a nucleus of craftsmen.

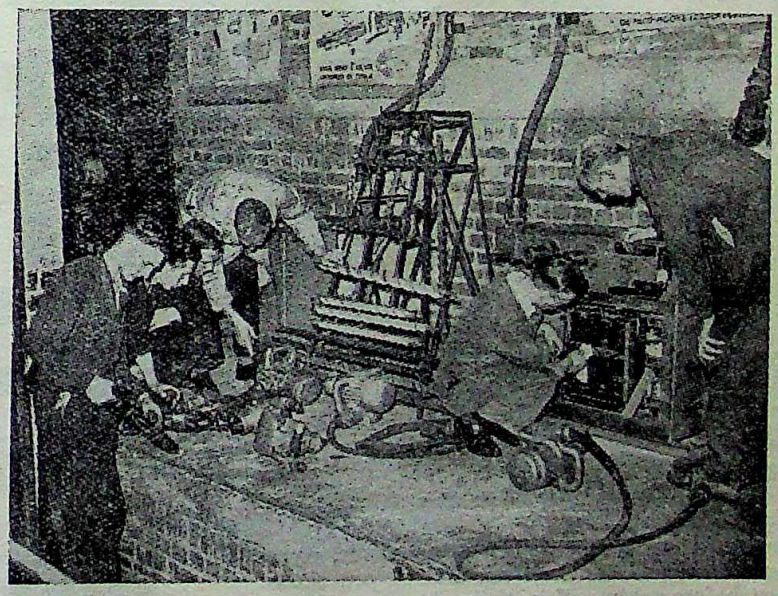
To make full use of existing manpower, 22 specialised training centres are being run by the Government, in addition to courses at technical and commercial colleges and in the factories themselves, where any suitable man can get an intensive training and emerge a skilled worker.

The courses are drawn up with the help of employers and trade unions representing the skilled workers, and both sides of industry recognise the trainees as having served the equivalent of an apprenticeship.

Big Expansion

A training scheme in Britain was established in 1945 to give men whose careers had been interrupted by war service a chance to re-enter their chosen trades as fully skilled workers. The purpose has largely been served now, but a skeleton training scheme continued for ex-Regular Army men who returned to civilian life after 12 or 21 years with the Forces, and for the disabled.

Since February, 1951, training has been greatly expanded, so that it is now open to any suitable candidate, regardless of age or occupation, who is ready to spend from four months to two years of intensive training for skilled work in a limited number of crafts, serving industries whose development is important to the national economy. It has been found by war-time experience that adults



Young miners receiving instruction in the various kinds of drills used in British coal mines

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with some training in industry, and who are anxious to become craftsmen, can wholly qualify for most trades in 12 months; some can become proficient in less time. A few trades require a two-year course.

Training is, therefore, open to anyone in those jobs where there is a shortage of labour—for example, draughtsmen, electrical engineers, turners and fitters, instrument makers, heating and ventilating engineers, carpenters, and so on. Needs differ slightly in different parts of Britain, and the scheme is flexible enough to allow a fairly quick switch in the nature and method of the training available.

Allowances Paid

At present about 4,000 men can be trained simultaneously at Government centres, but not all complete their training at the centre. Many proceed from the centres to factories for the final part of the course so that the number of unskilled men being turned into craftsmen is always considerably greater than the number of places in the training centres.

All men accepted for training agree to take jobs in certain selected industries, and during training they are paid allowances according to age and need. The maximum amount is just slightly less than the basic skilled wage for the industry concerned.

The range of training available to men from the Forces is very much wider than this specialised scheme which was designed to meet an emergency demand. About 80 courses are open to men leaving the Services. In 25 crafts where the demand for skilled workers is very limited, training is given only to disabled men and women. These are all crafts in which it has been found that disabled workers can succeed.

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AMERICAN RED CROSS MOBILIZATION FOR MERCY

President Harry Truman proclaimed March, 1951 as "Red Cross Month" in the United States. Almost 2,000,000 Americans were helping collect $85,000,000 in voluntary contributions to finance the international humanitarian program of the American Red Cross.

An American woman pilot and observer, members of the U. S. Civil Air Patrol, are shown just before taking off in their plane on a search mission for a missing pilot

"The Red Cross is a potent force in the fostering of international good will and understanding which is so necessary to develop amity between nations and maintain the peace," said E. Roland Harriman, national president of the American Red Cross, in a Nation-wide appeal for funds.

A Nation-wide radio broadcast from Washington's Constitution Hall launched the drive. U.S. Secretary of Defense, George Marshall, who headed the American

An American soldier, wounded while fighting with United Nations forces in Korea, is served refreshments by American Red Cross volunteers

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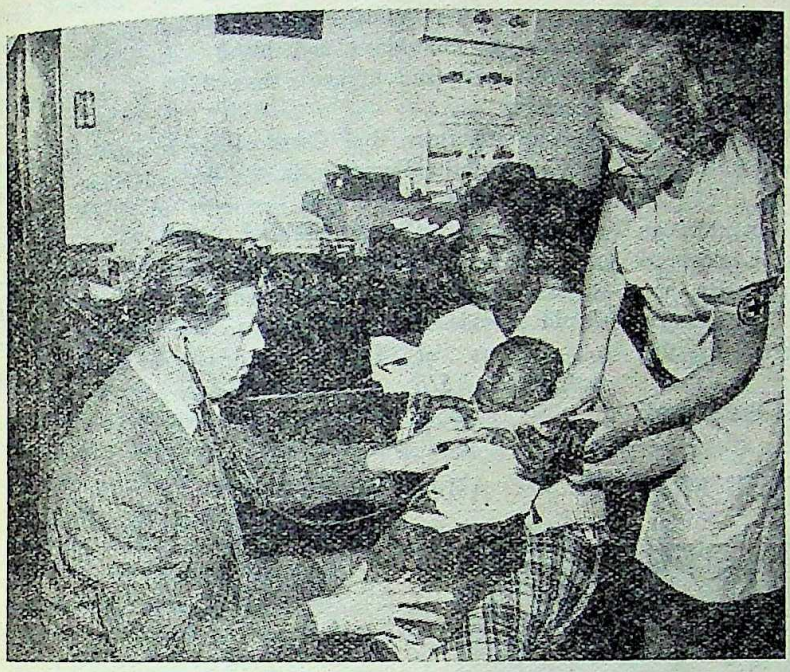
Red Cross last year, led a list of high-ranking Government officials participating in the program. Travelling from Hollywood to the Nation's Capital were the stars of the motion picture "Father of the Bride"—Spencer Tracy, Elizabeth Taylor, and Joan Bennett—who recreated their roles in a radio version of the comedy for the broadcast.



A nurse helps a doctor examine a diseased child

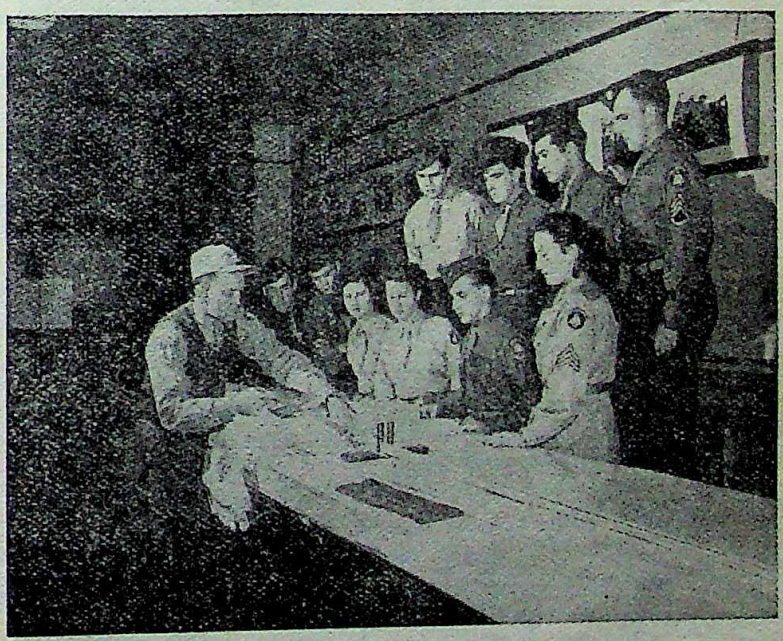
A similar "mobilization rally," held in New York City's Madison Square Garden, followed the Washington show. Carried over the Nation's radio network and on television, it featured appearances by Margaret Truman, daughter of the U.S. President, and celebrities of the opera, stage, screen, radio, and television. President Truman closed the program by broadcasting his annual appeal to the Nation for public support of the Red Cross campaign.

Approximately $1,000,000 in material aid was given to 48 nations by the American Red Cross during the past year. For example, it provided diagnostic equipment for five children's clinics in Italy, technical equipment for the Finnish Red Cross blood program, and compeltely furnished Red Cross sewing rooms in Austria and Germany. It also sent relief supplies to victims of floods in Guatemala and Canada, earthquakes in Ecuador and Peru, and typhoons in the Philippine Republic.

The American Red Cross maintains a close liaison with the United Nations and the League of Red Cross Societies in 67 other nations. The United Nations named the international League to co-ordinate all Red Cross aid to the war refugees in Korea. Already this aid has totalled more than $1,000,000 of which the American Red Cross contributed nearly one-half. In addition, the American Red Cross has sent materials and advisory assistance to the Korean Red Cross. It also plans to send health and welfare teams of American Red Cross workers to Korea.

Scholarships and fellowships in the United States were provided for 26 Red Cross workers from 13 nations during the past fiscal year by the American Red Cross. It also supplied American consultants to work with 17 Red Cross Societies of the international League.

Helping to develop better understanding and good will among the children of the world is the American Junior Red Cross, composed of 19,283,000 school children in the United States. Through their National Children's Fund, they conducted an international service program, during the past year costing



American girls, who are cadets of the U.S. Civil Air Patrol, join with boy cadets in learning to pack and rig a parachute

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approximately $1,273,300.

It included training teachers in Ecuador to instruct more than 30,000 children in the latest methods of making clothing and furniture. It provided milk centres and sent shipments of new garments for needy children in the Near East. It furnished sewing equipment and 70,000 yards (6,300 meters) of cloth in a self-help program for Italian school children. The American children also sent overseas more than 1,000 school correspondence albums, 6,000 pieces of student art, and 527,000 gift boxes of books, toys, recreational kits, and school and health supplies.

The domestic program of the youth organization includes service to their local communities in all parts of the Nation. They participate in fire prevention programs, clean-up campaigns, pedestrian and bicycle safety projects, aid to the handicapped, and learn swimming and life-saving.

More than 1,615,000 adults in the United States work for the American Red Cross as unpaid volunteers. They give millions of hours of service in disaster aid, in assistance to the armed forces and war veterans, in health and safety programs, and in social welfare activities. They also participate in the national blood program which includes the collecting, processing, and distribution of blood and blood derivatives to the armed forces and to more than 2,100 of the Nation's hospitals.

The American Red Cross also celebrated the seventieth year of its founding in the United States on May 21, 1951. It honored the memory of the American philanthropist, Clara Barton, who had headed the organinzation during the first 24 years of its existence. It was Miss Barton's suggestion that the Red Cross should provide relief, not only to war victims, but also to sufferers of famine, floods, earthquakes, and pestilence.—*USIS*

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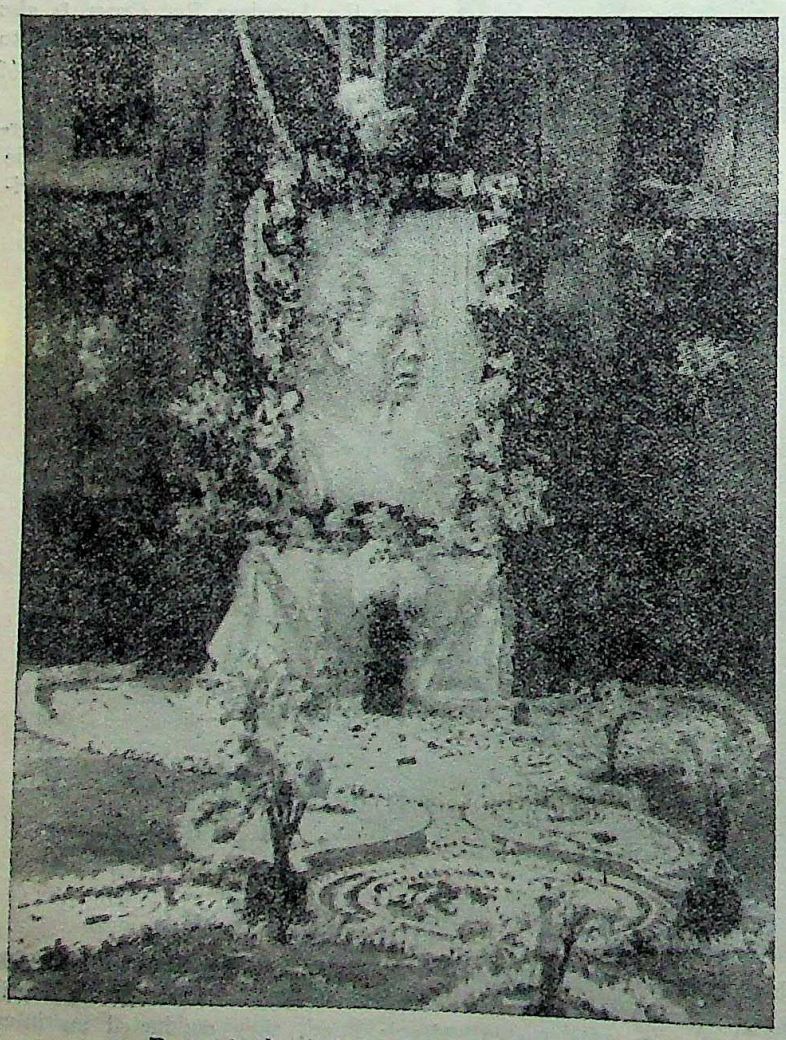
HOMAGE TO THE MEMORY OF ABANINDRANATH



Bust of Abanindranath Tagore garlanded

The students of the Government College of Art and Craft along with the teaching staff of the college paid their homage to the memory of the departed Acharyyadeva Dr. Abanindranath Tagore on Saturday the 8th December, 1951 in the lawn of the college. For this purpose all of them assembled quietly in the college lawn, garlanded the bust of Abanindranath preserved in the college and eulogized the Great Master, after which they departed. The day was observed as a day of mourning.

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DANCE IN EDUCATION

By Miss KAPILA MALIK, M.A. (Delhi), M.A. (Michigan),
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Experiments in the technique and content of education are taking place all over the world and, perhaps, the civilization of tomorrow will be born out of a new orientation of education rather than from the staggering discoveries of science. The aesthetic element in education needs to be given its proper place in our school curriculum so that all forms of expression and growth of personality are available to children. In aesthetic education the dance occupies a very important place and this is increasingly recognised by the leading educationists in many countries.

In his well-known book *Foundation of American Education,* Prof. Rugg emphasizes the Creative Act as one of the most important foundations of education. Tracing the aesthetic revolution in American education from the sixteenth century, he says:

> "The creative teachers will find no more profound revelation of concepts that will rebuild their school than those of the Modern Dance."

According to him, the creative art is based on three assumptions regarding the human being: Firstly, expressive and appreciative acts take place through any medium with the experience of the human being, such as words in poetry, the movements of the body in dance, the use of form and colour in painting and so on. Secondly, every human being has within himself some potential capacity to express himself in one or another medium and to respond appreciatively; from this follows the concept of 'man as artist' which is the goal of aesthetic education and which assumes that every child under effective educational conditions can grow to the maximum of his capacity, both to express himself and to appreciate his surroundings aesthetically. Lastly, according to Prof. Rugg:

> "There are vast differences among the people in sensitivity and in potential capacity . . . and the creative and appreciative capacities follow the law of distribution that has been well-established for the anthropometrical and mental traits, intelligentsia, temperament and emotional dietetics."

These three basic assumptions are accepted expressly or implicitly by every dancer and dance educator. At a time when we in India seem to be at the threshold of introducing the Creative Arts into our school curricula, it is well to examine the ideas and values of those who have already introduced these into their educational systems. The above assumptions of Prof. Rugg are important in so far as they recognise the need of the individual to be creative, expressive and appreciative of the 'aesthetic' element in life. Unless this is granted we cannot launch any further arguments because the dance is not entirely an essential part of subject-matter and skill learning in formal education.

With these general observations we may proceed to examine the value of the dance in education from various standpoints. We have somehow stopped thinking of the Arts and of the Dance in particular as an educational medium. It is for us something which we are entertained by and which remains the business of select groups of professionals: it forms no part of our daily life, and it almost sound strange to consider the dance and its value in individual (personal, subjective and emotional) and group (social, cultural and democratic) education; but it is time that we gave up our limited, narrow ideas of the dance as a technique or skill on the one hand and a divine madness on the other. We are already trying to broaden its sphere and it will be worthwhile here to study its value as physical, spiritual, intellectual and emotional experience.

Let us examine here a few of these values of the dance and see what a fine medium it can be for the education of the individual as a balanced integrated personality. It will bring out the acute need for considering the dance as an important force in education rather than as a specialized art—meant only for a select few. It will show us the need for the introduction and production of dance education in our present-day educational institutions.

Since the physical form of the human being is the instrument, let us first begin with the physical consequences and the educational level. Dancing is certainly organically stimulating, developing heart, lungs and digestive processes and other bodily functions to high levels of power and efficiency. For dancing feeds all-round development and this is very different from other large muscle activities; its superiority in this respect is enormous. Unlike games or sports, for example, dance does not require actors to exert their powers to abnormal limits of performance. As the famous American dancer, Martha Graham, said once:

> "Artistry lies in restraint as much as in expression and the ideal of technique is the absence of strain; it is the rhythmic building of the body to a perfect form."

Games and sports need not aim at straining oneself to the utmost capacity. When indulged in proper restraint and right proportions these activities serve a very useful purpose, but the spirit of breaking records is too deeply ingrained in the pursuit of games and sports. In dancing, on the other hand, to break a record would be completely inimical to its spirit. Even if dance is not superior to games in organic development, it unquestionably has more desirable effects on the symmetry of the body and the beauty of facial expression. Sports sometimes develop athletic bodies unsymmetrically, occasionally to deformity. Dance, on the other hand, develops exquisitely proportioned as well as powerful bodies. Immensely more important is the idea of balance that is manifest in the dance. Unlike sports, it bears in mind the masculine and feminine rhythms of the human body. In a word men dance like men and women like themselves. The nineteenth century idea

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in India of calling dancers effeminate is of course wrong, though it is not uncommon to see a conspicuously 'masculine woman' as a result of sports or physical education. An exquisite form and a graceful expression are the prime consequences of proper dance training.

Finally, dance is an artistic art form and a means of self-expression; the body, the human form, is only a means to an end, not the end itself; it is a method of communication between independent microcosms which utilize large and small muscles in rhythmic movements, to convey feelings and ideas. It is as Martha Graham has said, 'an animate composition in space.'

> "Dancing is movement made significant: techniques used to express spiritual content."

In this respect dancing is more important than sports in the educational system. It has advantages over strenuous gymnastics not only as a physical exercise but also as a true education in something beyond the form and techniques of the good physical figure. It combines in itself all that the typical education connotes and much more. Its great value as a corrective in physical and mental therapy has been emphasized both by doctors and educators. Elwood Murry's study of speech training as a Mental Hygiene method emphasizes the fact that maladjusted children have been cured through the dance.

But dancing is not merely a superior physical training for the growing youth, it is important as a tool for the growth of social virtues in education. Through the poised figure dance promotes courage, initiative, perseverance and creativeness in man; beauty, grace, generosity, sympathy and sacrifice in woman.

Certainly the dance can be a tremendously potent tool to develop co-operative practice and spirit. Due to professional jealousies, our dance groups have not proved this so far, but we know that competition is abhorred by sincere dancers. The very fact of co-ordinated movements among several dancers acting as a unit show the possibilities of reaching exciting heights of perfection and joy.

Dancing provides excellent opportunities for group work and experience in democratic method. It fulfils its function in the curricula of democratic schools because it serves as a laboratory in democratic living for the youth of a nation. It serves as an ideal tool in forming wonderful group habits: in it they exercise not only their right to freedom of expression but also the responsibility of respecting the right of others and the cheerful assumption of obligations that are entailed in any group activity.

We in India should realize the need of initiating such a group activity as dancing more than any other people of the world. In a new system of education required by a free and creative India we need this type of a socializing influence. Dance teaching accomplishes a great deal in the informal set-up where the give-and-take of ideas between the student and teacher is much greater and much less inhibited than in the classes of formal academic studies. Even more is 'dance' a tool in the inculcation of cultural ideas, in the achievement of a higher civilization, in the promotion of national and international relationships between different cultures. Dance has no age, it only demands a new freedom in all departments of living. It has always been the great responsibility of the arts and the artists of any civilization to hold up before the people all that is noble and not decadent, all that is beautiful and not ugly. After literature, dance has striven to do this. The Oriental and Greek dances of Ruth St. Denis and Isadora Duncan, Simkie's Indian dancing, and Uday Shankar with his stamp of the ballet are enough to show much can be accomplished in bridging gaps and chasms between cultures. Students can easily break the narrow domestic walls of nationalism in their minds if they learn and practise national and international dances, folk, or classical. The universal language of the dance has only humanity behind it; there are no passports, no visas, no conflicts, no strifes.

Dancing above all is the perfect medium for the development of the total personality—the intellect, the mind and the spirit—teaching logic and discipline. It is a means of giving each individual an opportunity for the expression of his conflicts, of his ideas, of his intellectual beliefs and doubts; it aids every person in reaching his full status as an individual. In his *Rhythmic Art and Education,* Jacques Dalcroze has offered sound advice to the teachers :

> "The main thing to remember is that the function of parents and teachers is to strengthen and develop the child in such a fashion that the mind and the body form a perfect instrument wherein to play the song of life. . . . It was my wish to manifest the power of rhythmic gymnastics in transforming the mind along the lives of greater self-possession, stronger power of imagination, more constant mental concentration."

Creative work in dance is one way of assisting a person in the development of his unique personality. For dance is today not only a group activity, but also a highly individualized form of expression. Working in the medium of movement each person may make up a dance in his own way about whatever seems significant in his experience. To compose in dance, the artist examines his ideas and probes to their essential meanings; by organising movement in time and space with the use of his reason and logic he makes them objective. In this process he may find both intellectual and emotional resolution of conflict. He can be helped to face his own problems and develop constructive ways of attaching problems. Dance, thus, can focus our attention upon the unrealised potentialities of our being: its introduction in education means the imparting of some of this to the average child.

The foregoing are the values of the 'dance' in the very broad and universal sense of 'education.' The individual is enriched by it physically, intellectually, and socially. Let us now for a moment look into the values of the dance in the educational curriculum itself and see how it can be of help there. It will continue to serve all the functions described above and many more in the academic training of the individual.

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In this age of fragmentation in all spheres of life, literature, arts, natural sciences and social sciences and above all in the human psyche itself, we have made compartments and departments through our over-specialization. Everything is split and analysed to the electron and proton stage and even beyond. The analytic process is realizing the acute need for synthesis, and for integration. The need for co-relating knowledge and synthesising the various strands and aspects of our modern existence is only too great. Life is a combination of all these parts and art aims at synthesising and organising the chaos of life into an harmonic pattern. Dance aims at the perception of this harmony in a very humble and yet successful way and this harmony through movements is not out of reach for the average individual who finds poetry and literature beyond his grasp. Being the most accessible of the arts and utilising the human form alone as its instrument, the dance can co-relate any field of knowledge.

As a matter of fact, dancing by its very nature is a training in co-relation and perception of links between the various arts and forms of knowledge. Literature forms an essential background to dancing. Both the arts derive their inspiration from human life and human personality. Dance works with the materials that literature provides through rhythmic forms and movements. Without the rich background provided by literature dancing would fall to the level of sheer physical gymnastics or cheap night-club dancing. What is true of literature is even more true of music. The two art forms have developed hand in hand from their very inception: they are inseparable and each loses by the absence of the other. Interpreting and enacting musical themes is most important in the dance, and the understanding of rhythm in music can be best understood through movements in dancing. As for sculpture, the first inspiration of a sculptor must have been a dancing figure. The aim of sculpture is to recapture a moment of life in dance and movement. The impulse behind the two arts is almost identical. Dance can teach balance and sense of proportion through painting and sculpture, and painting and sculpture can teach life-movement through dance. All arts come to the dance not only for visual imagery but also for kinesthetic sense of line movement and grouping which dance alone can give, dealing with the entire body as it does.

The integrating values of the dance are, however, not at all restricted to the *arts* only. Dance serves as a medium to integrate other forms of learning. Through dancing, history and geography can be communicated successfully to the pre-school and elementary school child. The entire process of learning can be made so much more meaningful, so much more lively and interesting through the medium of the dance. If this integrated training is provided in the formative years of a child's development, we will have given the child a very useful skill to perceive the unity and co-relation between the things he learns and does in later years. Dance provides the platform where all can mingle and blend. Since it does not claim to stand by itself it draws from the great and vast sources of all knowledge and experience the great vistas of thought and emotion and it expresses through the most accessible of media the human form, much of what is artistic and aesthetic in life. The full richness of its character gives it the possibilities of multiple dimensions and as such it becomes more than a foundation of 'good education.'

In India where we are not used to teaching the dance as part of the educational curriculum many readers will particularly ask the question, 'What style of dancing are you going to introduce in the schools and what are you going to teach them?' This is exactly where we must have our aims clearly defined before we begin to confuse the students regarding such dance education and its value.

Learning techniques and the particular classical styles of dancing like the Bharatanatyam, Kathakali or the Kathak is very different from the type of dancing that has been proposed here; these styles, excellent and perfect in themselves, aim at the professional perfection of the Art-form, whether attempted by amateurs or professionals. Their teaching aims at perfect imitation and understanding of the technique which is a highly specialised subject in itself.

For our purposes we need a new type of dancing, where there is very little of the imitative and the repetitive, and where the individual is only made aware of his potentialities and is given a language to express himself. It is thus more for the purposes of fulfilling the individual's need as a person than his accomplishment as a renowned dancer. The student must not be presented these dual aims, because not all will become professional dancers through this process. We must keep clearly in mind where the educational process of creative dancing and learning ends and where the professional begins. We, in India, will have to develop our imagination more and not confine ourselves to the teaching of things that have been handed down to us century after century. This new educational dance will not become like the Uday Shankar style where one man created and others followed blindly. We will completely defeat our purpose by doing this. Our dance teachers will need to be trained so that they impart only the basic skills to the student and make him aware of the scope for force and creative expression in which he experimented to derive artistic satisfaction. To inculcate all the values mentioned earlier, the teacher will have to draw from the sources of the already existing dance styles and present these in a way so that all the personal, individual, social and cultural values evolve out of this teaching. Folk dances, for example, are a very fine way of inculcating group feeling and organisation. Individual dance themes can be worked out for the intellectual and subjective values of the dance and the student can learn to express himself through this medium.

It might be said in conclusion that a dance programme with the above values in mind should be planned according to the needs of a cultural group, for educational values as described above rather than

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for professional goals, with the intent of expressing that culture in a manner which can be universally understood. The benefit of the dance for educational purposes lies in the practice of present-day dance styles and forms which help to further the growth and development of an understanding of the twentieth century arts and the inter-relationship of the individual to other subjects and to society. It is the teacher's duty to prepare the dance student for complete awareness of movement—movement as an experience of the individual and in relation to a group. Further, the dance should aim mainly at enriching the student's imaginative powers which do not necessarily have to find expression in dance, but which can be of assistance in related artistic activity. The achievement of this goal should be kept in mind when we focus on the student whom we wish to introduce to the dance. Such a proper emphasis on the educational dance would produce a most responsive generation possessing artistic appreciation. Von Laban is right when he says :

> "The educative value of the dance is made apparent through healthy mastery of movement and by enhancement of personal and social harmony promoted by the exact movement observation."

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REVERENCE FOR LIFE

Monument to Gandhiji

By Dr. I. E. J. DAVID

A party of men and women were having a picnic. They went swimming. All were caught in a fierce current which was carrying them to their death-bed at the bottom of the sea. One of them, a young man, barely twenty years old, battled the waves and brought one by one, seven of them, to the shore, and when he rescued the last one, he himself was exhausted and was carried away by the waves and was drowned, and fishermen later brought the dead body to the shore. He was the only child of his widowed mother and his body was embalmed and sent to her. The same night of this tragedy, the party rescued, attended a grand dance totally wanting in heart, feeling and reverence to one who laid down his life for them. Society was so shocked, that they were boycotted by all decent men and women. To cover their shame and disgrace they built a monument, a beautiful arch, in memory of the lad, which now stands, as a monument not only to the self-sacrifice of a mother's only son, but a monument to the heartlessness and irreverence of man for man.

I know a graveyard. There stands a most beautiful, exquisite and a costly statue, a monument over a young woman's grave. This monument was built by the man who betrayed her and made her last years a tragedy.

There was a man, called "The naked fakir," whose earthly possessions consisted of a loin cloth, and he lived in a hut. He was the greatest man of our times. He died that a nation might be reborn and live. He was assassinated. He was betrayed, not only by the man who murdered him, but by a whole Nation, who cast his teachings to the four winds, and instead are building sky-high monuments, temples, pillars, and museums worth tens of lacs which should go to schools, hospitals, the sick, the hungry, the naked and the man in need. They wear his cap, the symbol of sacrifice and humility, but which today is stained with the blood, corruption, arrogance and hypocrisy. His name is always on their lips and his portraits hang everywhere. With these monuments of their betrayal they think they revere him.

There was a man, and what a man! He was betrayed and was crucified. The traitor had at least the decency to hang himself. The monument to His memory lives in the hearts of men, and in the Cross—just two pieces of wood. But sometimes the monument to Christ takes the form of "Police Action" in Korea, Atom Bombs in Japan and concentration camps and scorched earth and firing squads in Europe, while the monuments to Gandhiji are hypocritical white caps, the black market, communalism, sectarianism, provincialism, arrogant imperialism and intolerance of language and "culture", and feuds and treachery within the ranks, and above all lack of reverence of man for man, and the forgetfulness of the fact that all men are created equal in the sight of God and have equal rights.

Nagpur

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THE BANK RATE IN INDIA

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By Prof. V. N. HUKKU, M.com.

The decision of the Reserve Bank of India about raising the Bank rate from 3 per cent to 3½ per cent with effect from the 15th November, 1951 was received as a shock in the Money market of India. It will be a historical event in the life history of the Reserve Bank of India. Though not quite unexpected, it is really a remarkable action on the part of the Reserve Bank of India to remove the rust from the stationary and stagnant Bank rate which remained pegged at 3 per cent, since the 28th November, 1935. The increase in the Bank rate in India cannot be considered to be a novelty. In the recent past, a number of countries in the Western world have endeavoured to combat 'inflation monster' which has attacked almost all the nations with a terrible blow. The following are the names of a few countries where the Bank rate has been raised:

Name	*Past Bank Rate*	*Present Bank Rate*
1. Belgium	3¼ per cent	3¾ per cent
2. Canada	1½ „	2 „
3. Denmark	3½ „	5 „
4. France	2½ „	4 „
5. Finland	5¾ „	7¾ „
6. Netherlands	2½ „	4 „
7. Sweden	2½ „	3 „
8. United Kingdom	2 „	2½ „
9. United States of America	1½ „	1¾ „
10. West Germany	4 „	6 „

The change in the Bank rate in the United Kingdom and France is also notable. In the United Kingdom the Bank rate has remained almost unchanged since 1932. The Bank rate as it prevailed in France before 11th October, 1951 was 2½ per cent from which it was raised to 3 per cent. No sooner had the Bank rate been raised by ½ per cent by the Bank of England from the 7th November, 1951, the Bank of France decided in favour of raising the Bank rate once again from 3 per cent to 4 per cent within one month's time.

The Bank rate indicates somewhat different significance in India. The Bank rate is the minimum rate at which the central banks discount first class bills of exchange and make advances to the commercial banks on the approved securities. In India, however, under the peculiar circumstances of the absence of an organised bill market, the Bank rate has truly been considered to be the rate at which accomodation is made available to the scheduled banks. The Bank rate or the discount rate as it is popularly known in some countries was a common principal weapon for credit control right from the times even before the World War I, during the era of International Gold Standard. Since after the liquidation of the Gold Standard it receded to the background giving importance to other weapons, *viz.*, open market operations, moral persuasion, direct action and rationing of credit, etc. The birth of the International Monetary Fund has once again added some importance to the effectiveness of the Bank rate.

Dealing back with our own case in India, we have reasons to believe of the ineffectiveness and a dormant influence of the Bank rate over the credit structure in the country since the establishment of the Reserve Bank of India. The main reasons for its ineffectiveness were the lack of a close contact between the Reserve Bank and the Commercial banks and the indifference of the latter in respect of approaching the former for financial assistance. It must not, however, be left out to be mentioned that the effectiveness of the Bank rate depends to a considerable extent upon the extent to which the scheduled banks depend upon the Reserve Bank. Moreover, the easy money conditions prevailing in the country and the Imperial Bank of India rate were also obstacles to the influence of the Bank rate. The Imperial Bank of India who has been working in close association with the Reserve Bank of India as the latter's agent, since the latter's establishment, has maintained the lending rate at a level of (lower than the Bank rate) 2¾ per cent against Government Securities worth Rs. 5 lakhs or over and at 3 per cent for those worth less than Rs. 5 lakhs. During the last busy season the Imperial Bank of India could not face the heavy demand of loans and it had to raise the lending rate by ½ per cent. The increase in the lending rate of the Imperial Bank of India transferred the pressure on to the Reserve Bank. The *hundi* rate of the Imperial Bank of India which after a fall from 3½ per cent to 3 per cent in November, 1935, rose to 3½ per cent in January, 1949, and prevailing at 4 per cent in 1951 together with an all-round increase in the lending rates, again gave an impetus to the Bank rate in India. Consequently, with a view to contract credit expansion and curb the inflationary trend, the Reserve Bank of India finally resolved to raise the Bank rate by ½ per cent. It was not a mutually consulted plan with the Bank of England but it was a mere coincidence by chance that the increase in the Bank rate in India followed the increase of the Bank rate in England immediately. A statement has been issued by the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India conveying the decision to stop buying of the Government Securities (as the Reserve Bank has been usually doing in the past) in the ensuing busy season except in certain emergencies. The usual practice, adopted by the scheduled banks, was to sell the Government Securities to the Reserve Bank of India in order to increase their lending resources. The expansion of credit, though made through the assistance of the

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Reserve Bank of India, remained almost out of the latter's control. Thus while the advances made by the scheduled banks rose tremendously to about Rs. 586 crores their investment in Government Securities declined heavily. The holding of the Government Securities with the Reserve Bank of India stood as approximately Rs. 468 crores as on 16th November, 1951.

The underlying idea which has caused an increase in the Bank rate is to bring about a cessation of the cheap money conditions which have been ruling in the country for the last sixteen years and even more. This increase in the Bank rate has been so designed as to make the bank credit dearer and to discourage the establishment of weak industrial units. The general consequences of a dearer bank credit reflect upon the cost of hokling goods and the amount of the deposit of the savings with the banks.

The immediate effect of a change in the Bank rate was visible on the Indian Stock Exchanges, wherein the change was received as a stunning blow to the operators. The change in the Bank rates in the United Kingdom and France was enough to indicate the adoption of a similar action by the Reserve Bank of India, but the speculators could not foresee the haste with which the decision was given. The greatest effect of the Bank rate in connection with the Stock Exchange Securities can be judged from the changes in the values of the 3 per cent Conversion Loan (1986) and the 3 per cent 1970-75 Loan. The former which was issued in 1946 to replace the 3½ per cent Non-terminable Loan stood at Rs. 92-11 on the 13th November, 1951. For the first time its price went down to Rs. 82-8 thereby increasing the yield from 3.24 per cent to 3.63 per cent. The latter one which stood at Rs. 92-14 on the 13th November, 1951, slided down to Rs. 88-4 thereby increasing the yield from 3.44 per cent to 3.75 per cent. Other Government Papers also witnessed a depreciation in value due to the announcement of the policy of the Reserve Bank of India to abstain from dealing in the Government Paper. Not only the Government Securities but others also suffered a fall in value like Tata industrials which were quoted at about Rs. 60 lower, soon after the declaration of an increase in the Bank rate.

The change in the Bank rate, according to the economic principles, caused an increase in the general lending rates of the banks in the country by ½ per cent. The Imperial Bank of India *hundi* rate immediately rose from 3 per cent to 3½ per cent and thereafter to 4 per cent, while its rate for call loans to banks against Government Securities for sums of over Rs. 5 lakhs underwent a meagre rise from 2¾ per cent to 3 per cent.

I fully endorse the views of Shree L. S. Vaidyanathan, Manager of the Oriental Government Life Assurance Company, Ltd., in connection with the effect of the Bank rate on the insurance business of the country. He opines that the already invested funds especially in case of the old established Insurance companies will undergo a depreciation due to a fall in the value of Government Securities (though the yield will become greater). As far as the amount of premium to be realised on the existing contracts as well as that on the new business contracts to be made, it would give benefit to the Insurance companies on account of a higher yield brought about in the Government Securities due to a fall in their market value.

Despite the virtues contained in the Bank rate there is no dearth of criticism against it. There has been vehement criticism that an increase in Bank rate would bring about an increase in the cost of production to the industries through an increase in the rate of lending by other banks in the country. It has been further pointed out that the high rates prevailing in the market will assist the 'Shylock' of the Money market to increase the lending rates, thereby making agricultural finance more expensive and ultimately it will lead to an increase in the cost of production of goods. It can safely be said in this connection that although the increase in the rate of interest influences the cost of production, changes in it, as it bears a nominal proportion to the entire cost, would not materially affect the production. It would, on the other hand, reduce the speculative demand and would lower the price level by making the holding of goods dearer.

Those who want to accuse the Reserve Bank for having brought about a sudden fall in the gilt-edged market thereby shaking confidence in it, should be convinced that the Reserve Bank has not totally abandoned to deal in them, hence there is no question of a show-down to the prestige of the Government. The Governor of the Reserve Bank of India stated in a meeting of the representatives of several scheduled banks in Calcutta on the 19th November, 1951:

> "The Reserve Bank was responsible for the maintenance of the financial credit of the Government of India, and, if the circumstances justified, they would, of course, take appropriate measures to maintain the Government't credit. The time and stage at which such measures might be necessary would, however, be determined by the Reserve Bank in the light of developments in the Money market, which they were carefully watching."

It was however not very wise on the part of the Reserve Bank of India to declare its decision in such a way regarding dealings in the Government Securities as it has led to great bearish sentiment in the market. However, this change in the Bank rate would bring about cherished results. It is yet to be seen as to how much it will affect the conditions. The future is pregnant with possibilities and we may hope for favourable disinflationary economic conditions in the country.

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THE MECHANISM OF HEREDITY

By MRIDULA DUTT

When Leeuwenhoek and Robert Hooke and the brothers Jantzen fell in with the newest craze of making optical lenses and peering through them at the world around them they filled ecstatic paragraphs on the marvellous order in a bee's wing, in the eye of a fly, and in the circulation of blood in the toad's tail. The wondrous tracery of tissues in a plant section held them in thrall and for a long time its cell inclusions were unaesthetic hindrances to be put up with in one's rapturous contemplation of the subtle and precise hand of the Infinite. Two centuries later the nucleus, a small grey mass in the less dense jelly of the cytoplasm has come into its own and has rapidly undergone many vicissitudes of fame and disgrace. It has been called the brain of the cell, the bearer of heredity, subsequently shorn of much of its glory, it has had its separate functions taken apart, doubted, some of them restored, while some have been relegated to other structures in the cytoplasm. As a strange finale, a particular view as to the exact role of the nucleus in heredity has become tangled up with the political ideology of a nation, and the well-being of a scientist may depend on the specific functions he is willing to assign to the nucleus.

As in everything else the life hisory in a species follows a cycle and it is difficult to put one's finger on where anything may be said to begin. Thus the problem as to which comes before, the egg or the chicken, has not been solved to this day. In the pursuit of the why and wherefore in Heredity, or the principle that like begets like, this problem is simplified in that it is known that the male contributes the knob or head of a single sperm towards the creation of a new individual and this knob is simply or mainly the nucleus. The nucleus must then in its tiny frame carry all the aptitudes that will tend to make a son the "spittin image of his father." The cytoplasm in the female and perhaps races of that of the male also contribute their quota, but they are never the necessary and vital characters without which an individual cannot exist. Thus one nucleus, a microscopic drop of protein jelly, may be said to be one individual in capsule form. The individual it will stimulate into being will be considerably modified by its environment. This is seen in a pair of monozygotic twins, sharing the same nucleur material, who grow up away from each other. They may share many traits, such as a taste for music and a dislike for cheese, but one twin may smoke while the other does not, and this habit can directly be put down as due to environment.

A son will resemble his parents to a certain extent and may differ from them in respect of others. Often quite unexpected characters will crop up in a sibling. Even when considered against a foundation of Mendelian law and the cytology of chromosomes, it is largely a matter of chance which form the offspring will take depending on its genic exchanges before chromosome division, and the breeder can but cross his fingers and hope for the best. This uncertainty is exemplified in the familiar story of the Beautiful Lady who once said to Bernard Shaw, "If we married we should have wonderful children with your brains and my looks;" whereupon Shaw with his customary gallantry, replied, "And what if they have my looks and your brains."

Mendel's clear and specific laws were derived out of the chaos of this variation. Working on a simple clear well-thought-out and far-reaching experiment covering four generations of inheritance he was able to coax out from a wealth of detail the working principle behind the distribution of each pair of segregating allelomorphs. His ratios were later correlated to the exact number of combinations found between the two types of four gametes produced by each parent during sexual reproduction. His laws correspond with the behaviour of the chromosome system,—the biological basis of distribution of character, and any variation from the original ratio can be traced to the modifications of genes which obtain in the chromosome complex in question. When two strains of Red and White flowers when crossed give approximately 15 Reds to 1 White in the third generation, or 9 Reds to 6 Pinks to 1 White or two Whites crossed give 1 Red in every sixteen, the breeder can infer the genotypes involved and plan his future crosses accordingly. Mendel's law has stood the test of Time and of Scientists because it is simply a statement of observed fact, while only a fraction of Galton's law or the voluminous theories of Weismann, Darwin or Lamarck find acceptance and even those not on the grounds offered by their sponsors. They have, however, served to direct men's minds to what is now the science of Genetics, and but for them Mendel might never have been.

Mendel's character determinants are now identified as the genes borne along chromosomes, and they are both found to share the following traits in common, exemplified in the following casts. The daughter of an Anglo-Indian mother and an Indian father, both with dark eyes, is born with eyes blue like her maternal grandmother. In the case of Jews who were a mixture of Amorite, Hittite and Philistine strains at the time of the return to the Promised Land, and who also picked up Arab blood on the way, the Hittite nose has prevailed over all other types and is the most characteristic feature of a Jew anywhere in the world. The Hittite nose has

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also prevailed in crosses with Greeks possessing classical features. The gene thus remains quite unchanged both in the dominant and recessive state. Each gene retains its own character in spite of all admixture with foreign protoplasm. and the recessive has been known to emerge unhurt and smiling after 350 generations of suppression, when restored to its homozygous state in Drosophile. In the life history of an individual the gene retains its essential nature through all changes of growth, development. chromosome balance and modes of reproduction —unless of course it mutates, and then it is no longer the same gene but a new unit in inheritance.

Observation of the constancy of the gene in action and reproduction through several cell generations as also the continuity it maintains in the life cycle of an individual from daughter cell to mature cell to daughter cell again, brings home the tremendous fact that it must have thus been continuously kept on the move through an unbroken series of cell generations, reaching down through time right back to the momentous occasion when Life on this Earth breathed its first. The basic unchanged genes are therefore as old as the hills, if not older.

Higher forms of life have acquired new characters as they have gradually evolved from their ancestors. This change, however, must not be measured in terms of our human span of life. A mural of the Saffron Crocus painted in Mexico 3000 years ago shows precisely the same characters as those of its descendants of the 20th century. Yet that Crocus had already evolved to its particular form from the primaeval slime. Date palms have not mutated a great deal since the time of the Pharaohs, yet the number of cell generations they have passed through must be legion. Small mutations are constantly occurring, but they have to happen in the germinal line in order to be passed on. Certain mutations are found to occur again and again in populations under observation, *e.g.*, mutations of red eye in Drosophila and the change from red to white grain in wheat. This mutation within a gene is not random and takes place within certain limits. Thus red eye never mutates to green, a colour common in insects. Once a gene mutates it becomes stable in inheritance. Mutants are usually recessive and usually harmful. It may be as Morgan points out that the useful mutations escape our eye. Wild populations are usually so balanced that any change is probably for the worse. Man has tried his hand at mutation, and temperature treatements and radiations are found to give the desired results. but the organism so treated usually survives in an undermined state of health. Artificial mutations are in the nature of hits in the dark as there is no knowing what character will be affected and how. A gene mutates as a result of interaction with the environment, and the environment does not affect all genes at a time nor even both alleles together. Mutation is thus quite unpredictable and hardly ever adaptative. Many mutations are known which are lethal and are prevented from killing the organism by simply being under the firm thumb of a beneficial dominant. There is also the consideration that in highly specialized social groups the preservation of all types has an ethical significance and man tends less to keep his stock pure by putting the tubercular or the leprous man out in the wilderness to perish. What is to the savage a physically weak type may have more value to the group as a whole than the average. Thus Shelley and Handel, Pope and Swift, Lamb and de Maupassant, Van Gogh and Elizabeth Browning could hardly have been fit types in the Darwinian sense.

Radiations issuing from the earth's crust can cause mutation at a slow rate. The first case of the harmful effects of artificial atomic fission is now known. A Japanese school girl has been found to have developed cataract in her eye, four years after the blast. The poison is acting slowly and cases of mutation in human inheritance are not yet known. Carrying further this idea of mutations in humans as a result of radio-active weapons used in warfare, Aldous Huxley has conjured up a nightmare world in which monstrous babies constantly crop up and the more monstrous ones are massacred in a public ceremony. Abnormalities such as seven or eight fingers or even fingers on the chest are politely ignored as the usual thing.

The genes are borne in linear sequences in the chromosomes, which protect them from direct exposure to the cytoplasm by embedding them in a matrix and providing protective caps at the end. The centromere, a differentiated body in the chromosome, regulates the movements of chromosomes during pairing and division as the nucleus is then in a distntegrated state. The gene chains cannot remain exposed in the cytoplasm, and if a chain gets broken it seeks to be joined linearly to another chain, and if it cannot it curls up and disintegrates. If such a chain possesses a piece of the centromere, it can go through division and persist as a separate chromosome in the complex. Translocations inversions, and loss of or addition of parts are constant occurrence in hybrid protoplasm.

Life utilizes two substances to give expression to itself and maintain its continuity. These are proteins and nucleic acids together forming the stuff which has conjured up movement out of the inanimate, and gaining from complexity to further complexity, has at last created the mind of man,—the highest point as yet reached in evolution. Proteins sufficiently complex are elsewhere found able to maintain themselves as autonomous systems such as found in viruses. The chromosome string is built up of fibrous protein, of two degrees of complexity Eu,—and heterocromatin, and in these the genes reside. Certain localized sites of basic protein dotted along the string synthesize dexoxyribose nucleic acid from the ribose nucleic acid of the cytoplasm. These sites become more and more visible as division approaches, the chromosome coils at the same time,

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and by middivision is a dense spiral bundle of nucleic acid, not breakable even by ionizing particles.

During cell growth and diffenentiation the genes act rather like enzymes, by speeding up processes without being used up themselves. The dormant egg is roused to resume growth and differentiation when the new chromosomes from the male cell come in, and the gene quota is sufficient unto launching yet another individual out on the voyage of Life. The cytoplasm of the egg is already zonated and differentiated and institutes a series of interactions on certain genes which then form products to regulate the cytoplasm, and these in turn react back on the genes. The cytoplasm starts the cycle moving towards the differentiation of parts by first being differentiated itself, but its own differentiation had probably been arranged by the nucleus of the egg mother cell. Thus it is that although all genes are present in every part of the cell, sometimes in duplicate or triplicate in parts of the same organism, yet their effects are differential in different parts according to the hormones and enzymes released by them in each direction at the embryonic stage, which has shaped future development.

Each gene gives rise to another during the growth of a new chromosome and as a gene molecule is too complex to split into two and yet retain its essential structure it is probable that each molecule promotes the growth of a like particle outside of itself. The genes are, however, not identical with the particles.

The process of mutation cannot satisfactorily account for the growth of new characters nor of adaptative additions or changes. Darlington and Mather have worked out a system in which new characters may be realized, not as sudden acquisitions, but through a process of gradual accumulation and incorporation into the germinal line. The beginnings of a new character such as a larger and more highly coloured standard in a pappilionaceous flower, first occurs in the simple unspecific plasmagenes of the cytoplasm which may even be left out of inheritance without injury. The next stage occurs in the more specifie heterochromatin genes whose effects are not sharp and distinctive, but graded and quantitative. Lastly, it is incorporated as a complex heritable element of euchromatin, showing visible "factors" in test crosses. The usual belief is that euchromatin degenerates to heterochromatin and the latter is inert. Wright's system of gene activity assumes that nuclear genes migrate to cytoplasm to form plasmagenes. Darlington's system provides for a gradual building up of stable characters which is not unlike in concept to Darwin's pangenesis.

A gene when present may differ in its expressivity in as to whether it is heterozygous or homozygous, dominant or recessive, one of a number of allelomorphs or whether simply of low penetrance, even in the homozygous state. Nearby genes also influence each other's expression, and the diffuse action of polygenes, which Darlington identifies with heterochromatin, is quite characteristic. They, as also certain other well-known genes, show position effect to a marked degree.

In the drama of nuclear division which provides the key to the nature of inheritance, the strings of genes known as chromosomes act as units. Genes are borne in a fixed sequence and this sequence is very important for the process of division to be smooth and exact. Changes in gene order have their repercussions on the offspring who may lack in or have more of certain characters and will thus be unbalanced. If sequencces are similarly changed in both homologues no harmful effect is seen and division runs its course without incident. Some chromosomes do not allow their parts to break away and join up with another, all characters are closely linked in inheritance, and the whole chromosome acts as a super gene. Increase of cell number is effected by the cytoplasm cleaving into two and the longitudinal halves of chromosome migrating to each of the daughter cells. Each cell is exactly like its predecessor. In meiosis, the diversion specialized for sexually reproducing organisms, distribution of nuclear material takes quite a different direction.

Each organism here is composed of two similar sets of chromosomes, all of which have attained a perfect balance and harmony with each other. Partial loss or addition to genomes is found to throw development out of gear. Addition of another pair of complete sets does not, however, disturb the balance and indeed the organism shows an improved though certainly not changed plenotype, as undesirable recessives are all the more effectively gagged. Balance in division is thus essentially between two allelomorphs and the various movements of division are based on attraction and repulsion between a pair. Triploids or very dissimilar chromosome sets cannot survive the rigorous test of meiotic division, and many useful plan hybrids have to be propagated vegetatively. Meiosis not only entails halving of the chromosome number and precise distribution of the genes, so that the new cells do not lack in any but it also provides for the exchange of allelomorphs between the two genomes, thereby shuffling the genic material to some extent each time and ensuring variation. The number of possible variations at each division corresponds to Mendel's laws. Meiosis runs its course by first staging an attraction of homologues resulting in gene specific pairing, then in breakage at corresponding loci in paired homologues and rejoining of broken ends in such a manner that each string joins up with its homologue. Then there is repulsion which spaces out the chromosomes, or their split halves the chromatids. The next phase of attraction is of the organized nuclear sap called the spindle body, for the centromeres. The centromeres drag down the chromatid arms to the equator of the spindle and then neatly arrange themselves along it, homologues facing each other. Then there is either further repulsion between the homologues or attraction of the centromeres for the spindle poles, or

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both, and homologues separate to the poles. The next division is mitotic during which the centromere splits and the paired chromatids are dragged away in opposite directions to be included in the two new cells. Four such cells or gametes are formed at each meiosis and each of two of such pairs differ in character from their parents and from each other.

It is not clear what forces regulate the flow of such a precise and by no means simple sequence of movements, and electricity, hydrodynamics, diffusion, and tactoid growth and hydration have been offered as explanations. This most delicate of all vital phenomena, the exact splitting up of germinal material, nevertheless follows the everyday laws of physics and chemistry.

The quantitative division of the cytoplasm in contrast to the qualitative one of the chromosomes serves to emphasize the difference between the two kinds of genes. Any number of plasmagenes may be included in a daughter cell. All plasmagenes are in a sense homologues and one more or less in the genome does not upset balance as in the case of the nuclear genes.

The importance of chromosome balance can be realized in the beautifully simple mechanism there exists for the determination of sex, though it is not in the Mendelian sense a heritable character. The whole of the sex chromosome with its linked characters, acts as a unit in inheritance, and the chromosome may in this sense be taken as a super gene. There is no single gene for sex, the start of differentiation toward maleness or femaleness depending on the balance established at fertilization between the sex chromosomes, and the rest of the chromosomes termed autosomes. Insects and animals and man have two similar sex chromosomes in the female and a dissimilar pair in males, one of them being similar to the ones in the female. The complex is expressed as 2AXX for female and 2AXY for male. Each of the gametes gets one of the sex chromosomes and their recombinations give male or female offspring. The Y is very small and heterochromatic and may sometimes be absent, when the sex mechanism is accordingly the XO type. An X gametes if fertilized by an X sperm gives rise to a female, if by Y to a male. If the X is lost from the egg and it is fertilized by an X sperm, the individual which should have been a female is an XO male. If both X's are present and a Y is added, it results in an XXY female. A 8AXXX female is not a better female by virtue of its extra chromosome. It is a weaker individual owing to balance not being maintained. XXXX4A females and XXYY4A males are perfectly balanced and healthy, as expected. In the insects the sex chromosome directly influences the growth of sex organs. If an ovary is transplanted to a male both sex organs grow in perfect harmony. In birds and higher forms however sex chromosomes institute the secretion of hormones which regulate the growth of organs. Castrated cocks or spayed hens lose all colouring and beauty, feathers, wattles and spurs and become poor listless individuals. Such hens may even develop functional testes and male feathering. The addition of sex hormones helps to restore the original feathers. This indirect process explains the apparently contradictory phenomena that in a cock with a male sex complex, his sex characters should be absent.

The process of meiotic division finds an individual at the weakest and most unprotected part of its life history and it is consequently tucked away in the inner recesses of the organism in a comfortably moist and warm atmosphere. Life seems essentially a process of going on and on against the destructive forces of time and tide, against the environment and against other forms of life. As it goes along it picks up many experiences and has somehow found a way to incorporate these in a single body, part of which it passes on to its offspring in digest form. The offspring plant of today can automatically safeguard itself against the various phenomena it must encounter in life—cold, drought, rain, a blazing sun, bacilli, and other forms of life which may look on it as a meal. It can also utilize the good salts and water of the earth and the elements of the air around it. The behaviour of the protoplasm towards each of these phenomena has been determined by centuries of experience. This it passes on to the next link in the chain of life through one single body, the nucleus. Bernal has speculated that the complex protein molecules of living matter have been built up by the elements being accidentally incorporated in a particle of clay, the intricacies of whose layered structure can speed up chemical processes. Since then these protein granules have been carrying along without a break. The development of the sexual method of inheritance has helped this amalgamation of experience to be aided by the building up of one individual out of the parts and parcels of two. Thus various lines of experience from two corners of the world can meet and invest their portions in one single individual. The wonder of the process is that it is carried out right under the nose of rigid natural laws of inanimate substances and it violates none of them.

Inheritance is thus all the time being improved upon. The end of the drama is not yet.

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* The constant shuffling of dominants and recessives sometimes come up in rare combinations which may show a desired development in a very marked degree, and the type can subsequently be preserved. Lethal or too harmful combinations are automatically eliminated.

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NEW LIGHT ON THE BELAVA GRANT OF BHOJAVARMAN.

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BY ASOKE CHATTERJEE

It is admitted that the Varmans play a prominent part in re-building and re-shaping of the history of Bengal after the extinction of the Palas. Of all the inscriptions of the Varmans so far available to us, much importance is given to the Belava Copper-plate grant of Bhajavarman. It not only deals with the heroic achievements of the various Varman kings, especially that of Vajravarma, Jatavarma, Samalavarma and Bhojavarma but gives a mythological and historical list of genealogy, and by mentioning the contemporary kings or rulers of other dynasties, it helps much in checking up the list by the actual date of those contemporary rulers, known to us.

Different opinions have been given by manifold scholars regarding verses ten, eleven and twelve of this inscription; still there is enough scope of discussion and invention in those verses.

Perhaps the latest and now-a-days accepted theory regarding this knotty point is upheld by Prof. N. G. Mazumdar in the *Inscriptions of Bengal,* Vol. III. His opinion does not tally with R. D. Banerjee and N. N. Basu or with Dr. R. G. Basak.

In verse 11, he takes Trailokyasundari as the daughter of Samalavarman through his wife Malavyadevi. The verse 12 mentions that Samalavarman had other wives besides Malavyadevi (*tasyasidagramahisi*). One of them, whose name does not occur in the inscription may be the mother of Udayi.

It means then, that Udayi was the brother of Bhojavarma and most probably, as the name is mentioned before Bhojavarma, Udayi was the elder brother of Bhojavarma. First of all, there is sufficient doubt in the theory that Udayi belonged to the Varman dynasty for his name did not end in Varma. Taking Udayi as shorter form of Udayivarma for argument's sake. it is hardly possible to give explanation as to why instead of the elder brother, the younger brother occupied the throne? Why the poet is silent about Udayi?

Moreover, in the verse eleven, we have Malavyadevyasit and according to Prof. Mazumdar, it is a case of Saptami-tat-purusa Samasa. (*Malavadevyamasit*). But the Sanskrit grammarians do not allow such type of Samasa. It is obvious that it is not a case of Samasa.

Hence taking all these circumstances into consideration we see that Prof. Mazumdar's theory does not hold good.

The theory that Udayi means an epithet and not a name and it refers to Bhojavarma, falls to the ground as why Bhojavarma should be mentioned before? He should have been spoken of in its proper place, after Samalavarmadeva.

No question can arise if we construct these sentences as *Tasya Jagadvijayamallasya sunurabhut Udayi,* and *Tasya (Jagadvijayamallasya) Kanya asit Malavadevi.* It means that Jagadvijayamalla (there is no necessity in connecting him with Jagaddeva, the son of Udayaditya, the Paramara King as is done by M. M. Sastri and D. C. Ganguly; for Prof. Mazumdar aptly shows that Jagaddeva and Jagadvijayamalla are two names) had a son named Udayi who was very powerful and he had a daughter also named Malavyadevi who was the beauty incarnate of the three worlds and whom he gave in marriage with Samalavarmadeva.

Thus by reconsidering and re-arranging the view of Prof. R. D. Banerjee, we can reach a safe conclusion.

If it is argued, in course of mentioning the genealogy of the Varman dynasty how can the poet narrate the story of brother-in-law of Samalavarma, it may be said in reply that in many inscriptions we find such examples.

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SWEDISH CULTURAL PARTY'S VISIT TO INDIA BY BUS

In a communication in Swedish addressed to the distinguished Indian Linguist and Journalist, Mr. P. K. Banerjee, N.K.I. (Sweden),—the Editor of the most widely circulated Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter,* Mr. Ake Fredriksson, has informed that he with his party consisting of an Artist, a Photographer, a Doctor and a few University students will shortly be coming out from Sweden (Stockholm) on a study trip to India and Pakistan *via* Middle Eastern countries in a specially equipped self-contained bus containing eight sleeping berths, a kitchen and a little surgical chamber so that the members of the cultural mission won't be required to put up at any Hotel during their long tour. Mr. Fredriksson has specially invited Mr. Banerjee to join them in their tour. During their stay in India lasting for about 3 months the party will visit places of interest and establish cultural contacts with leaders of thought and culture and students' organisations in this country. Mr. Fredriksson has acknowledged with thanks all the assistance and advice he has received regarding the trip to India from His Excellency Manilal J. Desai, India's Ambassador in Sweden. On their way back to Sweden they would (like to) pass through Afghanistan.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

GANDHIAN ETHICS: *By Benoy Gopal Ray. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1950. Pp. xii + 70. Price Re. 1.*

Shri Benoy Gopal Ray has tried to examine Gandhiji's ideas from the critical standpoint of a philosopher. He has come to the conclusion that Gandhiji reached the greatest heights in the ethical plane, but both philosophy and spirituality remained beyond his immediate concern. He was a great 'aspirant,' and not a 'perfect' man in the spiritual sense. On the basis of his moral stand, Gandhiji built up a new technique of collective action. His bias in favour of non-violence showed that he had not reached the condition from which 'violence' and 'non-violence' can be taken as equals.

Readers will be grateful to Prof. Ray for his critical, though slightly academic, essay; and it is hoped that this will further stimulate other scholars to study Gandhiji much more systematically than is usually done.

The reviewer, however, feels that a few minor inaccuracies have crept in here and there, and these might be profitably corrected in any future edition of the book. Thus, on p. 43, it is said that Champaran was Gandhiji's first experiment in mass Satyagraha in India. This is not quite correct; because the only disobedience undertaken on that occasion was by Gandhiji himself; the rest was purely an exercise in constitutional redress of a long-standing grievance.

It is again said that Gandhiji suspended his movements when violence crept into it. It would perhaps be more correct to say that Gandhiji was not afraid of violence from the masses, as such; he could indeed take very great risk as in 1942. But he did suspend movements when he felt that the violence was also being sponsored by the *organization* through which he was operating. Then he cried halt, and tried to set his own house in order.

SEVEN MONTHS WITH MAHATMA GANDHI: *By Krishnadas. Abridged and edited by Richard B. Gregg. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1951. Pp. xii + 272. Price Rs. 4.*

The original book by Krishnadas was published many years ago. Then it deservedly became very popular because it contained an inside story of the Non-co-operation Movement of 1921-22. Mr. Gregg has reduced the book into its present shape by eliminating chapters and sections which have lost some part of their interest at the present time. All that was of permanent value has, however, been retained. In its present form, the book will be welcomed by all readers of Gandhian literature.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE VIJAYNAGAR EMPIRE: *By T. V. Mahalingam. University of Madras. 1951. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 8.*

It was almost half a century ago that Robert Sewell, a member of the Madras Civil Service, published the first historical sketch of Vijayanagar under the title *Vijaynagar: The History of a Forgotten Empire*. Since then the accumulation of material, both literary and archaeological, has been so great as to permit a detailed account of the great Hindu Empire of the Middle Ages in its various aspects. In the present work (which is a Madras University prize thesis) the author, who is the Indian History Reader in the University, has attempted a detailed survey of the economic life and conditions in the Empire, supplementing his earlier publication, *Administration and Social Life under Vijaynagar* (1940). The work consists of six chapters bearing the titles "The Country and the People," "Agriculture and Land Tenures," "Industries," "Trade and Commerce," "Taxation, Currency and Measures," and lastly, "The State and Economic Well-being." The author has made an exhaustive study of all available material and the result is a well-documented, well-arranged and well-written work which does credit to his learning and critical acumen. The author's style is lucid and clear throughout.

While the merits of this work are undoubted, we may be permitted to offer a few criticisms. In the Preface (p. 1) he states (it is not known on what authority) that the Vijaynagar Empire for a time included a part of Burma. On pages 8-10 he rightly rejects Moreland's estimate of the total population of the Empire based on comparison of its admitted military strength with that of France and Germany before 1914 in ratio to the known populations of the two latter states. But his argument is weak and unconvincing. In fact, he misses the essential point vitiating the parallel with pre-war France and Germany *viz.*, that Vijaynagar had no exclusive citizen-army. On pp. 82-83, while discussing the highly important question of proprietorship of the soil, he quotes the valuable testimony of Madhava (*Nyayamala-vistara*, p. 358). But he ignores the fact that Madhava's opinion which occurs in course of discussion of a text (vi. 7.2) of Jaimini's *Mimansa-sutras* (and *not* of *Jaiminiya Nyayamala*, as the author thinks) strictly follows the long commentorial tradition from Sabara-svamin (c. 5th century A.D.) down to Khandadeva (17th century) and later times. On pp. 130 and 131 the author uses the opprobious term ('native') which was discarded even by the British in the last phase of their rule over this country. The author's bibliography is exhaustive so far as it goes. But unhappily it makes no mention of the date of publication of

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works concerned, while the division under three heads, *viz.*, (i) contemporary sources (including, strangely enough, such works as Sir Thomas Munro's *Selections from His Minutes* and Taylor's *Oriental Historical MSS.*), (ii) 'published works,' and (iii) journals, is open to serious criticism from the point of view of terminology. We may lastly point out that the author should have added to his single map of 'ports and towns (*sic*) of Vijayanagar' a few others illustrating (as far as possible) the extent of its foreign trade and its chief trade-routes.

U. N. GHOSHAL

VEDANTA FOR THE WESTERN WORLD: *By Christopher Isherwood and others. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Pp. 452. Price 16s. net.*

At a time when the world is almost wholly infected with doubt, distrust and hatred, and conflict of various cultures and ideologies, there is need for the propagation of a system of thought and culture which can remove all these barriers that separate man from man or man from the rest of creation. Such a system is the Vedanta Philosophy of India. Although India is the land of its origin, it is a philosophy for all times and climes. For it, Reality is one, universal, formless and infinite Being or Existence which is the same as pure consciousness and bliss. Although formless it is manifested in all forms of existence and although infinite it is revealed in all finite beings. Such is the inscrutable creative energy of reality, its indescribable power of *Maya*. Every thing and being of the universe is, therefore, a form or manifestation of Reality which is given such different names as Brahman, God, Self, Life, etc., in different systems of philosophy and religion. Man as the manifestation of God is essentially divine, although in his ignorance he forgets his real nature and thinks of himself as limited, imperfect and sinful. The aim of man's life is the realisation of God within him and within everything. Such realisation is to come by way of self-control, moral purification, philosophical contemplation and *yaugic* intuition. When a man realises God or Brahman, he sees the same Reality present everywhere in the universe and finds his own self in all other selves and all other selves in his self. He feels the pulsation of one universal life in all beings from the creator to the creeper. With this he becomes free from the sway of the ordinary passions and impulses of life, from greed and lust for pleasures of sense, and from ill-feeling and ill-will towards other beings. It is he who passeth from darkness to light, from death to life, and from untruth to truth. In other words, such a man attains freedom from all bondage, equanimity in all conditions, amity towards all beings, and perfect peace and bliss born of God-realisation and self-possession. Since Reality manifests itself in different ways and forms in all things of the universe we are to say that different systems of philosophy and religion are but revelations of the same Reality relatively to the different intellectual capacities and cultural attainments of different groups of individuals. There is, therefore, an essential unity among all religions of the world, and it is sheer folly and conceited purblindness for the followers of one religion to stigmatise all other religions as irreligion and condemn their followers as infidels and unbelievers.

In the book under review the different aspects of Vedantic thought and culture have been explained and examined in turn by a group of eminent scholars from East and West. It is a collection of essays and poems, each of which represents Vedantic thought in some form or other. Some of them bear on the main principles and propositions on which Vedanta philosophy is based, some on the methods of Vedantic knowledge, while others either relate to the implications and applications of Vedanta to practical life and its problems or describe some illustrious lives illustrative of Vedantic realisation. The Introduction by the editor, Christopher Isherwood, is very valuable for its sympathetic and authentic exposition of the main principles of Vedanta philosophy and the account of the life of Sri Ramakrishna as the living embodiment of Vedantic thought and culture. The book is a valuable contribution to Vedanta literature which, although intended for the West, should be widely read in the East. The more the modern mind is imbued with Vedantic thought the better for the future of mankind.

S. C. CHATTERJEE

VEDANT PHILOSOPHY: *By F. Max Muller. Susil Gupta (India) Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 109. Price not mentioned.*

Our hearty thanks go to the publishers for bringing out cheap and handy reprints of famous books on ancient Indian Philosophy and Culture which have long been out of print. This is one of them. Prof. Max Muller's treatises on the six philosophical systems are classics by themselves. Three of his popular lectures on Vedant Philosophy delivered at the Royal Institute, London, in March 1894, are here reproduced. They will remind us once again of the lifelong labour of Max Muller to unearth India's brilliant past lost to Indians themselves. We await with interest the other volumes to follow.

B.

THE WEB OF INDIAN LIFE: *By Sister Nivedita. With an Introduction by Rabindranath Tagore. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas. Pp. xii + 324. Price Rs. 3-8 and de Luxe Rs. 5.*

The first edition of the book was published abroad in May 1904. Four subsequent editions, from August 1904 to July 1918, were all exhausted, and the book has been long out of print. Hence our hearty congratulations for the publishers bringing out this first Indian edition and removing a long-felt want.

In his Introduction, Poet Rabindranath writes: "What you feel as the truth of a people, has its numberless contradictions, just as the single fact of the roundness of the earth is contradicted by the innumerable facts of its hills and hollows. Facts can easily be arranged and heaped up into loads of contradiction; yet men having faith in the reality of ideals hold firmly that the vision of truth does not depend upon its dimension, but upon its vitality. And Sister Nivedita has uttered the vital truths about Indian life." The perusal of the book at once brings to the reader's mind the justness of what the Poet has said by way of appreciation as well as criticism of its contents.

In different chapters, sixteen in number, the authoress has poured forth, in inimitable style, the knowledge and experience she had gained of men and things in Bengal, and for the matter of that, in India. The first few chapters (II—VI) deal exclusively with woman in whom she has found not only the Bengali mother, sister and wife, but also something more; she is the "feeder and sustainer of our national culture and traditions." In very little things she has discovered great meanings and truths. She has rightly anticipated the future role the Indian woman would play in moulding our nationality. In her words: "It is quite evident that if the centre of social gravity is some day to be

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shifted, if the intellectual atmosphere of India is yet to be saturated with fresh ideals, not only must her womanhood participate in the results of the implied revolution, but they must contribute largely to bringing it about. For it is the home, not the factory, that fills life with inspiration; . . ." (p. 94). In these chapters many thoughtful expressions occur, only a few are given here: "In a national character we always find a summary of the national history" (p. 78); "Freedom is granted only to the self-disciplined" (p. 82); "The national ideal cannot be imposed from without—it must develop from within" (p. 100); etc.

In Chapters VII, XIII and XIV the authoress has dwelt on such important topics as the Indian sagas, Indian caste system and Islam in India. In the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the great sagas, we find the cradle of Indian civilization. True significance of Indian caste system has been overlooked by many, and this negligence is mainly responsible for the failure of reformers to strip the system of its evils. The place of Islam in the evolution of Indian nationality has been very ably elucidated by the authoress. In some other chapters she has brought out the underlying truths and ideals of the Hindu life and the continuity of his religious thought. In diversity she has discovered source of unity which will cement our *nationality*. And for this the ultimate responsibility rests with the woman and the people, and to none else. The book was meant for the Westerners. Necessarily she has very often compared things Western with Eastern. For a student of comparative sociology, the treatise is all the more useful. As a true interpreter of India to the West, the Sister's place is far above the commoner.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

(1) 'PLUM' WARNER: *By Laurence Meynell.*
(2) MAURICE TATE: *By John Arlott.*
(3) C. B. FRY: *By Denzil Batchelor.*
(4) DON BRADMAN: *By Philip Lindsay.*

Phoenix House Limited, 38 William IV Street, London. With four plates each. Each volume: Price 4s. 6d.

Cricket is the national game of England. Because of her association with Britain for more than a century and a half, it has also become the most popular game in India. As in various other fields of life, in cricket also there are personalities who will be ever remembered as great figures. W. G. Grace of England, Ranjit Singh, or as he is lovingly called Ranji, of India, and Don Bradman of Australia are perhaps names to conjure with. The volumes under review along with other volumes which will be available later on form a series entitled *Cricketing Lives*. So far as the first books of the series are concerned, each volume contains the life and achievement of a great cricketer who is still living but has retired from cricket.

Laurence Meynell is a novelist of repute. His *'Plum' Warner* is the first volume of the series. Pelham Francis Warner (now he is Sir Pelham) was a fine batsman of his day, and more than that he may be said to be a cricket ambassador, for under the aegis of the M. C. C. he took part in a great many foreign tours either as the captain of the team or as its manager. Meynell not only writes about his hero but he also gives us short accounts of the Marylebone Cricket Club (M.C.C.) which is the controlling body of English Cricket, of the Ashes which are so frequently referred to whenever Test Matches are played, of the Lord's and of the other things connected with cricket. John Arlott, a well-known sports writer, writes about Maurice Tate, a great bowler who retired from cricket just before the Second World War. Denzil Batchelor, a famous special correspondent on sport, conjures up his memory of C. B. Fry. Charles Fry, a contemporary and friend of the great Ranji, was not only a very fine cricketer and famous sportsman and athlete of his time but he is also a great classical scholar and a man of action. The enthusiasm and fervour with which *Don Bradman* is written is very rarely to be met with in books on sports. Philip Lindsay is a distinguished Australian novelist and he conjures up his memory of that cricket genius, Don Bradman. As regards spectators of matches who are so often attacked as idle and inactive watchers Lindsay remarks: "That is the great value of sport, this association of spectator with player. Those moralists who rage against idle folk sitting and watching others at work fail to have any understanding of the spiritual value of games. It does not pander to idleness: far from it, indeed; it inspires to action, as a work of art can inspire one to be up and doing . . . Yes, sport can do that to a young man: it can stiffen the backbone and exalt the heart. Bradman helped to keep my faith alight."

Of sports, perhaps more has been written about cricket than any other game. A fine literature has grown up about and around it. The volumes under review constitute a valuable addition to that literature. A novel way has been adopted for the presentation of the subject. The essays are short biographies of the heroes of cricket written by their hero-worshippers. Not only lovers of cricket but general readers also will find them interesting. The books are finely written. We await the forthcoming volumes.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

SRI BASAVESWARA AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES: *By A. R. Jayaram. Published by Sri Siddhaganga Mutta, Siddhaganga, Tumkur District, Mysore. Pp. 183. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This book gives in brief the life-sketches of Sri Basava, the founder of Virasaivism, and his twenty-two contemporaries who brought about a profound revival of Saivism in the Karnataka in the twelfth century. This religious revival started in the eighth century lasted till the twelfth, pervaded the whole of South India and was led by the great Samayacharyas Sri Manickavachakar, Appar, Sambadar and Sundarar. But for this revival Hinduism had little chance of surviving the Buddhist and Jaina influence and onslaught. Hence the book forms an important chapter of the religious history of Medieval India. This work is based almost entirely on the *Basava Puranam* in Tamil. The Tamil Purana was first published in 1872 A.D and is now out of print. It is based on the Kannada version of the Basava Purana by Bhima Kavi. The Kannada version is again based on the Telugu version of the Purana by Somanatha of Palkurki. Thus we see that Puranas have grown in three leading languages of the South—Kannada, Tamil, and Telugu on Sri Basava and the epoch-making religious upheaval initiated by him. The book under review gives in English for the first time this valuable chapter of our religious history quite unknown to those who are ignorant of any of the three languages mentioned above.

Sri Basava, regarded as the incarnation of Nandiswar, was born in 1132 A.D. of Brahmin parents, Madiraja and Madamba, in Ingulapura in the northern part of the Karnataka. As a child he flatly refused to undergo the customary *upanayan* ceremony arranged by his father Madiraja, left his paternal home, and accompanied by his sister Nagambike went to the abode of Sivasarana, a learned ascetic in Kudala. He

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RESULTS SPEAK

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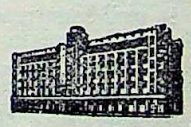

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accepted the ascetic as his *guru* and was initiated into Siva mantra. Then he was married to the daughter of his maternal uncle Baladeva, Prime Minister to King Bijjala of Kalyan. Ere long he succeeded his father-in-law as the chief minister of King Bijjala and in collaboration with his distinguished apostles withstood the fierce attack of Jainism and Buddhism and re-established Hinduism in the Karnataka. At the end of his life's mission he attained eternal union with his Ishtadeva Sangameswara at Kudala. The life-story of Sri Basava is as interesting and instructive as those of other Medieval Indian saints.

Virasaivism of the Karnataka goes by the name Satsthala Siddhanta and differs much from the Saiva Siddhanta of Tamilnada. It is so called as the aspirant has to pass through the six stages of ascent in his spiritual progress for final union with Siva. The six stages are called Bhaktasthala, Maheswarasthala, Prasadisthala, Pranalingasthala, Saranasthala and Aikyasthala and correspond to the six *chakras* of Kundalini Sakti, named Muladhara, Swadhisthana, Manipura, Anahata, Visuddha and Ajna. The four special chapters added in the appendix on Linga, Bibhuti, Rudraksha and Panchakshara furnish a wealth of information of inestimable value. This book, therefore, not only contains a short life of Sri Basava and his contemporaries but also an excellent outline of Virasaiva philosophy. Written in a readable style and printed nicely on good paper it is very well worth an attentive study.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE TRIAL OF ST. JOHN: *By J. S. Turner. Published by A. Mukherjee and Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

A play in four scenes, depicting the martyrdom of St. John the apostle,—more lyrical than truly dramatic in vein. The dialogues are partly in prose, partly in verse. The work leaves, on the mind of the reader, the imprint of a heroic soul, who courted death for his unflinching devotion to truth. The language is melodious. There are experiments with sprung-rhythm and inner rhymes, but at times they are overdone: "Heretic; Lunatic; Fanatic; Fool, tool, sold to Satan . . .; Hold your bold tongues, you've said enough; Hear what the prisoner says." (Sc. II).

Expressions like "autosuggestion" (p. 44), "the extension in politics and economics of love's vital dimension" (p. 47) appear rather out of place.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

THE ETHICS OF ISLAM—WITH THE POLITICAL SPIRIT OF ISLAM etc.: *By Syed Ameer Ali. Published by the Noor Library on behalf of the Academy of Islamic Research and Academic Learning, 12 Serang Lane, Calcutta. Appendix XII. Pp. 52. Price not mentioned.*

Janab Moin-ud-Din Husayn, B.A. has made a speciality of his own to throw up a bridge of knowledge between the various cultures of India since his youth. His family traditions have been "nationalist," to use a term that is popular today. These have entailed humiliations on them since Muslim conceit of a separate nationality in India raised its poisonous head.

But it has not stood in his way; undismayed he has been continuing his self-chosen work. The present booklet is Islamic Series—No. 2, and it embodies a reprint of an address by Syed Ameer Ali, then a young barrister at the Calcutta High Court, to members of the Society for the higher, now the University Institute. The date on which it was delivered is not mentioned.

The idea inspiring this reprint that a knowledge of the basic ideals and practices of Islam on the part of non-Muslims, even of Muslims, will help smooth their relations that have not yet been very happy during the last thirteen hundred years. What is generally known as "religion" has very often been the breeding-ground of wars in the name of peace and amity. Even Islam has not escaped this stimga, though it means Peace. Syed Ameer Ali has extensively quoted from the Q'oran to re-emphasize his belief. And the Appendix is made up of extracts from his famous book *The Spirit of Islam*. The compiler has done a more valuable service to human understanding by publishing the charters granted by the founder of Islam to Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. The charters, however, had been effective only for the "Golden" 30 years of Islam, the period covered by the administration of the first four Caliphs. After that with the spread of the Islamic State, a spirit of intolerance spread which did not spare even the Muslims. But religion had nothing to do with it. Human ambitions ruled the conduct of Muslim rulers. A new era did not dawn.

S. C. DEV

THE NEW YEAR BOOK: *Edited by P. C. Sarkar. Published by S. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1-C College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 366. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is the eighth issue; as it is published in the middle of the year it contains the latest information about the State and Central Budgets—information which is not available in other Year-books. Besides, it has given the basis of the Pakistan Constitution—the full text of the Committee appointed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. This is extremely useful for public men. The printing and get-up is good.

J. M. DATTA

BENGALI

RAJAGRIHA O NALANDA: *By Dr. Amulya Chandra Sen. Published by Bharat-Vidya Vihara, 21 Balaram Ghosh Street, Calcutta 4. Price Re. 1-12.*

The author is well-known as a devoted scholar in the much neglected domain of Jaina-Buddhistic culture and he has spent years in visiting the different sacred places of Jainism and Buddhism. Both are well-represented in his recent book on *Rajagriha and Nalanda* which is much more than a mere travel or guide book. He has incorporated in it the latest findings of eminent archaeologists as well as the publications of the Archaeological Department. The major part of the book is naturally devoted to the historic site of Rajagriha, both in its Buddhistic and Jaina context, which he alone could bring out, because he is a specialist in Pali and Jaina Prakrit literature. We may suggest, however, that he should devote a special monograph on Nalanda which is equally important in the religious and cultural history of ancient India. Naturally Nalanda was the centre of a truly international University not only in India but in the entire continent of Asia. That is why eminent scholars like Hiuen Tsang and I-Tsing and others from China and the Far East spent years as the guest-scholars of the Nalanda University. The book is excellently printed with many illustrations and will be helpful to scholars, visitors as well as to ordinary tourists. We congratulate the members of the Bharat-Vidya-Vihar and the energetic publisher who have published this dependable Guide Book at a very moderate price.

KALIDAS NAG

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(1) PASCHIM BANGER ARTHANAITIC BHUGOL: *By Prof. Sivapada Mukherjee. Published by H. Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pages 140. Price Rs. 2.*

(2) BHARATBARSER PARIBAHAN BYABASTHA: *Author and Publisher same. Pages 64. Price Re. 1-8.*

The first one is a book on Economic Geography of West Bengal in eight chapters dealing with National Environment, Agriculture, Animal products, Mineral and Forest resources, Industries, Transport and Ports and Towns. Since the partition, India (particularly West Bengal) has become a deficit area, short of raw materials and food. Thus the entire economy has been thrown out of gear. The problem requires special study by all concerned—students, businessmen and the government. The author has done a good service to the country by bringing a volume in Bengali for the benefit of the common man without whose knowledge, help and co-operation and correct understanding no amount of State-planning can speed up reconstruction of the country. We would recommend this book to our young men without whose help, devotion, energy and perseverance West Bengal cannot be strong as an economic unit in the Indian Union deficient as it is agriculturally and industrially.

The second one is a book on communications in India. It gives a short account of roads, railways, waterways and airways in the Indian Union. This country is very deficient in communications and any economic planning is sure to suffer from this handicap. And as such the government has planned for its development. Even this seems to be slow compared with the immediate need. The author has suggested speedy development.

A. B. DUTTA

BANGLA BARSALIPI (1358): *Sanskriti Baithak, Calcutta. Pp. 384. Price Rs. 2.*

This is the eighth year of the publication of this Bengali Year-Book. It contains much useful information and some informations which are not easily or usually available. But it is full of mistakes; it seems to have been edited carelessly. For example, the names of the Chairmen of the Municipalities are given at pp. 132, etc. Against Howrah, there is the remark the post is vacant. This is positively misleading—at all material times Sj. Saila Kumar Mukherjea was the chairman, similarly the name of the chairman of the 24-Parganas District Board is left vacant, although the well-known Congressman, Sj. Prafulla Nath Banerjea is the chairman for the last 3 or 4 years. Again the dates of the foundation of the Indian Universities as given are often wrong; *e.g.*, Hindu University (1911—it should be 1915); Aligarh University (1929!); Patna (1927!!); Punjab (1947!!!). Those who edit Year-books should take more care.

J. M. DATTA

RABINDRANATHER SAHITYADARSHA: *By Prof. Prabas Jiban Chaudhuri. Published by Sanskriti Baithak, 17, Panditiya Place, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

In a treatise containing 13 chapters the writer has ably dealt with the literary ideal of Rabindranath. The fundamentals of literature and its relation to life, science, philosophy and truth form the subject-matter of several chapters. The writer's mode of exposition is clear and attractive.

RAKHTE NARINU GHARE (I could no longer stay at home): *By Sri Kalipada Ghatak. Published by Mitralaya, 10, Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.*

A romantic 'long story' depicting 'love of the spirit' between Sribilas, a *kirtan*-singer and Lakshmi, a simple, pure-souled village-girl. Owing to village-intrigues they had to pass through many ordeals. Sribilas leaves his native village and his enemies come to repentance in the end. The easy, unruffled movement of the story suggests to the mind the graceful flow of a woodland rivulet, charming in its simplicity.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

KALPANA KANAN: *By Brijlal Biyani. Published by Hind Prakashan, Akola, Berar. Pp. 79. Price Rs. 2.*

A collection of thirteen delightful essays (including the Preface), dealing with such commonplace events and individuals as birthday, the *tongawala*, the glow-worm, etc., with an ecstatic extravagance of imagination, held however, in check by the cry and claims of the human heart. The result, therefore, is that there is a touch—the master's touch—of a Charles Lamb in the author's creation.

VIRAT: By Stephen Zweig. Published by Hindi Sahitya Prakashan, Ajmer. Pp. 76. Price Re. 1.

This Hindi rendering by Yashpal Jain of one of the greatest "human documents" in the literature of the world is a valuable contribution to the cause of inter-literary mutual appreciation and edification. The translator has done adequate justice to the original while Benarsides Chaturvedi has contributed an appreciative biographical sketch of Zweig and his philosophy of life, which may be summed up in the words of the original author's wife:

"Man in his blindness, not knowing whom he strikes and judges, should judge not and strike not."

A story, which is the story after the heart of the Poet Tagore and of the Prophet Gandhi.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) RASHTRAVALLABH SARDAR VALLABH BHAI: *Cloth-bound. 1948. Pp. 164. Price Rs. 2.*

(2) MAHADEV BHAI HARIBHAI DESAI: *Cloth-bound. 1948. Pp. 103. Price Rs. 2.*

(3) SIR SHAPOORJI B. BILLIMORIA, Kt.: *Cloth-bound. 1945. Pp. 264. Price Rs. 5.*

All three written by Ambalal N. Joshi, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay. Sold by the Sahakari Prakashan Ltd., Bombay 1, and published by the Brihad Gujarat Publication House, Bombay 7.

All three biographies are the result of a facile pen, and they are couched in terse language, but not omitting a single important detail in the lives of any one of the three. They read more like a narrative than a list of the incidents in the lives of the distinguished three. Mr. Joshi has about six or seven publications to his credit, mostly on topics, relating to the Zoroastrian community. He is contemplating publishing the lives of some Parsi Shethias in English. Sir S. Billimoria is a well-known Parsi philanthropist, though an auditor by profession. All three books are worth reading, so replete with information they are.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Ideal of Man

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially :

According to the Vedanta, the ideal of man is the immedaite and direct realization (*aparokshanubhuti*) of Brahman as non-different from his own Self (*Atman*), for, from the standpoint of the highest Truth, Brahman alone is real and all else is an appearance of name and form. Brahman pervades everything everywhere. The personal God is the highest reading of the Impersonal Absolute that the human mind, with its limitations, can attempt, accept, love, and worship. God realization is, therefore, the goal of human life. Even the rank atheist or agnostic, apparently unconcerned about God or the Reality behind all existence, is seeking God, though he may call the object of his search by some other name. The very fact that God or the Self is the subject of human enquiry indicates their existence. In the words of Descartes, God exists because of the very question arising in the mind of man regarding His existence (*cogito ergo sum*). There is no love that can satisfy the heart of man but the love of God. The basis of human love is the spontaneous longing for the infinite bliss (*ananda*) that flows out of the soul towards the one universal Self that resides in all. This truth was imparted to Maitreyi by her husband Yajnavalkya, who taught her saying:

"It is not for the sake of the husband, my beloved, that the husband is dear, but for the sake of the Self. It is not for the sake of the wife, my beloved, that the wife is dear, but for the sake of the Self. It is not for the sake of the children, my beloved, that the children are dear, but for the sake of the Self. It is not for the sake of the wealth, my beloved, that wealth is dear, but for the sake of the Self. It is not for the sake of itself, my beloved, that anything whatever is esteemed, but for the sake of the Self."

No individual or nation can reach the heights of excellence in things spiritual without enthusiastically coming under this great and powerful ideal of man. Each individual has to work out his own salvation; there is no other way to ensure permanent peace and joy within and without. The more a man thinks of God, the stronger and better he becomes. What can be a higher ideal for man than the intense pursuit of God through sincere love and service? And what can ennoble man better than pure love and unselfish service offered to God and man?

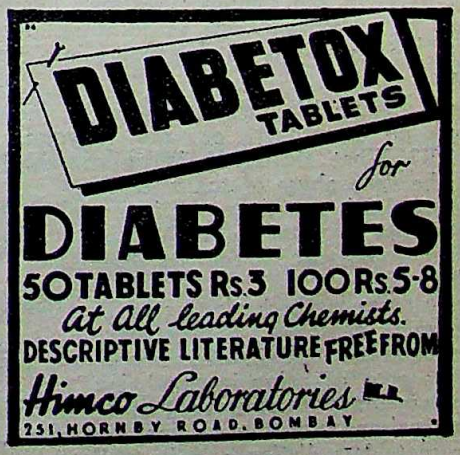
To love man is to love God, to serve man is to worship God, to realize God and live constantly in Him is to become identified with the whole of humanity.

Sri Ramakrishna used to sing, "Mind, struggle unto death. Can any pearl be found in knee-deep waters? If you want to realize Him, dive down into the very depth of the ocean."

Science and politics have come to stay as powerful forces that sway men's minds in the present age. They are good and necessary as means to the End which man is seeking to reach as early as possible. But what makes the power released by these forces a terror to humanity is not anything intrinsically wrong with science or politics but the shifting of the emphasis on the End, the Ideal, which man should seek to attain through them. Self-interest and group-interest have driven out love and charity, greed and lust, have put a premium on fraud and immorality, and the hedonistic and secular ideal have sought to captivate man by catering to his baser instinctual passions and urges. The spiritual ideal, which directs man's vision to an integral conception of life and Reality is looked down upon with curious distrust. The prevailing scientific temper and logicality have complacently ignored even to consider intuitive mystic thought and realization as worthy of investigation. Writes Alexis Carrell:

"The brutal materialism of our civilization not only opposes the soaring of intelligence, but also crushes the affective, the gentle, the weak, the lonely, those who love beauty, who look for other things than money, whose sensibility does not stand the struggle of modern life."

There may be innumerable ideas and idols, but the Ideal of man is universal. The remaking of man and the re-establishment of peace and brotherhood depend upon the re-awakening of the individual's spiritual consciousness. The truths of science have to be understood and utilized for human advancement as means to the perfection that man desires so earnestly, but not dissociated from the spiritual values of life. "Arise, awake, and stop not till the goal is reached"—was the exhortation of Swami Vivekananda to everyone aspiring to strive after the Ideal of Man. He said: "Here is the ideal. When a man has no more self in him, no possession, nothing to call 'me' or 'mine,' has given himself up entirely, destroyed himself as it were, —in that man is God Himself; for in him self-will is gone, crushed out, annihilated. That is the ideal man."



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The Poetry of the Rigveda

The *Rigveda* is the earliest book of humanity, held for long centuries in the highest esteem by the scholars of India. Dr. Matilal Das observes in *The Aryan Path* :

Our task here is not to explore the religious or mystic symbolism of the Vedic singers, whose revelations were the fountain source of the elevated Upanishads, but merely to discuss the richness, the beauty, the depth and the fervour of the Vedic hymns as poems. The strength of these lyrics and verses arises equally from an inward profundity and a generous sensuousness.

The poet is a seer, perceiving the beauty and the truth which lie hidden from ordinary sight. The rhythm that vibrates around us, the sweetness that pervades the most commonplace things of life are not felt by us, but a poet sings of his joy in communion with the worlds of mind and of matter. But the mystic has a gift rare even among poets. He sees into the inmost soul of life and nature, not by aesthetic sensibility alone, but by developing his inner consciousness by some mysterious power—an illumination which can be felt, but defies analysis and explanation. The taste of sugar has a special quality which can be perceived only by tasting sugar. It is so with mystic perception. Unless the mind is attuned to this outlook it is not possible to grasp the mystic idea. This is in essence a training of the heart, by which the ultimate truths flash upon the pure mind like the sudden flash of the dawn. The mystic feels them though he may not be in a position to make them pass the test of reason. Mysticism is thus a particular method of the search for truth by which, through intuition, we arrive at fundamental verities.

The Vedic poets are essentially mystics.

Produced in an atmosphere surcharged with ritual, their poetical images, their idioms and the form and colouring of their poems are different and a modern man may find it difficult to go below the surface to understand the inner meaning. But the difficulty is not insurmountable for one who seeks to penetrate the Vedic poems' inward depths of harmony. We must, however, bear in mind that the *Rigveda* is not the work of a single poet. It is an anthology and its verses represent different strata of thought, though there is an underlying unity of purpose and of outlook.

It will not be possible to deal adequately with the varied beauties of the hymns. I shall give a few examples only. In the famous "creation" hymn, lofty and grand in conception, rich in idealism, deep submission to the mystery is felt expanding into prophetic utterance.

"There was no life then, nor what is non-being. There was no atmosphere or sky beyond. What covered all? What sheltered? What concealed? Did it lie in the deep abyss of the waters?

"Neither death was there nor immortality. Neither the light of day was, nor the night. The One breathed by its inner power without breath; Other than It there was nothing . . .

"Desire arose in the beginning in That; it was the primal germ of spirit.

"The sages searched in their hearts and found by wisdom the root of being in non-being."

There are few poems in world literature which can stand comparison with the original for its superb glory, its matchless diction and its philosophic depth. The Absolute Reality which is behind phenomena is beyond all human categories. It is only possible to explain reality to the uninitiated in terms which are vague. The word-music of the poem, its imaginative fervour, its sheer beauty and sweetness are lost in translation. The sob and surge of the eternal sea wear a charm round this poem, unique in its lone grandeur.

For inner light the grand Prajapati hymn, which we shall quote in part, is no less important. In its elevating tone it outdistances all rivals in the whole Vedic literature. The accent is one of experience and wisdom. It is at once human, happy and powerful.

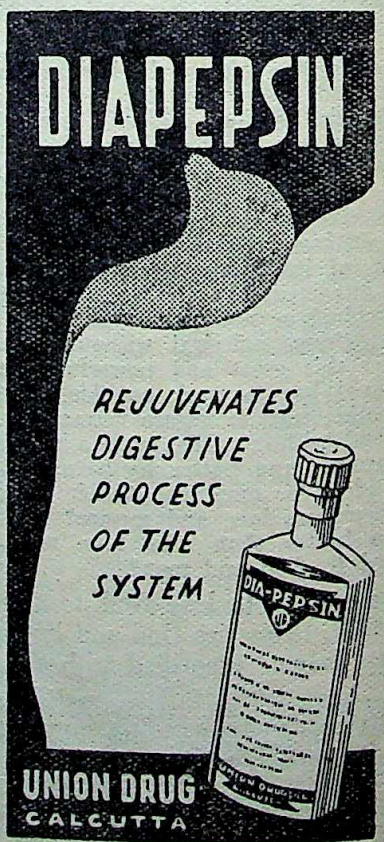
"A golden germ arose in the beginning. He was born, the only Lord of creatures. He established the earth and the firmament: What god shall we adore with our oblation?

"He gives the vital breath. He gives power and vigour. He whose behests all gods acknowledge—the shadow of whom is life immortal as well as death. What god shall we adore with our oblation? . . .

"Who is looked up to for help by the trembling earth while battle rages over it between the powers of evil and of good; when over it the risen sun shines in splendour: What god shall we adore with our oblation? . ."

The poem inspires awe and that sense of mystery which arouses insistent questioning. The mystical experience of the poet is felt in its subtle depth and poignancy by even the most casual reader.

Let us turn from these songs of profound philosophy to some simple poems of everyday life, where the poets feel the beauty and the joy of nature.



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The poems on the dawn are remarkable for their imagery and pleasing technique. I select for its brevity this poem on the dawn:

"O thou beautiful dawn, come hither by auspicious ways, from above the golden realm of the bright sky . . .

"O thou bright dawn, when thy hour comes, men and cattle stir in joy.

"And from all quarters flock together the winged birds.

"Thou, when thou comest with thy golden beams, fillest the world with radiance and splendour.

"The sons of Kanva invoke thee for glory and joy and pour forth their fervour in sacred songs."

Like children we travel into fairyland with the poet, who is not only a poet of imagination but also a poet of innocence. Like all fine poetry, it is a union of images and music. We escape from the four walls which confine us and travel forth into a world of beauty and rhythm. Those who want to enjoy the superb skill of the Vedic poets should read the longer poems on the dawn which reach the height of poetical fancy by a realization of the unearthly which is yet earth-entwined and remarkably concrete.

The hymn on night from which we quote the following few lines, is equally beautiful in its symbolism and imaginative sensuousness:

"With her shining eyes the Goddess night looks forth and moves in many places. The void she fills, she fills height and depth—the immortal Goddess. Her splendour covers the darkness. When she comes she places her sister the dawn in her place and so the darkness smiles on her. Just as birds rest on the tree, we tread on her pathways. O thou Goddess, give us shelter this night . . ."

The description is vivid. The starlit night, the magic and music of the incoming dawn and the departing night are put forth in images which are obvious but none the less delightful for that.

The hymn to the forest is marvellous for its grace and beauty:

"O thou wild forest, wild art thou, pathless thou roamest. Why dost thou not seek the village? Art thou not afraid? The bull roars somewhere; the cricket chirps. Thou, lady of the forest, playest as it were on a harp. The cattle graze yonder—there shines what seems to be a dwelling-house.

"At eve one hears the rattling sounds of carts. Here one calls his cow—there someone has felled a tree. A dweller at eve fancies that a cry rings somewhere. She does not slay unless one goes with evil intent. One can have sweet fruits and then can rest where he wills.

"O thou lady of the forest, accept my songs—thou sweet-scented queen, redolent of balm. Thou art the mother of fawns. Thou hast a rich store of food though thou hast no tilling."

It is a pure nature-poem, its bare simplicity and sensuous appeal wedded to imaginative power, the poem stands the test of true creative art.

The hymn to Mother Earth which we have not space to quote, makes the reader feel that he is looking at our well-known globe for the first time, with the wonder and joy of the first child on the face of the earth. The poet extends the boundaries of reality and reveals the significance of the known in words of music that are true and sincere. The naturalistic impressionism of the poem is interwoven with human emotions. The vital energy finds soft and lucid expression even in its brevity.

There are some ballads in the *Rigveda* which cannot but fascinate even the most acute critics.

Rich and sensuous, they inspire us with their beautiful strength, their terse and tense dialogues and their overwhelming human sympathy.

I shall conclude with a quotation from the last hymn of the *Rigveda,* which is a clarion call to universal unity and should have, in these days of world-planning and internationalism, a universal appeal:

". . . Let us assemble together, speak together, let us have one mind, just as the mighty forces of nature move and act under law. Let our goal be common, common the parliament, common our desires, so will our efforts be joint.

"A common ideal is before us all for one acceptance and let us fulfil it with common sacrifice.

"Let our resolve be one and let our hearts be together. Let us bring happiness and joy by uniting our thoughts and deeds."

The *Rigvedic* poems have a reserve of power and a depth of poetic radiance which, being inward, penetrate to the dynamic centre of life.

Picturesque many of them are; some seem wild and rugged; but there is something organic in the spirit and atmosphere of the poems which gives them a perfect poise and a noble suavity. There are endless repetitions but this is obviously inevitable, if we bear in mind the background of the poems. A sanctity pervades them all. They draw our attention to the vast cosmic whole. It is idle to criticize the poems from our modern stand-point; we should, on the contrary, try with humility to understand them. To realize their import fully, we must revive the passionate devotion and wonder of those days.

The images and symbols of the Vedic hymns are symbols of far-off days but they are full of ever-widening sense and harmony. They have a white purity round about them. They spring forth with superb ease from the hearts of the mystic bards. The diction is sometimes archaic, the meaning is at places obscure, but there is the joy of the creative urge in all of them, a vigour, a dynamic force, a buoyant optimism. They are the expressions of men to whom life was bright and joyous, who loved life in its fullness. Morbid pessimism is conspicuous by its absence.

Modern man may not enter into the keen religious fervency that expresses itself in the poems but he can recognize the burning sincerity of the utterance and can appreciate not only their grandeur and the profoundly penetrating insight of the mightly singers but also the supreme beauty of the poetry as such. The study of these hymns will help to open the intuition to a new world of beauty and of joy; they lead us towards the realm of the eternal and the infinite.

Internationlism Through Ages

Dr. Amaresh Datta writes in *Careers and Courses* :

That the solidarity of any kind in a wider sphere has been possible only against a common danger is as much a fact of history as of human nature. Whence it follows almost necessarily that the greater the consciousness of a threatening menace the wider is the scope for international cooperation. Be it plague or Napoleon, dangerous and narcotic drug or Hitler, when it is branded as a common enemy, any opposition against it forthwith assumes the sanctity of a crusade.

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It also shows what men can achieve in unity and how they can resolve even their basic differences in a fighting camp. But speaking exclusively in terms of politics the whole problem cannot be reduced to such a simple statement. Change the point of view and the enemy nations can also with equal justification brand the other party as their common enemy. That means two parallel developments of the concept of solidarity on apparently similar lines. All attempts of this kind, I fear, cannot be properly called real attempts at international solidarity.

The word international in this context is rather misleading, especially if we go by its derivative meaning. For that puts the attempts by Napoleon and Hitler on a par with those made by Wilson and Roosevelt. But at least in intention and motive if not in technique and method they are widely different from each other and in some respects even fundamentally. If, therefore, we refer to attempts made with a benevolent purpose, we would prefer to call them attempts at multinational or intercontinental solidarity. At least the two mighty efforts of our century have been aimed at promoting an understanding not only among the nations of one continent but of all the continents of the world. In common parlance the word internationalism is used not only to signify an idea disagreeable to nationalism but also to a dogmatic way of thinking. But because of common cultural heritage and traditions and in some cases religion, each continent, in spite of various divergences among its nations, forms, broadly speaking, a characteristic attitude towards life—'a soul, a spiritual principle' as Renan calls it while speaking of the nineteenth century nationalism. Any move to organise an international society worth the name, therefore, is one which has tried to weave the enormous differences into a grand pattern and treating them as 'brotherly dissimilitude,' to synthesize them into an orchestral harmony. In fact the vaster the scope for coordination among basically different nations, more evident are the bonafides of the attempt of that kind. In these days of political resurgence and social and economic interdependence mostly due to the innumerable advantages of science for easy contact and contamination, any narrowing of the boundaries of our visualized 'one world' is bound to be suicidal if not impossible.

But the conclusion from the above is not that the concept of international solidarity is the product of our age, nor that its conception in the preceding ages, was wholly cribbed, cabined and confined. No doubt our conception of the cooperative world is more extensive but this advantage of the modern age is only circumstantial.

The idea of international solidarity is perhaps as old as human civilization.

In all the different regions of the world which have witnessed the flowering of rich cultures and civilizations, the idea of a greater unity, the desire to transcend the geographical barriers has always captured the imagination of the wisest and the best. At the dynamic stages of these civilizations artists and poets, philosophers and religious preachers have always addressed themselves to an audience infinitely wider than the one just near at hand. That perhaps easily explains the eternal and the universal appeal of their immortal works. By implication these poets and artists, philosophers and men of religion, always visualized a united world of men. Walt Whitman was once asked by a nationalist: "Must you not take care of home first of all?" His reply was: "Perhaps, but what is home? To the humanitarian what is home? I am for getting all the walls down, all of them." What Whitman declared so explicity, was and is tacitly meant by all the artists and idealists. But each of them in a sense, has been an idle dreamer of an idle day; for this abstract idea of unity though inspiring and indispensable, has failed to recognise human nature as it is. And because they have always been guided by an uncompromising idealism these religious, poetic and philosophic concepts have ever remained a tantalizing treasure of a forbidden land to the self-seeking men—unimportable and impractical.

Our concern, therefore, is with the political concept of international solidarity, with political utopias, not with unrealizable dreams. Not that by being political an utopia ceases to be unreal; by being political it attains some amount of workability, practical bias.

PRACTICAL INTERNATIONALISM

Prof. Toynbee maintains that the utopias are generally the products of civilization in decline. If the above view is historically true, which in nine cases out of ten, it is, then, disintegration in any form caused either by war or pestilence of any other kind appears to be the force behind all these schemes for international solidarity.

The mighty abstract idea of peace which seems to be the aim of most of the internationalists is only an important aspect of the main issue.

It assumes a pride of place in our thought when the common danger is war. But problems of humanity particularly in our days are political, social, economic and cultural in the same degree. *Peace merely as the negation of the idea of war may soothe our ruptured*

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hearts for a moment but it will never solve our problems even if the miracle happens—peace is attained without any change of hearts in the present state of world affairs. Our common enemy today, as it has been always in some form or other, is a type of mentality represented by a class of people, that is dogmatic, self-seeking, unable to see beyond their noses and what is worse, capable of sugar-coating their intentions by such catch phrases as 'bearing the whiteman's burden,' 'mission civilisatrice,' 'spreading enlightenment and culture.'

Before enumerating the earlier attempts, the circumstances under which they were made, should also be taken into consideration. For obvious reasons their scope was limited; in some cases the area visualized had included only the surrounding neighbourhood, but seldom had it gone beyond the continental boundary. Science had not yet knit all the countries into an easily communicable world and economic and social interdependence had not yet been an undeniable fact of life. Nationalism had not yet gone the whole hog to show the disastrous form it might take and produced the reaction in favour of internationalism. America was still a land of mystery, a vast Eldorado, Africa could still hide herself in her dark forests and Asia was still considered to be a paradise for invaders and exploiters. So the barriess were not merely physical; cooperation with the so-called dependencies and barbarians could not even be thought of, and in the absence of any global war the urgency and need for a better and united world was not so irresistibly felt. These schemes. therefore, were made usually by well-meaning persons either well-read or widely travelled and capable of taking a synthetic view, sometimes for meeting the demands and needs of their ages and sometimes for the wishfulfilment of their cherished dreams. Here distinction should also be made between the innumerable alliances made for emergent purposes and the attempts at international solidarity.

Some rudiments of international organization were developed in the Amphictyonic Council of Greece, and state systems of ancient China and India.

In the days of Roman supremacy the ideal was one of imperial unity: the most realistic and typical of the series of schemes of that period, one formulated by Pierre Dubois, was directed to that end. The 'Grand Design' of Henry the IV was based on the assumption that no single state could attain ascendency over others permanently and designed for maintaining peace only among European nations. Hugo Grotius's treatise on international law is no doubt a landmark in this field, but one obscure monk Emeric Cruce in his *Le Nouveau Cynee* made a very significant proposal for international organization in which he included China, Persia and the Indies, and suggested that unity should be maintained by freedom of trade, construction of interoceanic canals, negotiations and arbitration and in cases of emergency with the intervention of a world court.

At the end of the seventeenth century the quaker missionary and colonizer William Penn with his *Essay towards Present and Future Peace of Europe* also trod upon the same ground. He suggested the adjustment of territorial controversies by representation in the international parliament based upon national wealth. He was followed by the Abbe Saint Pierre, who with his *Project of Perpetual Peace* aimed merely at a strong alliance, though it inspired Rousseau to work out a substantial scheme in his *A Lasting Peace through the Federations of Europe.* Rousseau suggested a solid confederation with coercive power to enforce its decision. In the *Principles of International Law,* Jeremy Bentham following Rousseau suggested defensive alliances, general guarantees, disarmament and the abandonment of colonial imperialism.

'Holy Alliance,' 'Concert of Europe' and such other schemes of the period which came out as a strong reaction against the ideas of revolution and Napoleon and which were efficiently worked out by the Tsar of Russia, Alexander I and Matternich, were at least in scope no improvement upon their predecessors. Mention should also be made of Kant's Essay *Towards Eternal Peace* in which he advocated the independence of all the states, their willing co-operation, gradual abolition of standing armies and the formation of a world state for the protection of international rights. It should also be noted that these utopias easily divide themselves into two classes. One aims at a totalitarian state, and is represented by Plato (only partially), Machiavelli, Hobbes, Marx and the host of others; the second seeks to establish a democratic world federation and all the theorists who can be easily disposed of as impossible idealists are its sole representatives.

Attempts of our age are not exclusively independent and isolated issues. They are actually the two significant points in the long process of practical and theoretical preparation for an enduring structure of a parliament of man.

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And, therefore, in spite of many failings it should be said to their credit that some kind of real international co-operation has been possible in fields other than political, only because of these organizations. The establishment of public international unions for the regulation of waterways, railways, air, navigation, telegraphy and postal service, weights and measures, health, sanitation, commerce, humanitarian reforms, etc., bears an eloquent testimony to the masterly little so far attained by men.

The Off-shoots

The League of Nations was the first magnificent effort of its kind. Judged by the results it may be regarded as an interesting target for witticism but in scope it was wider than all the earlier attempts. It recognized the rights of sovereignty of all the states big and small and made it possible for people of different countries to meet regularly for a noble purpose, and admitted the possibility of peaceful arbitration. In 1919, the need of an international organization was urgent but sincere willingness and inner conviction were not shown by all the nations because all the continents were not equally affected by the first World War. America could even remain out though her President was the man behind the show.

Yet one thing is certain, though the League was discredited, the idea of a League was not. Numerous schemes began to emerge all the world over. President Wilson boldly asserted: "We may not be able to set-up permanent decisions. We can set up permanent processes." If we base our judgment on this statement the League cannot be called an utter failure. In setting up 'permanent processes,' in forming technical organizations, in doing substantial, social and humanitarian work it has considerably paved the way for the United Nations and helped us to treat these organizations extremely useful and necessary, not merely as so sudden sallies of imaginative idealism.

Since 1945, beneath the surface, the situation h changed unprecedentedly. A united front is to given not only to the idea of the Nordic theory culture or the danger of geo-politics but also to th most poisonous weapon invented so far, the Ato Bomb. Therefore though the constitution and methods of operation of U.N. may not be basica different from those of the League, its responsibili is greater, its scope wider and its necessity mo urgent and imperative. And even a casual obser could not fail to see that the U.N. is very strong alive to the high purpose it has been designed to fu Its success though partial even in the field of polit augurs well for it and the declaration and acceptan of the universal human rights, speak about its inher strength and vitality.

Every nation or group of nations will now ha to pass through the crucible of this world organizati before it justifies its activities. Tendency therefo will be more towards sticking to it than leaving it the lurch for selfish ends. It has also, aided of cou by the historical forces, minimizezd the confusions political views and reduced them into two well-defi political attitudes towards life. Decision in favour either will be taken by the world at large and throu this organization. And if it also goes the way of t League, a future Bernard Shaw will not find in failure much for fun and witticism. A drama on 'La Success' will be an irredeemable tragedy on the desti of man.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India's Foreign Policy Criticised

We reproduce below the following letters which appear in the American Press :

New Delhi, July 30: The Communist Party of India, following a new party line in tune with Moscow's peace offensive, is showing a surprising resurgence.

A survey of the most reliable opinion in various centers of India indicates that the party, which a few months ago appeared to be tottering, is rapidly extending its strength and influence through a host of pro-Communist fronts ranging from student and theater groups to labor organizations.

Its actual membership appears to remain between 60,000 and 80,000.

The Communists are exploiting the split in leadership of the Congress Party—dominant party in India—and are conducting an all-out campaign to infiltrate into the new People's Party and other local anti-Congress bodies.

The success of the Communist program is reflected in Left-wing victories in all three recent by-elections for the Bengal State Parliament.

Political observers predict that Communists and their followers will win a minimum of fifteen of the 401 seats in the national Parliament to be elected this winter. There are no Communists in the present Parliament.

Informants say Communist-dominated labor unions are now second in strength to the Congress Party-controlled Indian National Trade Union Congress which claims 1,600,000 members. A few months ago the Communist unions were reckoned a poor third after the Indian National Trade Union Congress and the Indian Labor Organization.—*New York Herald Tribune*, July 31, 1951.

* * * *

To the Editor, *The New York Times*,

In *The New York Times* of July 30 it was reported that the Nehru Government had insisted that "in accordance with the Yalta agreement the island of Formosa be given to China in the future." If the reported Indian attitude toward the Japanese peace treaty and the Yalta agreement is correct, it is amazing that the Indian Government could link Formosa with the once top-secret document, "the agreement regarding Japan."

Having studied practically all the available sources on the Far Eastern agreement, I find nothing mentioned about Formosa or Taiwan. Perhaps another part of this document is still unknown to the Chinese National Government but is familiar to the Indian Government. If this is so, then I would not attempt to contradict the Indian argument on the Yalta accord with regard to Formosa.

It is interesting to note that while the Yalta agreement did not mention a word about Formosa, India still desires to deliver Formosa, to Red China, basing her argument on a Yalta provision which does not exist.

It is equally interesting to note that when the draft treaty of peace with Japan gives to Soviet Russia more than the Yalta agreement intended, India's silence seems to indicate her approval. For instance, Section (c) of Article II of Chapter II of the Draft Peace Treaty with Japan stated:

"Japan renounces all right, title and claim to the Kurile Islands and to that portion of Sakhalin and the islands adjacent to it over which Japan accquired sovereignty as a consequence of the Treaty of Portsmouth of Sept. 5, 1905."

While Section (3) of Article II of the Yalta agreement only stated: "the Kurile Islands shall be handed over to the Soviet Union," the draft provision seems to give the impression that Japan acquired all these islands only as a consequence of the Portsmouth Treaty. This is in contradiction of the late Secretary of State Edward Stettinius' views about these islands. Stettinius wrote:

"The Kurile Islands, of course, were Japanese territory before the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. During the nineteenth century both Russia and Japan had laid claim to the Kuriles and Japanese ownership was recognized near the close of the century."

Aside from legal considerations, it should be understood that by conferring extra-legal titles of the Kurile and Sakhalin Islands to Soviet Russia, it would mean placing the Kremlin in a convenient beachhead for further aggression in Japan.

If certain politicians wish to reward Soviet Russia or Soviet China in such a manner they should not arbitrarily change the facts of history and geography in advancing their own falsified interpretation of a treaty or an agreement.

STEPHEN C. Y. PAN

Washington, July 31, 1951
—*The New York Times*, August 4, 1951.

* * * *

To the Editor, *The New York Times*,

As one who for more than half a century has worked and hoped for Indian and Asian freedom, I feel morally obliged to comment on Prime Minister

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Nehru's opposition to the peace treaty with Japan proposed by the United States.

Mr. Nehru advocates the return of Formosa to Communist China. But Communist China is today carrying on an aggressive war against the United Nations and in particular the United States. Communist China and Soviet Russia have concluded a thirty-year treaty of alliance which will serve to combat Japan and any nation aiding Japan. As the Government of the United States is committed to helping Japan protect her sovereignty, the Soviet-Chinese alliance is virtually directed against the United States.

The Communist Chinese Government and Soviet Russia by not signing a peace treaty with Japan, will continue to be in a state of war with that country. Since the United States has agreed to protect disarmed Japan from any attack, it can hardly be expected that the Government of the United States should agree to turn over Formosa to Red China. For in that event Soviet Russia and Communist China would be able to use the island as a submarine and air base against Japan and the United States.

Importance of Islands

Mr. Nehru wants the United States to give up control over Bonin and Ryukyu Islands. If there were a Japanese navy intact to tackle Soviet Russian-Communist Chinese naval forces stationed in various bases and islands from the Kurile Isles to the southern part of the China Sea then Japan might now be given possession of these islands. As things stand today, however, to return Bonin and Ryukyu Islands to Japan would mean that Soviet Russia and Communist China would control a vital portion of the Pacific.

Surely, the United States of America did not fight Japan to her defeat in order to ensure Soviet Russian control of the Pacific. America, under the present circumstances in world politics, will co-operate with Japan to arm her so that she may be able to assume full responsibility for her own national defense and check any further expansion of Soviet Russia and Communist China in East Asia. I am afraid Mr. Nehru does not realize that American-Japanese co-operation, leading to an alliance to counter the Soviet-Chinese pact, has already become a major factor in world politics.

The proposed Japanese treaty gives Japan full sovereignty in matters of her own defense. However, by a Japanese-American agreement, American forces are to remain in Japan to defend Japan. As long as Japan agrees to an understanding with the United States for her own security, India should not oppose any such understanding. India cannot logically do so unless she is aligned with Soviet Russia and Communist China and against Japan. Will India fight to protect Japan from Soviet Russia and Communist Chinese aggression?

Japan's Future

Mr. Nehru suggests that Sakhalin and the Kurile Isles be given to Soviet Russia. Whatever happened at the Yalta Conference is in no way binding on Japan, and it is quite understandable that Japan may not agree to give up those islands which are so essential for her own security. Within five years, Japan with her more than 80 millions of virile and disciplined people will again become the most important power, economically, politically and militarily in Asia, as Germany again will play the most vital role in rejuvenated Europe.

Mr. Nehru sincerely desires to lead a third force for peace, but in refusing to be a party to the Japanese peace treaty he actually aligns India with Soviet Russia and Communist China and against Japan and the United States. Indian freedom and peace and independence throughout Asia can be secured only by the closest possible collaboration between India, Japan, the United States and a China which is not the tool of imperialist Soviet Russia.

Taraknath Das

—*The New York Times*, Sept. 4, 1951.

* * * *

Gobind Behari Lal's Letter

I find that the majority of India-born residents of this country—of highest patriotism—with whom I have discussed the subject share my conviction that India should have signed the American drafted Peace Treaty with Japan.

India, of course, should have honestly, persuasively and with friendly courtesy stated her objections, recommendations and hopes for eventual amelioration and revision of some of the treaty provisions. This would have meant an evolutionary attitude, for after all this is an age of almost unpredictably fast evolution in human affairs under the propulsion of scientific developments.

The key principle which I venture to express is the importance of an unshakable operative friendship between this country and India. It is derived from two basic conclusions:

First: Free India, with the rest of awakened Asia, needs: (1) Means of scientific, technological and educational development; (2) Methods of elevating

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the people to a mature appreciation of the democratic processes of self-government, so that the best things of life are opened to all.

Second: Since the United States is the most highly developed scientific, technological and democratic civilization on earth, her guidance is more likely than any other in sight to lead to anything approaching a world democracy, enlightened and guided by scientific knowledge and its applications.

No one knows better than I do the greatness of Indian culture, which after all is th very substance of my own life. But India, like the rest of the East, has stayed where Europe was before the Renaissance, before Da Vinci and Galileo. She needs vigorous American stimulation and collaboration, for there is no other source available.

For great things that help create civilization and culture it is meritorious to go begging with a bowl in hand, as did Gautama Buddha, the Light of Asia. And America knows how to give with magnanimity and good grace. This is something which the Japanese have recently discovered themselves.

If there are Indians, on high or common levels, who have not yet recognized that generosity, neighborly helpfulness and strength go together in America, then the main reason probably is the psychological legacy of British rule in India—a legacy which both Americans and Indians must shake off now completely.

During the British Raj, of course, Americans and Indians dealt with each other furtively through London. American sympathy for Indian independence and progress was real but mostly concealed because of the fear of offending the British. That is why Indians who had no or little contact with this country never knew what a great influence was exercised by American sympathy for Indian freedom in the changing of British policy and practice in India.

For example, even now only a few Indians know that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had exerted high pressure upon his friend, Winston Churchill, to concede the right of independence to Indians as soon as the last war was over. As Mr. Basil O'Connor, eminent New York lawyer, the President's intimate friend will tell you, it was pressure from Mr. Roosevelt that induced Britain to send the Cripps mission to India in 1942. I had something to do with inducing Mr. O'Connor to take up the subject of India with the President.

What is even less understood here and in India is that during the First World War epoch, too, American public opinion, of which President Wilson certainly took notice, proved to be a powerful instrument in favor of Indian independence. Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan had openly condemned British rule in India. Secretary Lansing, his successor, had expressed himself in favor of dominion rule for India. Senators, Congressmen, editors, preachers favored India.

In San Francisco, for example, a potent Indian nationalist effort was initiated in 1912 by Dr. Har Dayal, lecturer at Stanford University, who was an Oxford-educated Indian genius. It flourished and influenced the British Government because it had received support from some of the foremost American leaders.

Particularly important was the championship of the Indian cause by Fremont Older, great editor of the San Francisco Bulletin (later the San Francisco Call-Bulletin), his staff columnists such as John D. Barry, Pauline Jacobson and others; and many other Hearst editors and writers such as Jack London and George Sterling, as well as Senators James D. Phelan (Democrat) and Hiram Johnson (Progressive Republican). In the East there were many American voices raised in behalf of Indian inlependence more than 25 years ago.

It was not any particular section of the American public opinion, Irish or German or Latin, which increasingly became a power in behalf of Indian freedom; many an American of purest British ancestry was on the Indian side.

Such American investment and such Indian investment in the cause of national and individual freedom imposes a mandate upon this country and Free India to resist all temptations to interrupt or weaken, the half-century-old Indian-American friendship, which needs more nourishment today than ever before and should be strengthened in every possible way for the good of India, for the cause of American democracy, for the peace of the world.

With this background I repeat—India would have gained by signing the treaty.

—*New York Journal*, Sept. 6, 1951.

Ethiopians United by Inter-Racial Policies

Correspondent Wilton Wynn writes in the *Worldover Press*, June 22, 1951:

Addis Ababa: Enlightened racial policies of Haile Selassie form a strong unifying factor in this land of mingled race and religious strains.

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Traditionally Ethiopia's hodge-podge of ethnic groups has been dominated by a hated minority, the ruling Amhara race of which the present Emperor is a member. Since he came to power, however, he has done his best to bring representatives of all groups into the political and cultural life of the country.

The Amharas are a light-skinned Semitic group who claim ancient ancestry. They are Coptic Christians, though their religion shows many traces of Jewish influence. Their tradition says they are descendants of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. They lay claim to all the promises in the Bible which the Jews allegedly forfeited when they rejected Christ.

Next to the Amharas in number are the Gallas, a darker group formerly considered a slave race by the Amharas. The Gallas are diverse in religion, some of them Christians, others Muslim, some pagan, with a tiny remnant still following a religion brought from ancient Egypt. In the rural regions, there is some bitterness between Gallas and Amharas. Displaced persons brought from Europe to Ethiopia were driven out of one area by hostile Gallas because they considered the immigrants "friends of the Amharas."

Politically, Amharas and Gallas have come much closer together under the rule of Haile Selassie. This correspondent could see no discrimination against Gallas in the capital. In the various ministries, there is every possibility that a Galla will be holding the portfolio with an Amhara as his subordinate. Gallas have held ambassadorial posts abroad, and in every way have opportunities in the government.

A more troublesome group is the Somalis, who live in Ogaden Province bordering Somaliland. The Somalis are predominantly Muslim and have never forgotten that they once conquered the Christian Amharas. Haile Selassie has recognized the futility of trying to control such people with a big fist. He has established schools in Ogaden Province, has brought many Somalis to Addis Ababa to study, and has given government positions to those who are capable.

Ethiopia's 50,000 Jews form a unique problem. These people, called Falashas, are an indigenous race who accepted the Jewish religion at a very early date. They worship the deified Sabbath, practise various forms of magic, and in many respects differ greatly from the larger Jewish community. They speak no Hebrew. Their Scriptures are preserved only in Ge'ez, the ancient Ethiopian language. In spite of Jewish tendencies in the Ethiopian church, this country's Christians always have considered the Falashas a hated and feared minority. The Emperor has tried hard to break down this feeling, but the attitude of the Falashas themselves makes the task difficult. Falashas refuse to enter the homes of Christians and insist on living apart socially. They maintain their own schools in the hands of their priests. A few, however, have accepted government posts, and a small number have enrolled in government technical schools.

The Emperor's attitude toward Italians remaining in Ethiopia is a good demonstration of his humane approach to other races or nationalities. The Italian rule is still remembered as a reign of terror, and Italy is regarded today as the country's most dangerous national foe. Yet in the face of this hatred, 8,000 Italians have remained in Ethiopia, and live in complete safety. Rather than treat them as enemies, Ethiopia deems them brothers. Ethiopia may some day offer an object lesson in race relations to the more advanced nations of the world.

First Indian-built Airplane Lauded by Pawley

Washington, August 20.—The "magnificent job" done by Indian technicians of Hindustan Aircraft, Limited, in turning out the first successful airplane ever designed and built in India was lauded here by William D. Pawley, American businessman who was instrumental in building the aircraft factory at Bangalore.

Pawley, who recently visited India, had seen the plane just before its completion. He said: "I was delighted to receive a telegram from the factory that the first Indian all-metal trainer—designed and built by Indian engineers and technicians—has been successfully test flown.

"As an American businessman, I took the contract to build this plant at Bangalore which covers one million square feet. We employed and trained 10,500 Indian mechanics.

"Today this factory is probably one of the finest aircraft factories of its size in the world.

"These highly qualified Indian technicians and engineers have done a magnificent job carrying on the work started back in 1940."

Pawley has made outstanding contributions to pioneer aviation in Cuba, China and India. He has served as U.S. Ambassador to Peru and Brazil, and currently is a special assistant to Dean Acheson, U.S. Secretary of State.—*USIS.*

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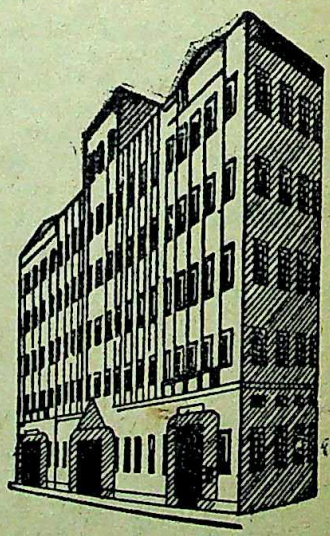

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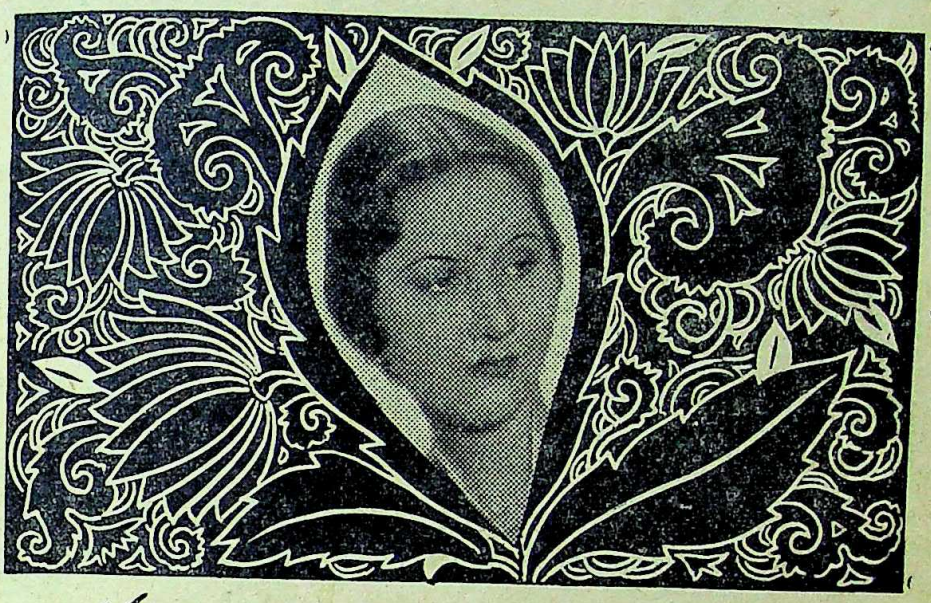

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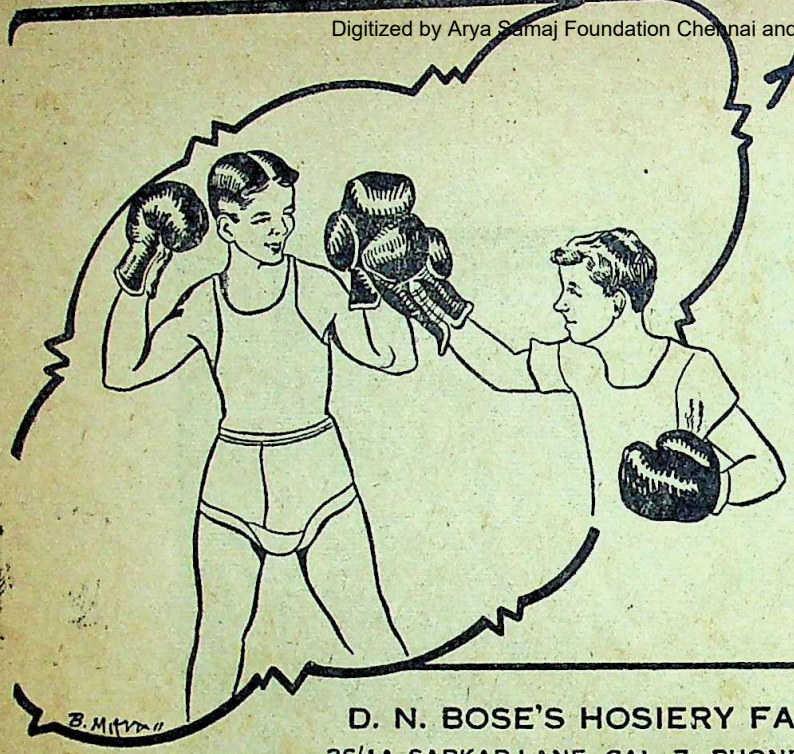

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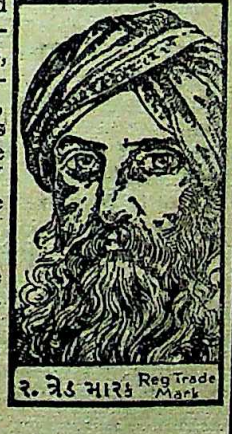

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Princess Elizabeth (now Queen Elizabeth II) and her consort Duke of Edinburgh received the Ambassadors of the British Commonwealth nations at the Canadian Embassy in Washington during their recent visit to the United States

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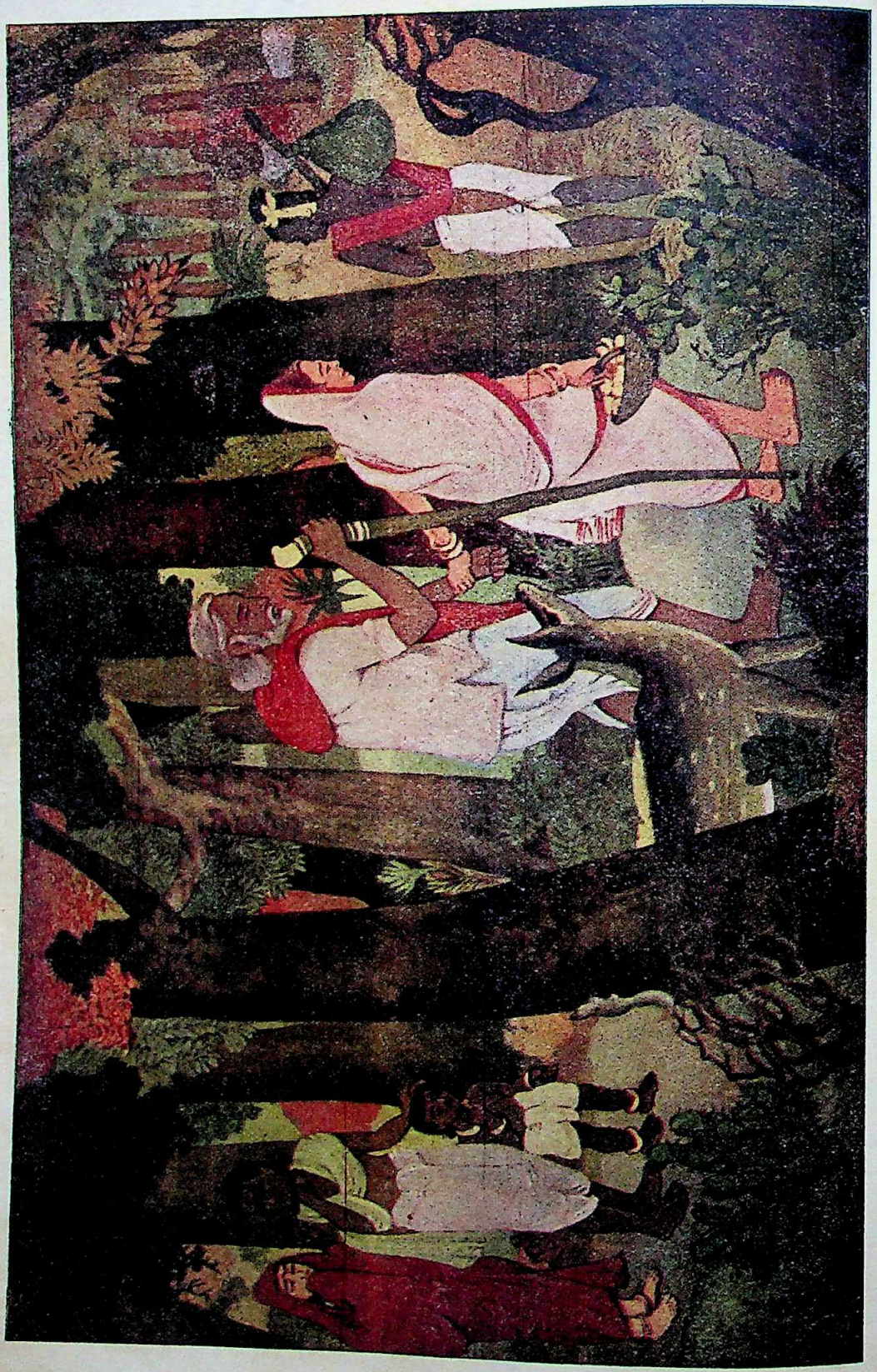

VANAPRASTHA
By Niharranjan Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

The Verdict of the People

The elections are virtually over, excepting a few results in the North and in Uttar Pradesh. Of course, the elections to the Upper Houses and the Council of State is yet to come. But the issues are clear.

In general it may be said that with the exception of Bombay, the victory of the Congress has been in the reverse order of the literacy index, so far as the elections to the State Assemblies are concerned. In the South and markedly so in Madras and Travancore-Cochin the literacy index is the highest, and it is there that the Congress has fared its worst. Hyderabad has not got such a high degree of literacy it is true, but there also the literate sections of the communities were campaigning hard against the Congress in most areas.

In West Bengal had the parties in opposition put up a better selection of candidates, or had they backed suitable independents as was done in Madras and Orissa, the Congress would have fared far worse. As matters stand all the choicest nominees of the Congress—together with a good few of the worst type—have been defeated, with the sole exception of Dr. Roy, the Chief Minister. The educated sections of the people, the *bhadralok* class—the menfolk more particularly—practically abstained from voting as they did not want to vote Congress and they did not like the type of candidates the opposition groups had put up. This is fully proved by the returns from the urban areas where the percentage of voting was as low as 15 per cent, inclusive of false votes by impersonation, and even here female voters were in the majority.

The electoral rolls were defective in the extreme, and the defects seem to have been left in with a purpose. Very large numbers of persons, resident in Calcutta for last decade or more, were not in the rolls though their servants, ex-servants and dead relatives were included. Indeed people who died two years or more back, were all there, if the Calcutta North-East Constituency rolls are a fair sample. This allowed mass scale impersonation with impunity, more so since the question of a "challenge" was not only made expensive—Rs. 10 per challenge—but also uncertain due to the whims of the presiding officers. As a result, in urban areas at least 25 per cent of the votes cast were false. The marking by ink of the voter was a farce and, now it transpires, the fate of the ballot papers in the boxes was at the mercy of the guardians of peace. Where they inclined towards the left, the ballot papers took flight from the boxes of the others, and *vice versa* if they were "loyal," the major sufferers being the non-party independents in either case. In Calcutta, the enormous hiatus between the polling and counting gave ample opportunities to the nefarious election fabricators, with most curious results, which are too numerous to relate in these columns. The Congress has been openly accused for these malpractices. We are in a position to state that in certain parts of Calcutta the "extreme left" outclassed all and sundry in such matters.

Party schisms within the Congress helped the opposition everywhere, with marked results where the electorate were politically conscious to any appreciable degree. Popular discontent and a sense of frustration amongst the saner sections also aggravated the people's mind. Thus we find the *Hindu* of Madras,

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which cannot by any stretch of imagination be called anti-Congress, commenting, in its February 3 issue, on the Madras elections as follows:

"The verdict of the electorate amounts to a decisive repudiation of the Ministry that has been in power. Practically all the important Ministers have been thrown out. While an element of personal feud undoubtedly contributed to the overthrow of one or two of them, the cumulative effect of the Ministerial reverses cannot be explained away. The fact that the defeated Ministers themselves have confessed to total surprise at these developments merely shows how little they were aware of what was happening in the State. They indeed seemed to set little store by public opinion. . . ."

"The verdict of the electorate must be regarded as no less decisive against the Congress organisation and direction in this State. Unlike in such 'problem' States as East Punjab and Bengal, the Party here has not been distracted by differences of opinion between the Ministry on the one hand and the local Congress party on the other. On the contrary, the Ministry has been only too amenable to control and suggestion from the latter."

"At the time of the resignation of the Omandur Ministry we pointed out that it was essential that the new Ministry should reflect political realities by giving adequate representation to the different sections of opinion that had emerged within the Congress. If this had been done the open breaches that have since come about and precipitated the disruption of the Congress particularly in Andhra, might not have occurred. But those who were in charge of the machine were in no mood to heed such advice. It was perhaps too late, by the time the elections approached, for the Madras Congress to have made a determined effort to stop the rot; the internecine quarrel had reached the all-India level. But a little more anxiety to accommodate honest differences and to conform in the letter and the spirit to the Congress President's exhortation to set up men of integrity and independence as candidates might have gone some way towards healing the breach. Considerations of expediency, however, seem to have overweighed with those who were entrusted with the task, in far too many cases; with the result that tried Congressmen of many years' standing were provoked to contest as Independents or even to join other parties, especially those like the K.M.P. The fact that a larger proportion of successful Congressmen have been returned by a smaller percentage of the total votes polled in their respective constituencies than almost any other of the successful groups, while a multiplicity of candidates was a feature in almost every constituency, should make two things clear. The Congress did not lose more than others by the splitting of votes; on the other hand, its candidates had less pull with the electorate by and large than the others. That does not show much discrimination in the choice of candidates.

"The emergence of the Communists as a powerful group has been regarded as the most significant feature of the new political landscape. While we are certainly not inclined to underrate this portent we think it may be an even more unwise thing to overrate its importance. It is necessary to discriminate, for instance, between the success of the Communists in the Andhra districts adjoining Telengana and their sporadic successes elsewhere. Outside Andhra their most notable success was in Malabar where they got 25 per cent of the seats. Here, as in the Coastal districts of Andhra, Communism has been actively at work for some years and has capitalised the widespread discontent due to chronic want. In the north it has exercised coercion and intimidation also on a large scale; the anarchy prevailing in Telengana materially helped it. In the Tamil Nad, Communists have won only 14 out of 185 seats, six of them being from Tanjore."

With certain modifications the picture is the same in the "problem province" of West Bengal. The picture is somewhat different in Travancore-Cochin if we are to consider the opinion of the *Hindu*, as reflected in its editorial of 11th January, as correct. Therein appear the following comments:

"The growth of the influence of the extreme Left in the State, though it will take nobody by surprise, has a number of lessons for other parties by which they may yet profit. The Communists have concentrated on a comparatively small area but they have intensively cultivated it. They have established close contacts with the rural poor and been largely successful in exciting their hopes. Lavish promise of securing for them free all the land they wish to possess is one of the chief baits. Organisationally speaking, the Communists have not frittered away their energies by setting up candidates where they had no reasonable chance of success. And they seem to have fared better than other parties in the matter of persuading their supporters to go to the polls and record their votes. In a State where, thanks to the high percentage of literacy, the polling has been very high relatively speaking, the areas in which Communists have been active have generally shown an even higher rate of polling than the average. And the Communists have shown, too, something of the wisdom of the serpent in deciding, where they assessed their chances as slender, to support Independents or occasionally even men of other organised parties, no doubt hoping to be able to benefit by this policy in the long run.

"The Congress, on the other hand, committed a tactical blunder in adopting an uncompromising attitude in these respects. It might have usefully agreed to set up in places, where it had no high hopes Independents, men of integrity and local influence, even if these would not agree to merge themselves in the Congress. From the analysis published elsewhere

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will be seen that, though the Independents gained only 11 seats, they secured a very high poll in more than a score of the other seats, in many of which the Congress fared pretty badly. Again, the rather belated discovery that there is little ideological difference between the Congress and the Travancore T.N.C. might have been advantageously made earlier. True, these dissidents are insistent that the Tamil areas of Travancore should be separated and added on to Tamil Nad. But if the request was *per se* reasonable was it proper to turn it down summarily on *a priori* grounds such as that the request smacks of linguism?"

Our own information is that the Travancore-Cochin elections were further complicated by the bad selection of candidates by the Congress. Herein the picture tallies with what we have ourselves observed in West Bengal. In West Bengal, the Congress selections were bad in most cases, vile in some cases and positively notorious in a few instances. As we have already remarked Congress escaped defeat in West Bengal simply because the opposition camps chose equally noxious nominees in most instances.

Congress "Victory" in West Bengal

Dr. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, who has been leading an "ivory tower" existence these last four years, draws some very erroneous conclusions, as quoted *infra,* which bodes very ill for the future of the Congress in West Bengal, from the Congress victory, which is Pyrrhic in our opinion.

Dr. Roy who was speaking at a reception held at Indian Association Hall analysed the results of the elections and said that the Muslims in West Bengal everywhere had helped the Congress in the elections and the Congress could take pride in it. The Non-Bengalees in West Bengal who had close ties with the State had also helped the Congress and had contributed largely to its victory. All thanks were due to them, Dr. Roy said.

But merely voting the Congress to power would not do, Dr. Roy said. The supporters of the Congress should now come forward to co-operate with the organisation and should point out the mistakes that the Congress might commit in future. Mistakes if pointed out in a friendly way, could always become helpful. If all those who had helped the Congress to power could not work unitedly in the coming five years, those who were in opposition to the Congress would not miss the opportunity. They would take advantage of their disunity and would try to make the Congress unpopular.

Speaking of his victory Dr. Roy reiterated that it was not a personal victory but a victory of the organisation to which he belonged. Whatever success had come to him in his life, Dr. Roy said, had come due to his association with the Congress and all thanks should go to the large number of people who had helped the Congress to power in West Bengal.

Seven ministers defeated, including the three—Bhupati Majumdar, Prafulla Sen and Harendra Roy Chowdhury—who only, besides himself, had the attributes and qualities of ministership amongst all his collegues, and Dr. Roy talks about co-operation and victory! But perhaps Dr. Roy was speaking in a jocular vein. Dr. Roy's conclusions regarding the Muslim electorate in West Bengal is equally faulty in our opinion and the W.B.P.C.C. president, Sri Atulya Ghosh, whom we quote *infra* is correct to the best of our information:

"Referring to the comments recently made by Chief Minister Dr. B. C. Roy that the Muslims and the non-Bengalees had helped the Congress in West Bengal to win, Sri Atulya Ghosh, in reply to a question said that he did not agree entirely with the observation. If that was true, Congress would not have lost the seats in Baranagore, Howrah Town and Asansol.

In reply to another question, Sri Ghosh said that it was up to the Congress Central Parliamentary Board to decide if some of the defeated Congress candidates were to be brought back through the Upper House. The Provincial Board would be guided by the decisions of the Central Parliamentary Board in this respect. But he felt that when the Congress was in power it would not be unfair if such a method was adopted, Sri Ghosh added.

Asked whether the defeated Ministers would be brought back through re-election, Sri Ghosh said that there was no such thing as 'defeated Ministers'. To them, all were Congress candidates. Wherever there had been defeats, the Congress candidates and the Congress as such had been defeated. There was no such thing as 'personal defeat'."

We are in agreement with Sri Ghosh regarding Upper House selection. We can quite imagine what the opposition of the "extreme left" would have done if they had come to power.

We would conclude about the West Bengal elections by quoting the following summary from the *Hindusthan Standard* of February 14:

"Analysis of the trend of polling in different constituencies during the general elections in West Bengal reveals a surprisingly low percentage of voters turning up at the polls in Calcutta and some of the urban areas, as compared to the percentage in other areas.

In Calcutta, the nerve-centre of political activities, the lowest percentage of voters turned up at the polling centres. Of the total number of about 14,14,300 voters in the city, not more than 35 per cent exercised their franchise.

Hooghly district recorded the highest percentage of votes polled in the State's 15 districts. In the district, of a total electorate of about 6,89,300, more than 81 per cent cast their votes. Besides Calcutta, low percentage of polling was also recorded in some of the districts. In Nadia, where there had been a large influx of refugees during the last five years, approxi-

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mately, 34.2 per cent of the voters went to the polls. In Malda, the percentage of polling was about 40, while in Darjeeling it was 45. In all the other districts, the percentage was more than 50.

One very interesting feature of polling was that while middle-class people seemed to be rather reluctant to turn up at the booths, the labour electorate was very much enthusiastic about exercising their franchise. But strangely enough, the majority of the labour electorate cast their votes in favour of Congress, as against the Communist or other parties known to be working in the labour sphere. In the labour belt in and around Calcutta in 24-Parganas and Howrah, Congress candidates secured collectively 1,20,717, as against C.P.I. nominees securing 64,160 and Forward Bloc, Marxist and Ruiker, 19,452. It was also equally evident that major reverses in Congress rank were due to the failure of the Congress to inspire the support of middle-class electorate.

In Calcutta, the Congress captured 17 out of a total of 26 seats, and polled collectively 40 per cent of the total votes cast. The C. P. I. candidates, secured 15 per cent of the total votes polled, and captured 4 of the city seats. Forward Bloc (Marxist) captured 3 seats and polled 3.5 per cent of the total votes polled. U.S.O. had 14.5 per cent of the votes polled to their credit but were able to return only 2 candidates.

In 24-Parganas where there is a large labour belt, Congress captured 23 of the 40 seats. Communists 8, K. M. P. P. 4, S. R. P. 1, Forward Bloc (Subhasist) 1, Jana Sangha 1 and Independents 2. In the district, approximately 66.6 per cent of the total electorate cast their votes.

In Midnapore district, of the 35 seats, 12 went to Congress, 9 to Jana Sangha, 7 to Communist, 6 to K. M. P. P. and 1 to Independent. In the district, approximately 67 per cent of the electorate exercised their franchise.

Of the 20 seats in Burdwan, 13 seats were captured by Congress, 2 by Communists, 2 by K. M. P. P., 1 by Hindu Mahasabha, 1 by Forward Bloc (Subhasist) and 1 Independent. Of the electorate, 63.5 per cent cast their votes.

Of the 11 seats in Birbhum, 8 went to Congress, 2 to Forward Bloc (Marxist) and 1 to K. M. P. P. The percentage of polling was about 60.

In Bankura district, Congress captured 11 of the 14 seats, while the rest were captured by Hindu Mahasabha. Of the electorate, nearly 65.5 per cent exercised their franchise.

In Nadia where 34.2 per cent (approximately) of the electorate exercised their franchise, Congress captured 14 out of a total number of 16 seats in the district, and the remaining two seats went to U. P. B. and Independent.

In Maldah district, Congress captured 6 of the total of 9 seats, while of the rest Communists captured 1 and Independents 2. Forty per cent of the electorate cast their votes.

In Darjeeling district, where 45 per cent of the total votes were polled, Gorkha League captured 3 of the total 5 seats, Communists 1 and Congress 1. In Cooch Behar, all the 6 seats were captured by Congress, the percentage of polling being approximately 69. All the 16 seats in Jalpaiguri and West Dinajpur went to Congress nominees. In Jalpaiguri district, 50 per cent of the electorate exercised their franchise, while in West Dinajpur, approximately 62.5 per cent of the electorate cast their votes."

It will be seen that the Congress success was most marked in the backward rural areas, with the exception of Midnapur, where the Congress selection was particularly bad, thanks to the crass obstinacy of a particularly inept minister, who lost deservedly. We have not given all the district summaries for lack of space, but they would have borne out our point if given.

Here also, in West Bengal, as in the rest of India, the electorate were less interested in the House of People elections as the following table, also from the *Hindusthan Standard*, would show:

	Seats contested	Seats won	Votes polled
Congress	34	24	32,05,16[illegible]
Communists	9	5	7 20,30[illegible]
Jana Sangha	7	2	4,57,1[illegible]
Hindu Mahasabha	6	1	3,24,87[illegible]
R. S. P.	3	1	1 08,88[illegible]
Other Parties	10	1 (U.S.O.)	2,67,36[illegible]
F. B. (Marxist)	6	nil	3,44,22[illegible]
K.M.P.P.	10	nil	6,79,14[illegible]
Socialists	7	nil	1 52,28[illegible]
R.C.P.I.	1	nil	26,2[illegible]
F. B. (Subhasist)	2	nil	86,7[illegible]
Ram Rajya Parishad	2	nil	13,11[illegible]
Independents	28	nil	11,83,35[illegible]

Leftist Victories

Coming now to the "Leftist victories," we would say, now that the din and the dust has subsided, that the victory does not seem to be so fruitful to the winners as it seemed. Indeed if the outlook is dismal for the Congress in Orissa, Madras, Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin, it is no less unsatisfactory to the Communists despite all their planning and meeting with others. Their "victory" in Madras has already proved abortive, where it seems the "Consolidated Right" won more seats in opposition to the Congress than the "United Left." There are talks proceeding elsewhere as the following extract from the *Hindusthan Standard* of February 22 shows, but it does not seem to lead anywhere:

"The central leadership of the Communist Party of India is also currently discussing threadbare among themselves the political implications of the election

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One of the most important issues before all the Left parties is the question of Left Alliance or Left Unity. In a general way, the question boils down to: With whom to unite and on what programme and where?

Unity talks have already taken place between the leaders of the Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party at Lucknow and then at Banaras recently where the spokesmen of both the parties are stated to have exchanged their fundamental viewpoints in the post-election period and sought to explore the common grounds, if any, between them. Their discussions were not conclusive.

One of the major points in which the two above-said parties differ is in regard to the C.P.I. While the R.S.P. leaders are reported to be for the inclusion of the Communists if possible, in any scheme of Left Unity, the S.P. leadership is suspicious about the Communists though the former is stated to have lost some of its rigidity about the latter. Non-Communist Left Parties are, however, suspicious about a probable swing of the C.P.I. either to the extreme Right or the extreme Left.

The nebulous developments on an All-India plane, are, however, being reflected in the activities of the political parties in West Bengal specially in the Trade Union organisations under their control."

In the House of People elections, which are almost complete, the Communist dominated groups have scored just over 5 per cent of the wins. This goes to show that on an All-India basis their influence is far less marked than in local politics where parochial considerations, local factions, personal jealousies and internecine feuds predominated.

As matters stand it seems to us that the Congress would have scored a resounding victory all over the Union and would have received the sanction of its nationals in unambiguous mandatory terms, if Pandit Nehru's speeches regarding reforming the rank and file of the Congress and about selecting men of "unimpeachable integrity and moral fibre" for the elections had been proved to be sincere. The Communist party's dreams have ended in moonshine in the elections taken as a whole but that does not end all danger in our political theatre. On the contrary. This election may not content the electorate for five years, and the disruptionists may be better organised and supported in the next. The trend of the actual polling show some very disturbing facts, the most disturbing being the signs of political *dementia praecox* of the electorate, for which incongruous utterances of Pandit Nehru, such as what he said at his press interview on February 28, are greatly responsible. We quote some passages:

"Sri Nehru referring to Communists' activities said that their tactics in India had been 'utterly disruptionist' and most injurious to the very ideal they put forward.

"One of the most distressing features of the situation here," said Sri Nehru, "is when people who know nothing about Communism talk and shout about it. When I say that—I sympathise a great deal with Communist theories and Communist objectives—I mean that there is no essential, basic difference between Socialism and Communism and matters of this kind."

"I am interested in certain economic interpretation of history which Marx gave out but I am not interested in many things which Marx had stated. I think Marx is out of date today. To talk about Marxism today, if I may say so, is reaction. I think Communists with all their fire and fury are in some ways utterly reactionary, in outlook. They differed in different parts of the world in their outlooks."

"Undoubtedly, said Sri Nehru, Communism had certain fine sentiments and idealism. That was why it drew very fine young men and young women."

King George VI

On February 6 last died King George VI of Great Britain, head and symbol of that "Commonwealth of Nations" which was but only the other day the British "Empire."

The cause of his death at 56 years is the dreaded disease coronary thrombosis following a thickening of arteries.

The announcement of the King's death—at Sandringham, Norfolk—came at 10-4 G.M.T.

It said that he returned to rest at night in his usual health and passed peacefully away in his sleep.

King George stood bareheaded in a bitter wind when he said good-bye to his daughter at London airport. That was the King's last public appearance.

A "Reuter" reporter who was there said he looked unusually sad. "It was as if he sensed he would never see his daughter again," he wrote.

"He surprised the crowds by standing bareheaded in the icy wind though his hands were blue with cold.

"Princess Margaret was drawn with cold and the teeth of the spectators were chattering but the King stood up well."

News of the death of the monarch who had called himself "a very ordinary person" came with stunning force to a people who had believed he was recovering from an operation on September 23 when a surgeon cut away a part of his lung.

Born on December 14, 1895, second son of King George Fifth and Queen Mary, who survives him at the age of 84, the late King succeeded to the throne on December 11, 1936, after the abdication of his eldest brother, King Edward the Eighth.

On receipt of the news Princess Elizabeth immediately broke off her world tour to fly home to the throne of England.

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She wept when the news was brought to her more than 4,000 miles away in an African jungle at the Royal Lodge, Nyeri, Kenya.

Prime Minister Nehru conveying the news of the death of the King to Parliament said: "I have to convey a sad news to the House. It is with deep regret that I have to inform the House that a short while ago occurred the death of His Majesty King George the Sixth of the United Kingdom."

"As you know," Shri Nehru continued, "he was unwell for a considerable time but he had recently recovered and was recuperating and, in fact, he was thinking of undertaking a voyage to recuperate still further. So the news that came a few minutes ago was in the nature of a surprise and shock and I am sure that this House will deeply sympathise with Her Majesty the Queen and the Princesses and the people of England with whom the King was so popular."

"Whatever the views of persons may be, here or elsewhere, on the question of royalty or republicanism, each country decides for itself. We decided in favour of a republic and we are the Republic of India. But it is a significant thing in this world of republics now the British Royal House has stood firm, firm not in law merely but firm in the affection of the people of the United Kingdom. All of us know, those who have had any opportunity of visiting England or other parts of the United Kingdom, how extraordinary were the feelings of affection felt by the people for King George. Therefore, I have no doubt that his death will come as a sorrow and a shock to them."

The Prime Minister requested the Speaker to "convey to Her Majesty the Queen the sense of our deep sorrow at this event." He also suggested that Parliament should not meet tomorrow in view of this happening.

There has been a lot of rabid talk—even public meetings—condemning the official orders for mourning. We would have deemed all that worthy of consideration if we had come across a single instance, in the length and breadth of India, where the so-called leftist workers, in offices and factories, had refused to stop work and take a half-holiday. In the absence of any such instance, we can only term that as empty verbiage, exceedingly contrary to our national traditions which condemn all unseemly demonstrations against the memory of the dead.

The Sterling Agreement

The Indo-British Sterling Agreement, which has been in operation since August 1947, has been extended for a further period of six years ending on June 30, 1957.

The agreement, now operative, will include the proposals agreed between the two Governments tentatively in December 1950, providing for an annual release of up to £35 m. for six years from July 1951.

Letters confirming agreement on these proposals were exchanged between Mr. Butler, British Chancellor of Exchequer, and Sir C. D. Deshmukh, India's Finance Minister, during latter's visit to London last week. Copies of these letters were laid on the table in Parliament by the Finance Minister on 13th February, 1952.

The six-years agreement will also incorporate the proposals announced last October providing for the transfer of £310 m. from the blocked account (No. 2) to the Current Account (No. 1). This will normally be held by the Reserve Bank of India as a currency reserve and has to be drawn "in an emergency" with previous consultation with the British Government.

The sterling balances of India on August 14, 1947, stood at £1,137 m. of this £222 m. was paid to the British Government in payment of sterling pensions and for the surplus stores and equipment left in India by Britain after World War II. A further sum of £156 m. was paid to Pakistan as her share after the separation of the Pakistan currency from that of India, bringing the total disbursed under these to £378 m. Deducting these from the total amount, the sterling balances stood at £570 million on February 8, 1952, the date of exchange of the formal letters. Thus India has consumed £189 m. during the last five years or so to meet her current balance of payment deficit mainly attributable to heavy food imports. A total of £210 m. at the rate of £35 m. per year, will be withdrawn during the six years from July, 1951. This with £310 m. transferred to the current account, will leave on the expiry of the present agreement £50 m. only in the blocked account and this will automatically be transferred to the current account on June 30, 1957.

The two Governments have now agreed to consult together, if in any of the years covered by the present agreement, India finds it necessary to exceed the release of £35 m. and to draw upon the releases for subsequent periods by more than £5 m.

The lobby circles are of opinion that this agreement will "finally dispose of a vexed problem" and set at rest any lingering fears arising out of the attitude of the leaders of Britain's Conservative Government on the question of India's sterling balances.

The present agreement will, however, relieve Great Britain from the grave financial crisis through which she has been passing since the Korean war. The existence of sterling balances,, intensified the severity of the issue. The present decision on the part of India as not to embarrass Britain in her crisis, is however appreciated. Such co-operation and mutual help are essential for the growth of congenial relationship between the two Governments.

But we cannot agree with the decision of the Finance Minister on two points, one of which, we apprehend, will encounter financial encumberance to the country.

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The agreement has been made for the fairly long period of six years. Any prolonged commitment is not comprehensible under the varying world conditions of today. It would have been better if the agreement were for a shorter period with provisions for timely modifications. The world situation may change in any moment bringing a total upset in the whole economic situation of the world. Anything and everything may happen within the next six years which may require more than the proviso of £5 m. in excess of £35 m. annually. Any rigid restriction on the meagre financial resources of India, leaves open the possibility of undermining economic development. Besides, the agreement has been extended beyond the life tenure of the present government and as such encroaches upon the future government. Thus the present government is intruding into the powers and authority of the future government. The Finance Minister might have mentioned that to the British Chancellor when negotiating the agreement and have limited the extension of the agreement till the next election.

The thing which is most striking and perhaps humiliating to national prestige is the suspicion entertained by Britain on India's future behaviour with her. Britain could not trust Independent India regarding payment to British officials as pensions and annuities. On August 14, 1947, she capitalised the dues at £310 millions, and deducted it from India's sterling balances and took the responsibility of payment to her own account. Under such circumstances, it is curious as to how and why India, with bitter experience of the past, should be asked to have confidence in the behaviour of Britain and block her sterling balances instead of utilising them at a time like the present, when she is in dire necessity of essential commodities like food, machines and tools for her industry!

Kashmir and Anglo-America

Americans, Democrat and Republican, may rail at Jawaharlal for his supposedly unneutral policy that tempts and encourages the Communist Bloc. British papers like the *Truth*, a weekly made famous by Labouchere during the last decade of the 19th century, as an upholder of Liberal principles, have under other auspices so far degenerated as to characterize Jawaharlal's reference to Gracey, the first Pakistani Commander-in-Chief, as "Babu mentality." This the paper did in course of a review of Gracey's article. Under the caption "General Gracey Replies," the article proceeded:

"The truth of the matter, of course, is that the feeling of inferiority aroused in the breasts of the Indian politicians when they compare themselves with the grand fighting men of Pakistan is increased by the knowledge that British officers do tend to bestow upon their old comrades-in-arms a respect which the hysterical little Pandits of New Delhi can never enjoy. That is why they suspect intrigues where no intrigues exist. British Army Officers are not politicians."

The following is an extract from an editorial entitled "Indian Congressional Fissure," published in the *Truth*:

"What, more than anything, has maintained Mr. Nehru's influence, has been the shouting match in which he is engaged against Pakistan. The strange admixture of bellicosity and a distinctly suspect pacifism, which is his chief stock-in-trade, seems to go down very well with his followers, who cannot fail to be aware that he seems to be succeeding in his plan to keep the Muslim State of Kashmir indefinitely shackled to the new Indian Empire.

"Mr. Nehru himself declares that posterity will applaud his Kashmir policy. It is, from his point of view, certainly safer for that policy to be left to the remote future than to the free vote of the Kashmiri people."

This is an example of the depths to which the Anglo-American papers and public men sink. But this is not the end of the chapter. The Communist Bloc are also dissatisfied with India for Nehru agreeing to stay within the "British" Commonwealth. Winston Churchill has since September last started again on his mischief-making. The death of King George VI and the enthronement of Elizabeth II, has given him the opportunity as Prime Minister of Britain to add the word "British" as a prefix to "Commonwealth." Eire has very properly protested against the use of this word. The Irish State is bound in "external relations" with Britain, and this relation does not open out the chances of a come-back of Dublin Castle rule, or more properly, misrule. This chapter should be closed now. Allen Johnson, has given us a picture of the labours of his hero Lord Mountbatten. But he does less than justice to Lady Mountbatten who has latterly developed a habit of flying to India as Red Cross Society's Chief in the Women's Section. And it so happens that whenever the Kashmir problem gets hot, she is here. This interest in India is liable to misinterpretation.

But these external influences we can neglect or ignore. Kashmir represents to India her fight against the "two-nation" theory. The Australian jurist Sir Owen Dixon and the U.S.A. jurist, Doctor Frank Graham, have failed and deserved to fail. Dixon gave one interpretation to Nehru and another to Liaquat Ali; so has Graham. Their military advisers are no better. The Belgian General Devoile, Dixon's military adviser for a while, carried in his own plane valuables to oblige a Pakistani lady friend. And when found out later raised the same cry as Gracey does. And Graham's military adviser, the Canadian General Jacob Devers presented a plan of dimilitarization and withdrawal of troops by the two States which said different things to them.

Here is the text of this precious plan:

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Preamble: To accomplish the demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir within the shortest possible period and a pre-requisite for a free and impartial plebiscite to be conducted under the auspices of the United Nations the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan subscribe to the following agreements:

(a) *Principal Agreements*: The Governments of India and Pakistan:

1. Reaffirm their determination not to resort to force and to adhere to peaceful procedures and specifically pledge themselves that they will not commit aggression or make war with regard to the question of Jammu and Kashmir.

2. Agree that each Government, on its part, will instruct its official spokesmen and will urge all its citizens, organisations, publication and radio stations not to make warlike statements or statements calculated to incite the people of either nation to make war against the other with regard to the question of Jammu and Kashmir;

3. Reaffirm their will to observe the cease-fire effective from January 1, 1949 and the Karachi Agreement of July 27, 1949;

4. Reaffirm the acceptance of the principle that the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations;

5. Agree that subject to the provisions of paragraph eleven below, demilitarisation of the State of Jammu and Kashmir contemplated in the Kashmir Commission's resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, shall be effected in a single continuous process;

6. Agree that this process of demilitarisation shall be completed on July 15, 1952, unless another date is decided upon by the representatives of the Indian and Pakistan Governments referred to in paragraph nine;

7. Agree that the demilitarisation shall be carried out in such a way that at the end of the period referred to in paragraph six above the situation will be:

A. On the Pakistan side of the cease-fire line:

(1) The tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident therein who had entered the State for the purpose of fighting will have been withdrawn;

(2) The Pakistan troops will have been withdrawn from the State; and

(3) Large-scale disbandment and disarmament of the 'Azad' Kashmir forces will have taken place.

B. On the Indian side of the cease-fire line:

(1) The bulk of the Indian forces in the State will have been withdrawn;

(2) Further withdrawals or reductions as the case may be of the Indian and State armed forces remaining in the State after the completion of the operation referred to in B(1) above will have been carried out. So that at the end of the period referred to in paragraph 6 above there will remain on the present Pakistan side of the cease-fire line a force of four 'Azad' Kashmir regular infantry battalions of 900 men each, a force of 4,000 civil armed forces, 1,500 Northern and Gilgit Scouts and 1,000 line of communication troops, and on the Indian side of the cease-fire line a force of seven regular infantry battalions of 900 men each, a force of 5,000 civil armed forces (militia) and 2,500 line of communication troops.

8. Agree that the demilitarisation shall be carried out in such a way as to involve no threat to the cease-fire agreement either during or after the period referred to in paragraph six;

9. Agree that representatives of the Indian and Pakistan Governments assisted by their military advisers will meet under the auspices of the United Nations to draw up a programme of demilitarisation in accordance with the provisons of paragraphs five, six, seven and eight above;

10. Agree that the Government of India shall cause the Plebiscite Administrator to be formally appointed to office not later than the final day of the demilitarisation period referred to in paragraph six above;

11. Agree that the completion of the programme of demilitarisation referred to in paragraph nine above will be without prejudice to the functions and responsibilities of the United Nations Representative and the Plebiscite Administrator with regard to the final disposal of forces as set forth in paragraph four (A) and (B) of the January 5, 1949 Resolution;

12. Agree that any differences retarding the programme of demilitarisation contemplated in paragraph nine above will be referred to the military adviser of the United Nations representative and if disagreement continues to the United Nations representative whose decision shall be final.

1. D-day to be 30 days after the principal agreements have been signed by representatives of the two Governments in India and Pakistan.

2. D. plus 31 to D. plus 90.

(A) The United Nations observers' force to be greatly increased and equipped with necessary jeeps, helicopters and communication equipment to assure that there is no violation of the cease-fire agreements and to assist in demobilisation of forces and give stability and backing to local Governments in maintaining order.

(B) Pakistan to close the western border of the Azad Kashmir sector against unauthorised ingress from the west. This is to be done by selected regular troops (3,500 northern and Gilgit Scouts provided).

(C) All regular Pakistan forces to be withdrawn to Pakistan except three battalions.

(D) The Azad Kashmir armed forces to be reduced

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to four battalions and 3,500 Northern and Gilgit Scouts and 2,000 line of communication troops.

(E) A civil armed force of 4,000 civilians to be created in the 'Azad' territory of Kashmir.

(F) The regular Indian forces including the line of communication troops to be reduced approximately by one-half.

(G) The 6,000 militia in the Jammu-Kashmir territory of the Indian side of the cease-fire line to be reorganised into a civil force of 5,000 civilians.

(3) D. plus 91 to or about July 14, 1952:

(A) The three regular Pakistan infantry battalions to be withdrawn to Pakistan.

(B) The regular Indian forces to be reduced to 18,000 men including line of communication troops.

(4) July 15, 1952:

(A) The Plebiscite Administrator arrives in Srinagar and is inducted into office.

(B) The 3500 Northern and Gilgit Scouts are reduced to 1,500 by disarming and disbanding.

(C) The 'Azad' Kashmir line of communication troops are reduced to 1,000.

(D) The regular Indian forces including any State armed forces are reduced to seven battalions of infantry of 900 men each and 2,500 line of communication troops.

(E) Above reductions will allow the Plebiscite Administrator to adjust the proportion on each side of the cease-fire line in accordance with the recommendations in number seven of the twelve points and with the procedure established to paragraphs four (A) and (B) of the resolution of the UN CIP of January 5, 1949.

Note: (1) The plan can only be accepted as a whole. Dates, times and strength can be altered on agreement between the two Governments. (2) No Indian or Jammu and Kashmir national, Pakistani or 'Azad' Kashmir national to cross the cease-fire line.

In his letter of request to Dr. Graham, dated January 16, Mr. Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, stated that on December 11, 1951, General Devers put forward a comprehensive plan of demilitarisation preparatory to the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir. It is believed that these proposals were also communicated to the Indian military advisers.

These are the only proposals which can be at all described as "General Devers" demilitarisation plans.

The letter added, "Having regard to the formal character of the conversations and in accordance with normal diplomatic practice I refrained from referring to them in my letter of December 11, 1951."

Now, we turn to the most significant development in the U.N.O. Security Council's last session. This is the intervention of the Soviet delegate, Jacob Malik, who in a speech delivered on the 17th last, covering about 6 sheets of typed matter, traversed the whole Anglo-American position, wrangled against their imperialism as they do against his. These do not interest us, and we summarize it as a record of facts:

> "M. Malik opined that there was no justification for refusal on the part of U.S.A. and Britain to recognise the Constituent Assembly recently set up in Kashmir for determining the wishes of the people of Kashmir on vital issues affecting their interests."

The Soviet delegate suggested that Kashmir be allowed to settle its own future without any outside intervention. M. Malik accused the "Anglo-American Bloc" of interfering in the internal affairs of Kashmir and said that they had consistently prevented a just solution of the problem for the following reasons:

(1) They adopted an "imperialistic" attitude towards the region;
(2) They wanted to turn it into a "trust territory" under Anglo-American control; and
(3) They intend to use it as an armed base and to station forces in the region.

Tax-Evaders

The special representative of the *Delhi Express*, belonging to the chain of newspapers controlled by Sri Ramnath Goenka, in its issue of February 9 gave a summary of the 1951 report of the Income-tax Investigation Commission. The facts are startling though nothing startles us today, used as we have become to jobbery and corruption. We reproduce this summary:

"Nearly Rs. 30 crores of concealed income, the Report says, was discovered up to the end of 1951 from the beginning of the Commission's work.

"Out of a total of 1,540 cases referred to it by the Government of India, the number disposed of comes to 661. The Commission concentrated on the big cases involving large amounts of concealed income during the year and disposed of 324 cases involving Rs. 18,12,26,975 of concealed income.

"'A hunt for the small fry leaving breathing time to the big game to adjust themselves and to obliterate the available evidence would not have been fair to the revenue or to the general public,' the Commission observes.

"After referring to some of the methods of evasion the Commission refers to the introduction of the 'white ants' which had 'exercised a wonderful selectivity so as to attack only particular pages which contained vital information' for the determination of the issues before the Commission.

"In many other cases of importance, the investigation is 'in an advanced stage,' and hearings are expected to take place during the current year.

"All the four years of the Commission's existence were not devoted to investigation alone. During the first year (1948) the Commission was almost entirely engaged in examining the income-tax law and made recommendations on its revision which largely formed the basis of the Income-tax Amendment Bill presented to Parliament last year.

"The 'average yield' per case during 1951 was

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Rs. 5.95 lakhs, and Rs. 94,000 during the three preceding years—1950, 1949, 1948. This result, the Commission observed, was on account of its decision to take up and dispose of, as early as possible, the heaviest of the cases instead of the smaller ones which may be numerically larger, but which would not yield concealments of any magnitude.

"The Commission has recommended to the Government that investigation into tax evasion should be undertaken as a regular work by the Income-tax Department.

"It has suggested that there should be a wing in the office of the Central Board of Revenue on the lines of the inquiry branch in the U.K., with experts to tackle all difficult and intricate cases of tax-dodging.

"It is only when the board's detective squad is both adequate in number and well-trained and equipped in technical skill that they can hope to match the skilled tax-dodger, who has the best brains in the country, keenly watching for any weakness in the law of its machinery, to escape taxation, the Commission's report said.

"The current year began with 879 pending cases, out of the 1,540 referred to the Commission by the Government of India during the last four years. The outstanding cases need not cause any undue alarm, the report said, as once the bigger cases were disposed of it would be a much easier process to deal with the smaller ones.

"Of the 661 cases so far completed by the Commission, the large majority came under the category 'settlement cases' in which the amount of tax due was settled in agreement with the party.

"Thus, of the total amount of concealed income of Rs. 29.15 crores discovered during the last four years, as much as Rs. 25.40 crores covered cases settled by agreement.

"The other category of cases is 'reported cases,' those in which the assessees refuse to admit till the last moment, and the Commission makes a report to the Government about the amount of concealed income involved on the basis of evidence derived through investigations.

"Describing the dilatory tactics and obstruction adopted by the assessees the Commission said it was an uphill task to gather evidence relating to a period of eight years from 1939-40 to 1947-48, with which it was charged. 'The methods of evasion have been as intricate and wide as human ingenuity is capable of.'

"One typical instance related to 'a leading businessman and capitalist of influence and distinction,' who 'cultivated tax evasion as a fine art.'

"By a clever scheme of formation of a chain of limited companies, several of which had their head offices in the then Indian States and in Burma, he so managed the affairs as to attract the least tax on foreign profits remitted to such companies.

"But attempts at evasion starting at first as legal avoidance, actually amounted to fraudulent evasion later. The assessee's accounts showed amounts as belonging to persons who did not really own them. Profits which escaped assessment were later on admitted, as also large amounts earned and kept outside the books in the assessee's regular business in other trade.

"In another instance what was most noteworthy was not so much the mass of fabricated evidence put in by the assessee, nor even the persistent opposition he put up till the end, 'but the fact that some respectable persons came forward to support the assessee's false statements, both by written as well as oral evidence—statements which the assessee himself finally admitted as false before the Commission.'

"The Commission said: 'It was admitted by him (the assessee) that he had procured the assistance of these high-placed supporters by paying them sums of money which were not very considerable. What sad commentary on the credibility of witnesses by reason of their status of wealth or position in society.'

"One of the conditions of the Commission's existence, namely, the existence of a time-limit, which encouraged the assessees to adopt dilatory tactics was removed during the year by a legislative enactment the Taxation on Income Investigation Commission Amendment Act of 1951, which extended the Commission's term up to the end of December next.

"Two members of the Commission, Mr. Justice P. B. Chakravarti, and Mr. V. D. Mazumdar, left the Commission during the year and in their places Mr. A. V. Visvanatha Sastri, a retired judge of the Madras High Court and Mr. K. Govindan Nair, a retired member of the Central Board of Revenue, were appointed as members."

On the same day a *Press Trust of India* news features the "sickness" phenomena:

"There was a high incidence of 'sickness' among India's war-rich tax-evading community during the last four years, the Income-tax Investigation Commission has discovered.

"In its report for the last year, the Commission observed that adjournments sought by the chief personages concerned in tax-evasion cases were so frequent that 'it has been a matter of some wonder for the Commission to notice how much sickness exists among the richest class of Indian business men.'

"The Commission also noticed 'deliberate obstruction' being adopted to 'postpone the evil day of a hearing before the Commission'."

Rural Extension Service in India

U.S.A.'s capitalism has been justifying its existence by transforming part of its riches into "service" to people, far and near. The Carnegie Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation are some

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of the media. These help with financial and specialist aid various schemes of uplift all over the world.

Since 1947 we have had in India many an agreement signed to extend to our rural areas the amenities of modern science. A New Delhi message dated, January 23 reports the signature of such an agreement with Ford Foundation:

"An agreement has been signed recently between the Government of India and the Ford Foundation by which financial assistance will be made available to India by the Ford Foundation for a programme of rural extension service in India.

"The agreement, signed by Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Finance Minister, on behalf of the Government of India, and Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, Director of the Ford Foundation on behalf of the latter, will come into effect immediately.

"The initial programme for which the Foundation will provide assistance under this agreement forms a part of the intensive rural development programme laid down in the Five-Year Plan. Initially the Government's programme is to have a minimum of five extension training centres in the States where the key personnel required to initiate and supervise extension service will be trained. A minimum of 15 intensive development areas will also be established in the States. It is expected that over the next five years the number of intensive development area manned by persons trained at the five extension training centres will cover at least 15,000 villages.

"Under the agreement the Ford Foundation will assist in financing, partly, the first five extension training centres and fifteen intensive development areas which are to be set up. In general, the financing of the intensive development areas will be done by the Government of India and the States.

"Dr. Douglas Ensminger, a representative of the Ford Foundation, is shortly expected in India in this connection."

Princely States in India

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel departed from this world more than a year ago, and it is meet and proper that his great work for India's consolidation should be acknowledged over and over again for guidance. This we are enabled to by an article published in the press sometime ago over the name of Bombay's Minister, Dr. Jivraj Mehta. There is nothing new in it, but the facts have their own story to tell in human dignity and happiness of about 9 crores of men and women:

"Thus the map of India is being steadily reconstructed. As already pointed out in the early part of this talk, there was hardly any State on August 15, 1947, having real responsible government worth its name. During the last 18 months, the internal administrative machinery has been completely overhauled and democratised in the major States. The States people have been represented on the Constituent Assembly of India and thus the differences existing between the States people and other Indians have been obliterated. Accession of States to the Indian Dominion was comparatively an easy and speedy process, although its significance is very great. The really important stage of the States Ministry's vigorous policy of integration began with the process of merger and the formation of unions of States.

"A total of 535 States, large and small, having an area of 265,289 sq. miles, a population of 406 lakhs and a revenue of Rs. 43.20 crores have been integrated and there now exist only about half a dozen States like Mysore, Travancore and Cochin about whose closer associations with neighbouring areas I will shortly refer to and Hyderabad, Kashmir and Bhopal besides three or four very small States whose merger with the neighbouring provinces is imminent.

"I firmly believe that even the said large States should integrate themselves with neighbouring territories if the security of the country as a whole is to be ensured. Mysore can easily form with the neighbouring Karnatak areas a strong and homogeneous Karnatak Union with or without Coorg. Travancore and Cochin can also be absorbed in the proposed Kerala province or may merge into the adjoining province of Madras. There is thus the possibility of establishment of two important Unions in the South . . ."

But the remnants of these States have not been able to wholly reconcile them to this change. The elections have shown this. Their desire to take a part in the country's administration is wholly natural, and we condemn the way in which they are being browbeaten for daring to challenge the Congress in fair election fight.

"Displaced Persons From East Bengal"

Down below is summarized a report sent us by the Information Ministry of the India Government:

"Displaced persons from East Pakistan, pouring in their thousands into Indian area, specially into West Bengal, constituted a difficult problem for politicians and administrators, are now engaging the serious attention of scientists also. A scientific study of the refugees with a view to finding out the effect of altered conditions of life and new environments on the deeper trends of the personality of the individual is being carried out by the Anthropological Department of the Government of India. An appreciation of the tension or aggressiveness which is created by a sense of insecurity and frustration in their life and reflected in their critical and often hostile attitude towards the local inhabitants, has created mutual fear.

"In 1950, the Department gained experience from a basic study on similar lines made in the rural and industrial area in south Bengal; it was asked by the Government of India, on the suggestion of Unesco, to undertake the present investigation,

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"Survey in 'Refugee' Colonies: Two refugee settlements, one at Zirat in Hooghly district and the other at the Azadgarh Colony in Jadavpur, were chosen for this purpose. The investigation not only covered various aspects of life of the displaced persons, *e.g.*, health, nutrition, economic and social structure, ethical and religious ideas, inter-group relations, but was also extended to the study of the underlying and 'repressed' trends in the personality. In order to make well-tried projected methods of the West, such as Rorschach, the Thematic Appreception and the Horn-Hellesburg tests, etc., suitable for application on people living in social background different from that of Europe and America, Indian adaptations of these tests had been planned in the Department. Random samples of the refugees in these two colonies were intensively examined and attempts were made to integrate the findings of social and economic surveys with facts obtained from their life-histories.

"Tension Greater Amongst Women: Tentative conclusions derived from this research show that the tension arising from a strong ethno-centric feeling against the community responsible for their uprooting from the soil of their origin is very deep-seated. In their new environments this tension has greatly been repressed, though not resolved, and has transformed itself into a feeling of hostility against the local population and not unoften also the Government from which, they feel, sufficient sympathies have not been forthcoming. The intensity of the tension was found to be greater among women than among men.

"Research in Andamans: A similar research in regard to some aboriginal tribes living in the Andamans is also contemplated. A sub-station of the Department has already been opened at Port Blair for that purpose. The aboriginal Negrite tribes living in Andaman Islands have long been notorious for implacable hostility to strangers. The Onges of the little Andamans, the Sentinelese of the Sentionel Islands and the Jarawas of the South Western part of the Great Andaman still continue as inimical as ever. The Government of Port Blair have to maintain a Bush Police Force to prevent raids on forest camps and attacks on Government officials on duty by these tribals. A batch of trained anthropologists working in this branch office of the Department at Port Blair will contact these hostile people by friendly means, will learn their language and habits and gradually try to establish the genuine sympathy of the Government for them. On the success of the scheme, which will be put into effect this winter, will largely depend the initiation of the Government's measures for the progress and upliftment of these tribal peoples."

This unhealthy phase is, we do hope, temporary. In history, exploiters of grievances, real and imaginary, have always been active. In the present case also, high hopes were raised and even responsible persons have been found nursing grievances; they knew that there would be suffering from partition, that "displaced" persons would have to accommodate themselves to new arrangements; that West Bengal cannot be transformed into East Bengal overnight as a land of flowing rivers and bumper corn and jute fields; and if this stupendous task is to be done, "displaced" persons must do it. We feel that they have not done what was possible. This work will require years, and we must all have patience. India, we are sure, will not fail them.

Andhra Province

We have been un-repentant supporters of the Linguistic Provinces idea since the Swadeshi days. We have been witnesses to a similar awakening in Andhra, Orissa, Karnataka, Assam, all drawing inspiration from their respective culture and language that expresses it. This experience has gained strength as a result of Gandhiji's proposal for the formation of Linguistic Provinces. Thus it happened that in Congress geography there were more than 20 Linguistic Provinces.

India's present Prime Minister has been since 1917 a party to this plan. But for reasons which we regard as unsatisfactory he appears to have gone back on it. However that be, as Andhra represents the idea, we make no apology for giving a summary of their case. The real difficulty is with regard to the city of Madras. The Andhras, one-third of its population, claim it as their capital, temporary though it be. The Tamilians resent it and their objections explain the whole position.

The reply of the Tamilnad Congress Committee to the questionnaire of the Linguistic Provinces Commission makes the following three important points:

"Tamil Province should not be formed as a residuary after the formation of other linguistic provinces. All linguistic provinces should be carved out at the same time.

"Tamilnad should include the Madras City and the borders of Chenglepet district on the side of Chittoor district should be refixed by inclusion of a major portion of Tirutani taluq in which 250 of 389 villages are Tamilian villages and also villages in Puttur and Chandragiri taluqs which have a majority of Tamil population. Part of South Travancore, wholly Tamil should be transferred to the Tamil province.

"Andhra claim to Madras City as well as parts of Salem and North Arcot districts is untenable, as also the Karnatak claim for parts of Coimbatore and Nilgiris districts. Further 'the dog in the manger' proposal of constituting Madras City into a separate province cannot be supported."

The following is the text of the reply detailing "some points regarding formation of linguistic provinces":

"(1) The reference to Linguistic Provinces in the

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questionnaire wrongly omits Tamil Nad. Tamil Province should not be formed as a residuary after the formation of other linguistic provinces. And the problem of linguistic provinces should be taken up as a whole and fully solved.

"The Madras Province consists of two major linguistic areas, Tamil Nad and Andhra as well as Malabar which is Kerala and the District of South Kanara and parts of the Bellary District which should go to the Karnataka Province. If Andhra alone is to be carved out of Madras, the Tamil area will not automatically have a province of its own unless the Kerala and Karnataka Provinces are also to be formed.

"It is, therefore, urged that all the linguistic areas should be carved out at the same time.

"(2) In the drawing of the boundary of Tamil Nad, the Madras City and the existing districts of Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot, Salem, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Ramnad, Pudukottai State recently merged in Madras, Tirunelveli, Coimbatore and Nilgiris should be in the Tamil Province, and borders of Chengleput District, on the side of the Chittoor District should be refixed by the inclusion of a major portion of the Tirutani Taluk in the Chittoor District, in which taluk 250 villages out of 389 have a majority of Tamil population and also villages in the Puttur and Chandragiri taluks which have a majority of Tamil population. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that Chittoor was formerly part of the North Arcot District and Tirupathi has been marked as the northern boundary of Tamil Nad in the ancient Tamil works which are more than 2,000 years old. The details may be gone into by a boundary commission.

"Besides, there is a part of the Travancore State, particularly in South Travancore, which is wholly Tamil and in any division of Provinces into linguistic units, these entirely Tamil-speaking areas should also come into the new Tamil Province, but this is a matter which is for the Boundary Commission to decide and is being mentioned as part of creation of such Provinces so that the problem may be viewed, as a whole.

"Regarding the claim of Andhras to the City of Madras, it is absolutely untenable.

"The population of the City analysed linguistically would show that the City is essentially a Tamil area. It is only under the 1931 census, the population according to languages is furnished and this may be accepted as the basis for determining the linguistic character of the areas concerned. If population has grown since, the ratio is anyhow maintained and therefore the 1931 basis will serve our purpose. Under the 1931 census, the Tamil population of the Madras City was 4,11 823, whereas the Telugu population in the City was 1,24,649 which figure includes the Telugu-speaking people like Reddiars and Naidus who inhabit every Tamil District in the Province. The City of Madras has since been expanded and the new areas like the Saidapet Municipality and Sembiam Panchayat which are totally Tamil, and thus there is now a larger percentage of Tamil population in the City than in 1931.

"Madras City has been originally part of the Chingleput District, and for some time it was administered by one Collector jointly with Chingleput. The City has grown out of the villages of the Chingleput District which were entirely populated by Tamils. Telugu have come for trade and other professions, the City having been the headquarters of the Province, as others like Madras and Chingleput areas form part of an ancient division of Tamil Nad called Tondaimandalam. But the Andhras, in order to support their claim to the city, seek to establish the contiguity of the Andhra area with the City, put forth the fantastic plea that the taluks of Saidapet, Sriperumbudur, Trivellore and Ponneri of the Chingleput District are largely inhabited by Telugu-speaking people. This is grossly incorrect as the census figures of 1931 will show.

"In the Saidapet Taluk out of 182 villages, there are 175 villages which are wholly Tamil-speaking or where there is a large majority of Tamil-speaking population.

"In the Sriperumbudur Taluk, out of 246 villages, there are as many as 228 such Tamil-speaking villages.

"Again, in the Ponneri Taluk, in the four revenue firkas of Sholavaram, Minjur, Medur and Gummidipundy, contiguous to the City, in 222 out of a total of 255 villages there is a large majority of Tamil-speaking population. There are Telugu-speaking villages only in the Sathiavedu Firka bordering the Chittoor and Nellore Districts, as there are Tamil-speaking villages within the present borders of those Districts. And this detail can only be gone into by a Boundary Commission. Again, in the Trivellore Taluk, out of a total of 281 villages there are 241 villages where there is a large Tamil majority.

"The claims again by the Andhra Mahasabha and the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee to parts of Salem and North Arcot Districts is wholly untenable as the geographical position and the census figures would show. It is the claim of Karnatak to parts of the Coimbatore District and the Nilgiris. Apart from the question of population, there is no contiguity of any of these areas to the Karnatak Province. The Badagas who form part of the population of the Nilgiris cannot be termed Karnatak since their language is not Kanarese. But even including them under Karnatak, their population in the whole of Nilgiris under 1931 census was 29,967, whereas the Tamil population was estimated at 54,311. Nilgiris is essentially a Tamil area, by history, tradition and geographical position.

"It may also be pointed out that there is a large

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Tamil population in the Kolar area of Mysore contiguous to the North Arcot District and the South Travancore area contiguous to the Tirunelveli District is wholly a Tamil area. This may also be borne in mind in determining the boundary of the future Tamil Province. But for the present purpose, Tamil Nad should comprise besides the present Tamil districts and the Madras City, parts of the present Nellore and Chittoor Districts.

"(3) The Capital of Tamil Nad should be Madras City where the headquarters of the province already exists and City would be the most convenient centre for Tamil Nad.

"The dog-in-the-manger proposal of constituting Madras City into a separate province cannot be supported. The analogy of Delhi cannot hold good. Madras City has grown out of Tamil Nad, and no purpose will be served by forming the city into a separate province. Both the City and Tamil Nad will suffer seriously by such a proposal."

There is nothing new in these arguments. Andhras can make out from the same as valid a case, so can Kannadigas.

Reclamation of Industrial Areas

Dudley Stamp was the soil expert in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). In this work he had to his credit a network of tube-wells that traversed the Province and reclaimed millions of acres. He had his critics for tapping sub-soil water as unhealthy for the area. In Calcutta we had tube-wells all over the city's areas as a wartime measure. And their impermanence is a lesson of doing in haste and repenting at leisure. Or, while the Calcutta Corporation have been lamenting the water-scarcity and the rate-payers join them, both of them have done their worst in pulling out these wells or damaging them; the latter out of a sheer spirit of mischief.

The excursion into the past has relevance when we find Stamp speaking to a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts, the paper being reprinted in the December 28, 1951 number of its journal. It is a long paper, but it is worth reproduction in summary. Stamp spoke on the reclamation of "industrial areas." We can make room for one extract only on "Britain's Land Position," the industrial revolution and its consequences, good and bad. In the meeting there were critics mainly with regard to "costs."

"*Britain's Land Position*: Let us deal first with the overall land position in Britain considered against the world background, and compared with that of certain other countries. If we take the present population of the world to be of the order of 2,350 million, then the land surface of the globe represents a share of some 14 or 15 acres per head. If one eliminates those areas incapable of permanent settlement by reason of cold, aridity, elevation and relief, one finds that the area of potentially usable land is of the order of 4 or 5 acres per head. This, of course, includes those vast areas like the Amazon forests of South America, or the great savannas of Africa, at present almost devoid of population; and the lesson to be drawn is the ever-increasing pressure of population on world land resources. No longer are there vast areas of land awaiting the first touch of the pioneer's plough before bursting into life and adding their quota to world food supplies. At present population increase at the rate of at least 20 million a year is out-distancing world food production. Put crudely, there is less food per head of population in the world to-day, despite the advances of science, than there was two or three decades ago.

"For Britain this has a double lesson. Quite apart from the changed financial position of the country—the loss of overseas investments and the liquidation of other overseas interests which formerly resulted in an automatic flow of foodstuffs and raw materials to this country—the surpluses available in world markets are much less than formerly and are getting less day by day and year by year. We in this country have not only to pay our way where we need imports of food and raw materials, we are compelled to compete with other countries and to bid ever higher in the world's markets for decreasing surpluses. To pay for these foodstuffs and raw materials we are attempting to sell in a world where industrialization has become the hallmark of national maturity in a world which is no longer hungry for British manufactured goods. More and more we are compelled to remember that a large part of our salvation lies in a more careful use of our home land resources and our ability to provide a large proportion of our own food."

The "Town and Country Planning Act, 1947," enables relevant authorities to tackle all the questions asked. In India we have Plans in plenty, and Indian intelligence is not blunt. So, here we leave the problem as it affects our people.

Egypt-Sudan-Tunisia

On January 26 last were published three items of news in the Indian press that have a family connection. Washington reported that

"Mr. Abdul Rahim, Egyptian Ambassador to the United States, said last night that his Government would regard action by any country or nation in sending 'token forces' to the Suez Canal zone as 'an aggression on our sovereignty.'

"Afterwards, he described as 'very unfortunate' a proposal made by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, that token forces from the United States, France and Turkey would be welcome in the Canal Zone.

"It is tantamount to adding fuel to the fire and we consider any participation in token forces by any power as an unfriendly act and an aggression on our sovereignty."

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"Habib Bourguiba, Tunisian nationalist leader, arrested a week ago, gave a make-shift Press conference at his 'hotel prison'; he said, he was ready to mediate in the Tunisian dispute.

"But, 'no compromise is possible if the French Government does not radically change its policy.'

"Six police officers played cards in a corner of the room while Bourguiba spoke. He said that 'Real government' would only be possible in Tunisia if there was a transfer of power. But an agreement might be reached and he was prepared 'to be the advocate of such a compromise'."

On January 22nd, *Hindusthan Standard* had a signed article entitled "Communal Harmony Drive in Egypt" which gains significance in view of our review in editorial comments of a booklet entitled *Egypt and Copts* that appeared in last month. The Cairo letter was dated 16th January and deserves to be quoted as a commentary on India's similar attempts at "communal harmony drive" and their failure. This experience need not be further elaborated.

"Untiring efforts are being made both on the official and non-official levels to bring about increased harmony between Moslems and the Coptic minority in Egypt. The main purpose of the move is to prevent fanatics from exploiting the present Anglo-Egyptian dispute and to direct their attacks against Christians.

"Official quarters in Egypt realize that if fanatics get out of hand and start a campaign against Copts and other Christians, under the guise of anti-British or anti-Western activity, the British will exploit these activities to spread anti-Egyptian propaganda and damage to Egypt's reputation abroad will be immense.

"A Joint Committee of five prominent Copts and five Moslems under the presidency of General Kamel Rizkallah Bey has received official approbation from the Prime Minister as well as from the Sheikh of Azhar, supreme Moslem religious leader, and the Coptic Patriarch, Amba Youssab II, to organize 'a campaign of harmony and unity between the two main groups of the nation.'

"The Joint Committee has organized several mass meetings in Coptic Churches and Moslem places of worship in Cairo and the Provinces, in which Moslem Sheikhs and Coptic priests took turns in pointing out Christian-Moslem harmony in Egypt in the past and exhorting the population to remember the slogan of the Egyptian Revolt in 1919: 'Religion is to God, and the Homeland is for All.'

"Praising the work of the Joint Committee, His Beatitude Amba Youssab, Patriarch of the Coptic Orthodox community, said that 'Copt' meant 'Egyptian' in centuries past, and that 'all Egyptians regardless of their religion today belong to that ancient community which has managed to maintain its existence to this day'."

Subsequent news dated 24th and 25th January last spoke of "delegates of 13 Arab and Asian members of the U.N. called on the President of the General Assembly, Dr. Nervo, and urged U.N. intervention in the Tunisian crisis.

"The delegation, led by Syria's Faris el Ghoury Bey, included the leader of the Indian delegation to the U.N., Sardar Malik, Pakistan's Prof. A. S. Bokhari and Indonesia's Dr. L. N. Palar. Other countries represented were Afghanistan, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Yemen.

"The United Nations General Assembly President, Dr. Luis Padilla Nervo, was to request France to release Tunisian Nationalist leaders now under house arrest.

"India's chief delegate, Sardar H. S. Malik, said after the interview that several delegations including India were prepared to support any Tunisian action in the United Nations.

"The delegation led by Syria's Faris el Khoury Bey, also asked for a second immediate step—resumption of 'conciliatory negotiations' with the Nationalist representatives and expressed their 'deep concern' over the Tunisian situation.

"They also told the President that in their opinion the people of Tunisia were not at fault but that the violence there had been aroused by the imprisonment of their leaders and the situation in which the people of Tunis had been placed.

"They said the French Government should relax the tension to prepare the way for further negotiations.

"Dr. Padilla Nervo promised to talk to the French United Nations delegation but did not set a time for any meeting."

The French forces are, however, advancing against Tunisian resistance. A *Reuter* message told us:

"Five people died and nine were injured in new clashes in Tunisia between French Protectorate authorities and Nationalists demanding more autonomy. French planes went out after one incident.

"French forces in counter-attacks cleared insurgents from two towns Moknin and Tebulba, in central Tunisia, where Nationalist activity had been intense. The Nationalists seized Tebulba on Wednesday night after a clash with the French in which 77 Nationalists died.

"Most serious incident was at Kairouan, Muslim sacred city in central Tunisia, where four people died and nine were injured, a French communique announced. One Nationalist was killed in Tunis, the capital, in a gun battle with police.

"The French announced the clearing of Moknin where 5,000 Nationalists stormed the civil controller's office, and Tebulba, both near Sousse, a few hours after French aircraft had swooped low over the village of Kelibia where the Nationalists had blown up and besieged the French police post.

"French naval commandos arrived to reinforce troops in the Sousse-SFax area, southern Tunisia centre of Nationalist rising in the past few days."

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The latest news is that sabotage has been continuing, the French authorities have been imprisoning the leaders and their leader El-Habib Bourgiba has appealed in a letter sent from prison to India's Prime Minister Pandit Nehru to make common cause with the Arab States. That appeal was anticipated by India, Pakistan and 13 other States sponsoring a resolution in the U.N.O. drawing attention to this centre of unrest.

Britain and Malaya

Since the end of Japan's adventure in East Asia (1945) British authorities have been busy restoring their faded authority over this archipelago, rich in minerals and rubber, to re-equip the Planter Raj for a fresh lease of life. These seven years have not been able to record any success in this matter. On January 11 last appeared a news sent out of Singapore the day before:

"Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, British Commissioner General in South-east Asia, said here today in a broadcast that Britain had prepared plans, in case of necessity, 'for the successful defence of the whole of Malaya and British Borneo.'

"We shall continue to fulfil in sincere partnership with you our many other responsibilities up to the moment when you are fully ready to assume all the duties of Self-Government. Self-Government is an unalterable aim of Britain's policy in Malaya.

"It would take a long time to complete the task of forming a united, self-reliant Malayan nation but the date at which this ultimate aim was reached depended on the Malayan people themselves.

"No one should have the slightest fear that in the meantime Britain will desert Malaya.

"Speaking of the complexity of the problem in Malaya 'where Malayas, Chinese, Indians, British, Eurasians and Ceylonese share a common homeland' he opined that anybody who tried to solve it in a hurry would make a 'hopeless mess of it'."

Two years ago, a *Worldover Press* interpretation of happenings in Malaya reported things that show no substantial change has taken place since then.

"No one who could avoid it would travel either by rail or by road, from Singapore to the capital of Malaya, 200 miles inland, Lord Killearn recently said in the British House of Lords.

"The reason, of course, is the activity of Communist guerrillas in the jungles. It is unsafe, according to Lord Killearn, even to go into some of the low hills within a mile of the Governor's house. Every day, Singapore newspapers report lengthy lists of terrorist acts in Malaya by the so-called bandits. An 'anti-bandit month' was a failure.

"This dangerous situation is in sharp contrast to the reports six months ago, when the guerrillas were thought to be under control. The spring has seen a sharp upsurge of the terrorism, and one recent week was called the most active since the campaign began two years ago.

"What was optimistically forecast as 'a police measure' is developing into quite a formidable little war—to assist in which we have sent a squadron of Lincoln bombers, which we are now told are engaged in bombing operations over the jungle," complained British M.P. Emrys Hughes.

"And a London correspondent in Singapore reported that 'the R.A.F. in Malaya has assembled the most powerful striking force ever known in this country.'

"Reinforcements have been sent down from Hong Kong, and the first large-scale, co-ordinated drive to stamp out the jungle Communists is getting under way. The British take hope from the recent appointment of Sir Harold Briggs, a retired general, as civilian director of the operations.

"From fighting the Japanese in these same areas, the British know a lot more about jungle warfare than a decade ago. But most of the Malayan Communists are Chinese with a centuries-long tradition of secret organization against despotic war lords. The Malayan masses are friendly or, at least, sceptical of white imperialism. Red China has won British recognition. It looks like a long struggle ahead.

"In Malaya, however, there is some indication of moves to assuage the more basic complaints on which guerrilla violence grows. Dato Onn, who is President of the United Malays National Organization, has suggested some political changes. Significantly, these are under consideration at Whitehall in London.

"The most promising suggestion is that citizenship should now be granted to all persons born within the Federation of Malaya, and to those who qualify by a period of residence. It is high time that those who have made Malaya their home, particularly the Chinese, were granted the right to full participation in the life of the country.

"Another Onn proposal is the addition to the legislative council, which is not elected, of five 'unofficial ministers'—three Malays, one Chinese, one Indian. The idea, of course, is to give representation to the peoples, and the very fact that a Malayan political group is pushing the plan already shows a kind of participation in government.

"Moreover, representatives of over 100 trade unions have formed a Malayan Trade Union Council."

Unrest in Indonesia

Dutch imperialism has departed from the rich islands of mid-Pacific. But they have left a legacy of unruliness and separatist conceit, against which the Central Government has been gallantly fighting. In a predominantly Muslim State, it is natural for the awakened people to wish that the norms and forms of Islamic life should characterize and colour their life and thought.

But the Dar-ul-Islam Party has ambitions that go beyond this. Otherwise, why should there be a new

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such as the following sent out from Java on December 30 last:

"Indonesian army units have surrounded a group of rebels belonging to the Muslim organisation, Dar-ul-Islam, it was reported here today. The rebels were reported to have dug trenches and erected barricades against the advancing troops in central Java.

"Another group of rebels were still in the open. The Indonesian army lost one killed and two wounded on Thursday and 3 killed and 18 wounded on Friday. Rebels' losses on Friday were reported as 20 killed and several wounded. The rebels were reported to number about 1,000."

There must be a mystery behind all this. It is up to the Indonesian embassy to enlighten us on the matter. What has become of their *Merdeka*? We profited from its contents.

Rearming West Garmany

The Western Bloc, in their haste to build a strong barrier against the Soviet, have practically decided on the rearmament of Germany. The *World Interpreter* strikes a dissident note thus:

"There are men in international diplomacy who are now determined to go on a perilous course, and are approaching it in the spirit of the over-confident frog. These are the Western representatives who insist on rearming Germany. Prodded by the United States, they are seeking against their better judgment to get the Germans somehow, by one formula or another, strongly armed to help resist Russian aggression. They are sincerely worried. And if rearmament of Britain, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, etc., might stop a theoretica. Red Army drive on the Rhine, why not take in the Germans and try to hold on the Elbe?

"A Federated West Europe needs the Germans. So does the Schuman Plan. So does any pooling of agricultural resources. And because West Germany has some 50 million people, not counting the 18 million in East Germany under Communist domination, their contribution to manpower is looked upon as crucial.

"The trouble is, the Western planners absolutely refuse to look at what really lies ahead of them in Germany. It cannot be emphasized too much, and it ought to be written in capital letters two feet high, that the real choice in Germany is to have a democratic republic or a rearmed and powerful military state moving steadily and dangerously towards rightist extremism.

"A United Germany is the passionate desire of almost all Germans. It's natural. Americans would feel the same way, and so would the British, under like circumstances. But there is more to it than that. Division and unity are old questions in German history. Unity is now linked to patriotism, and has become a driving psychological force. Businessmen want the nation to be whole; churchmen plead for it; the political parties demand it; intellectuals and trade unionists alike hold the same point of view. It is true whether you think of West Germans wanting the East with them, or East Germans wanting freedom.

"German rearmament nevertheless means a blow, perhaps almost a last one, to any hope of early unity between West Germany and East Germany. The present feeling of frustration and concern over the split will be given new momentum once rearmament is put through. When masses of Germans are again under arms, whatever the formula, many among the German people will long for the return of the territories given to Poland in the East, and even more for national unity. With force available, the most natural thing in the world will be to seek the use of force in winning a restoration of the territories stripped away. To the already menacing explosive possibilities of Europe, one more, of first-rate magnitude, will be added.

"In its folly the West seems to believe that a rearmed Germany will make West Europe safer. Actually, it will be weaker. Into a military Germany, Communist propaganda can penetrate with some chance of success—while at the same time, a fresh swing to a neo-Nazi right position can be expected in politics. And no one who knows anything about European politics can believe for a moment that extreme rightism can hold back Communism as reliably as democratic liberalism can. Britain under Labor rule reduced Communism to negligible proportions, Italy under conservatism still faces a powerful and challenging Communist movement.

"There are two ways by means of which German rearmament could be dropped, and still leave West Europe reasonably safe. The best way is to continue patiently to work for a settlement of the cold war with the Moscow Politburo. That, it must be admitted, is a tough row to hoe, and, it is not very promising. Yet, for a demilitarized Germany, the Soviet Union seems prepared to pay a fairly heavy price. But suppose this is for the time being an impossible dream. What then?

"With some reluctance the West could leave in Germany an occupation army. That is in the cards for a while, at any rate. Occupation troops might be better trained, briefed, and behaved. But unless Russia deliberately chooses war with the whole Western world, the United States included, she will never attack American contingents, no matter how small. All present evidence, and all intelligence reports, indicate there are no current signs of such a desire or such an attack. Then why take the enormous gamble of a rearmed Germany? It must be feared that there is no reason except the persistence of frog-eyed vision. Diplomats, as so often before at critical periods of history, peer anxiously ahead, with their eyes seeing only what is traditionally behind them."

The *World Interpreter* comment is worthy of

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consideration in all democratic countries desirous of combating the infiltration tactics of the Soviets.

General de Lattre de Tassigny

The death of this eminent military man of France high-lights the tragedy that dogs the Republic's desperate attempt to recover something of her imperial prestige in Indo-China. He died during the second week of January last at 61 years. Lattre was in direct line with empire-builders like Lautney, Juin and others who had their apprenticeship in this art in Morocco and other northern African areas. A fighter against this imperialism, Amir Abdul Karim, the Riff leader of Morocco, thus assessed the French position. He is 71 years now; he was sent out to Madagascar and kept confined there for about 21 years. He is now at Cairo in self-chosen exile. On January 20 last he told Press correspondents from his sick-bed that "the freedom of all North African peoples is a certainty, with more resolute leadership and co-ordinated organisation, it may be expedited. The fight for national freedom, especially against a power like France, ought to be more tough, vigorous and self-facing. It is said that France has not been able to evolve any constructive policy to solve the problem of colonial peoples. France is fighting a futile and costly battle to keep her colonial empire."

In this connection the following letter dated January 16 last, published in the *Leader*, is significant:

"There is considerable anxiety in Washington that France is about to advise the U.S.A. that she can no longer 'go it alone' in Indo-China, says the *Daily Express* correspondent there.

"F.-M. Slim (Britain), Gen. Bradley (U.S.A.) and Gen. Juin (France) who have been discussing the defence of South-East Asia in Washington have noted the depressing effect of the French Cabinet crisis and the vacuum left by the death of Gen. de Tassigny.

"It is believed that France would give as her precedent Britain's action in the spring of 1947 when she officially informed the U.S.A. that she could no longer undertake the responsibility of supporting enfeebled Greece. Immediately after that came the announcement of the 'Truman Doctrine' of arms support to Greece (and Turkey as well) plus U.S. military missions and advice. France thinks that there is no chance of U.S. troops joining in the Indo-Chinese ground fighting, but France has already sounded out Washington for air and naval support 'the moment Chinese Communist armies cross the border' as well as big money grants and a stepped-up supply of arms. It is believed the U.S.A. will promise this.

"The Americans have been impressed by Gen. Juin's forceful arguments that Indo-China is South-East Asia's 'first line of defence' and that if it goes the West must be prepared to place itself on a full-scale war footing at enormous expense.

"Although neither Britain nor America is as prone as France to credit intelligence reports that the Communists are rushing the completion of new airfields and military roads on the Chinese side of the border, still the necessity of a quick agreement between France, Britain and America on a general political-military policy for the area 'is disputed by nobody,' says the correspondent.

"Another possibility which Washington thinks may come is that France may turn the whole Indo-China problem over to the U. N. She has always been reluctant to do so in the past though it is known that the U. N. Secretary-General, M. Lie has hinted to France that it is important not to allow another 'Korea' to develop before she acts.

"A joint appreciation of the military situation in South-East Asia worked out by the British, French and U. S. Chiefs of staff is being forwarded with conclusions and recommendations to the three Governments, says the *Observer* correspondent in Washington. The French submitted a military appreciation which, they claimed, required far more action in Indo-China than France with her European commitments was able to provide. The imminence of a new guerilla offensive, 'helped by a large-scale Chinese invasion,' was an important part of this appreciation. The French were trying to get the U. S. A. to step up the supply of arms and equipment to French forces already involved and to promise to commit U. S. ground forces to the defence of Indo-China. The U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff—indirectly assisted by their British colleagues who have emphasised the danger of the situation in Burma—have set the Indo-China situation in the broad context of military responsibilities in Asia and are not expected to recommend that U. S. forces should be committed in the way the French have asked.

"Reports that large Chinese forces have been moved down to the border from Northern China are discounted by the Americans. Press statements that 250,000 Chinese troops are deployed within reach of the border and that 170,000 Communist guerillas are operating in Northern Viet Nam seem extravagant by the side of the figures which the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff have gathered."

On "American Way of Life"

Justice Douglas of the Supreme Court of the U.S.A., cannot be suspected of anti-American feelings. In an article that appeared in the *New York Times Magazine* of January last, he had some not complimentary things to say of men and things in his country.

"Anyone who departs from the U.S.A. for a few months is struck upon his return by the superciliousness and intolerance of a considerable section of the American Press and of many leaders in the State institutions . . . harmless actions become treacherous signs of disloyalty. The coincidence at one or another moment of some idea with the policy of Soviet Russia creates an atmosphere of suspicion around a man . . .

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Those who do not follow the militarist politicians are suspects. Fear is inflated to a point of frenzy. Good, honest people are nailed to the pillory. Their reputation is soiled. . . . Fear compels increasingly greater numbers of people in all fields of life to keep silent or to make orthodox statements. Fear is growing—fear of losing employment, fear of becoming a victim of investigation, fear of being pilloried. . . . The young generation is becoming increasingly silent. Discussion of ideas has been substituted by their suppression."

This spirit of witch-hunting has followed the rather uncritical admiration of Soviet ways of life that had prevailed in the America's north and south during the war years—1941-45. In the Soviets also the same things prevail mixed with admiration for U.S.A. technology. The Soviet Information Service have been making the utmost use of Judge Douglas' criticism, and from this has deduced the lesson that all Asians "detest" this American way of life. So, we have this procession of charges and counter-charges with none the better for it!

Telugu Literature

Shree Bharatee is a cultural weekly published from Hyderabad (Deccan) which we noticed often. In its February 15 issue there is an article on the above subject from which we make a few extracts:

"Nannayabhatta is the first Telugu poet. But he himself mentions some other great poets who flourished before him. Political upheavals preceding that period may be the cause for the destruction of their works. Under the patronage of Raja Raja Narendra who ruled from 1022 A.D. to 1063 A.D. he began to translate the great Epic the Mahabharata, and he completed two Parvas (chapters) with great poetic skill and efficiency. He died in the middle of the third Parva (chapter). Earlier Telugu literature had a religious note. The Mahabharata is written in combined verse and prose. Even the prose may be called poetic prose because it has all the qualities of poetry except metre. Nannaya did not translate the Mahabharata literally from Sanskrit. He possessed imagination of a high order. He contracted and enlarged certain portions according as he found fit and added to its beauty.

"After nearly two centuries Tikkana Somayaji, the Minister of Manumasiddhi, took up the thread of translation but he began with Viratparva (the fourth chapter) and completed the remaining 15 Parvas.

"The gap was filled by Yarrana (Yerraoragada) under the patronage of Prolaya Varma, who ruled between 1324 and 1349 A.D. It is curious that the whole work though written by three poets has the compactness as if done by one hand. This trio is called "Kavitraya" and the Mahabharata has become the greatest authority on poetry, for language, diction and rhetoric.

"Nannaya also wrote the first Telugu Grammar, *Andhrasabda Chintamani*. Thus he became the founder of theory and practice in poetry. Tikkanna wrote, besides the Mahabharata, Nirvachanottara Ramayana, a work completely in verse. Yarrana translated *Harivamsa*, the continuation of the Mahabharata. Yarrana was awarded the title of "Prabandha Paramesvara" for his *Harivamsa* which has some characteristics of Prabandha.

"I shall now take up Srinatha, the most renowned name in the next period. Poesy came to him even from his youth. He visited many courts; dedicated many of his works to kings and noble men from whom he received valuable presents and honour; humbled the pride of some poets, and was the poet *par excellence* of his time. Incidentally his works portrayed the social and religious circumstances of his period, thus helping the reconstruction of history of that period. He was an expert in extempore poetry and Sri Prabhakara Sastri has edited them in one volume. Though he revelled in luxury during his life-time he died in absolute penury. His last verses are heart-rending and full of pathos depicting in juxtaposition his earlier opulence and his later poverty. He carved for himself an honourable place in the History of Telugu Literature by his prolific writings.

"Bammera Potanna was the brother-in-law of Srinatha and is in direct contrast with him. He is the author of the Bhagavata in Telugu. Before he wrote his magnum opus he came across a king by name Singabhupatto of Venkatgiri, when he wrote a work called *Bhoginidandaka*, a panegyric on the king's concubine. For this, he suffered from remorse and took a vow against royal patronage. He took a pledge that he would not use noble poetry to praise kings but to sing the glory of God who is the King of kings. Though he was induced by his brother-in-law to dedicate his work to the king and become rich, he refused and dedicateed his Bhagavata to God Sri Rama. Telugu Bhagavata is considered superior to the original in poetic beauty.

"Rukmini Kalyanam is a beautiful portion from the Bhagavata. Rukmini sends a secret message to Shri Krishna asking him to come and take her away (and marry her) against the will of her people. The poet describes her state of mind:

"She does not even mention to her own mother her mental anguish, nor does she spread the light of her smile in all directions. She does not even drive away the bees that are buzzing about her lotus-like face. She neither sleeps nor does she care to rearrange the necklace on her bosom (which have become interwined through negligence) nor does she turn away her gaze which has been rivetted on the road by which she expects Shri Krishna to arrive."

We hope, the writer will continue the series, and bring it to the age of Kundukuri Veerashinga who is the maker of modern Telugu literature, a great social reformer who is compared to Vidyasagar of Bengal.

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Charu Chandra Datta

Death occurred at Pondicheri on January evening of Charu Chandra Datta, a writer, educationist and a retired member of the I.C.S. He was about 77. He entered the I.C.S. in 1899 and retired in 1925. He was closely associated with Aurobinda Ghose during the Swadeshi days and had almost open connection with the revolutionary movement in Bengal in the opening decade of the century. Suspected of his complicity with the movement, he was suspended from the service for one year. After retirement he served Visva-Bharati for a couple of years as an Upacharya. During this period he wrote several books including his memories *Purana Katha*. In 1941, he went to Pondicheri and since then he had been living there with his wife. He translated Sri Aurobinda's *Life Divine* into Bengali.

His family hailed from the district of Burdwan. He was the son of the late Kalikadas Datta, Dewan of Cooch Behar. He is survived by his widow and a son, Sri Arindam Datta, a barrister of the Calcutta High Court.

This is a bald story. But behind it pulsated a personality of utmost courage, of pleasing manners, of speech and behaviour which was distinctive of his philosophy of life. The story of his early life was the story of the "high audacity" (Aurobindo's word) that had characterized life in Bengal, in Maharashtra, more or less the whole of India since the Swadeshi days.

Joining the service of the alien ruler, Charu Chandra started life with certain advantages that detract nothing from his own work. He married the daughter of Hem Chandra Mullick who was one of the pillars of the Nationalist Movement in Bengal, a cousin of Subodh Chandra Mullick, Aurobindo Ghose's host and friend for years. His service in Gujarat, Maharashtra strengthened his resolve to fight the "External Authority" from inside its fort.

Charu Chandra's acceptance of service was voluntary; he desired to use his official position to loosen the ties of alien rule. And from 1899 to 1925 he held this purpose with increasing intensity as the people wakened more and more to the shame and ignominy of foreign subjection. The report above has told us how he had to suffer for this "disloyalty." In his *Purana Katha* (Old Story) we find him laughing at the indignities heaped on him.

Charu Chandra was a master of that style of Bengali prose which started with Bankimchandra and reached its zenith with Rabindranath. Charu Chandra was Aurobindo's friend. How and when he developed into a disciple of his is not known. It is hoped that his son will be able to render this service—the best memorial—to his life-work. We tender our sympathy to him and to his mother, and our homage to the memory of a truly great Indian.

Maharaja of Jodhpur

The death in an air accident of the Maharaja of Jodhpur on January 26 last is a loss to the new Princely Order in the Indian Republic. He was himself driving the plane, being an expert pilot. He died at his 28th year, and life's possibilities remain unfulfilled. It was the cause of his own order that, above all others, led him to stand as an independent, and win against the Congress nominee. The Maharaja could rightly boast of Rajput traditions, though these often worked against national interests. Both during the Muslim regime and the British they could not stand up against the pretensions of the new-comers. But in the presence of death all these are forgotten. And we tender our condolences to the breaved family. May his spirit find peace!

Srish Chandra Nandy

This noble son of Bengal died on February 23 last. He inherited his traditions from his father, the late Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Kashimbazar in the district of Murshidabad. The property acquired by "Kanta Babu" as Warren Hastings' manager, were vast, the assets being worth millions of rupees. Many were Manindra Chandra's charities, most of them unknown. Srish Chandra continued his father's example. Today we mourn his death, and to his family we offer our sympathy. His soul will attain the spiritual home that is the last wish of every human being.

Prof. Puntambekar

The death of this eminent Marathi scholar will be deeply mourned by the world of scholars in India and outside. He died on the 20th February while on a journey to Lucknow from Nagpur. He served as the head of the latter University's Raghavendra Rao Chair of History and Sociology. Starting life as a barrister at Amaravati he drifted into politics in the wake of Non-co-operation Movement. Suffering imprisonment he came out transformed into an educationist. He served under Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya in the Banaras University and was for a while with the Dacca University. His *Rights of Man* has been accepted by United Nations Economic, Social, Educational Organization. He died in his 55th year. Our sympathy goes to the bereaved family.

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A WESTERN OR AN EASTERN ECONOMY ?

A Westerner Contemplates India's Future

By WILFRED WELLOCK

So far as I am able to judge, India is unable to make up her mind whether to base her civilisation on highly centralised mass-production industry or on well-integrated agro-industrial village communities with all their wonderful techniques and skills. An article in the September issue of *The Modern Review* on The Five Year Plan, by Principal S. N. Agarwal, confirms this judgment.

In these circumstances the observations of a Westerner who has made a long and careful study of the origins and effects of the Industrial Revolution may not be out of place.

Some of the older readers of this Review may remember a series of articles which I wrote for it some forty years ago, wherein I asked India to think twice, when she had achieved Swaraj, before embarking on a programme of Western Industrialism.

Two years ago I paid my first visit to India. I hoped to find the country agog with ideas and grimy with the sweat of constructive achievement. Ideas and plans there were in plenty, but no unity of purpose, and thus no nation-absorbing action.

In England, I had become familiar with these plans. They included centralised and semi-centralised or regional industries, also cottage and village industries. Some industries were to be nationalised and others left open to private enterprise, under conditions, while the co-operative principle was to play a big part in the villages. But what I was unable to discover was the dominating idea and the over-all plan or picture. Was the population of India to be urbanised like that of the United States and Britain, or was it to remain spread out, in villages, but slightly enlarged, well-integrated by means of a sound agriculture and a host of crafts and small industries and thus rich in the finest culture, that of creative self-expression.

The occasion which took me to India was the World Pacifist Conference. This occupied the whole month of December 1949. The first two weeks I spent in the North, at Santiniketan, Rishikesh, Calcutta, Delhi and other northern cities, and the second two weeks in the C.P., at Sevagram and Wardha.

During that month I lived in two worlds which were strangely disconnected. For a whole week I was in the company of those followers of Gandhiji who accepted his whole gospel, his constructive programme as well as his Swaraj programme. These men, speaking from a long experience of close association with Gandhiji, tried to reveal to us the esssence of his teaching, what was involved in his concept of Truth and Non-violence for the individual and for society, with respect to personal conduct, one's social duties and relationships, and with respect to the social order. We discussed the Gandhian economy and related it with the dominant economy of our age, that of Western industrialism. Then we broke up for a period, and travelled in small groups from city to city, or city to village, some in this direction, some in that. I chose the North. Our little group received invitations from numerous societies and institutions, and in addition I received many private invitations. I availed myself of all I could, for I wanted to know what India, as a whole, in its variety of outlooks was thinking. I found widespread confusion and uncertainty. In most minds there was conflict between the claims of Gandhiji's Constructive Programme and those of Western industrialism, as a means of increasing India's wealth quickly, in part to obliterate the appalling poverty in the great majority of Indian villages, and partly in order to prevent the advance of Communism in India. Faith in India's future appeared to be at its lowest in Calcutta and Delhi. The nearer one got to India's political hub, the nearer one came to despair. Many were overwhelmed by the magnitude of the problems which confronted them. Even old stalwarts lamented: "Our leader has gone, our light is extinguished, we are helpless."

It was later, in the South, that I found the antidote to this northern pessimism and despair. The second part of our Conference took place at Sevagram, the birth-place of Gandhiji's system of Basic Education. Nearby is Wardha, the headquarters of the A.I.V.I.A., and of other expressions of the Gandhian way of life. What I experienced in this area caused me to accept with enthusiasm an invitation to visit a number of Gandhi Ashrams in South India which, operating under various auspices, were training workers for carrying out Gandhiji's constructive programme in the villages. I gladly gave a whole month to this, to me, important pilgrimage.

In this experience I came to grips with India's major economic problems, and it soon became indubitably clear to me that the Gandhian economy was a sound policy, that a nation-wide system of village republics would be the best foundation for a classless India, a civilisation of high quality and India's best

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contribution to a stable and peaceful world order, and also the speediest methods of removing the bane of poverty.

As long ago as 1908, Gandhiji, in his pamphlet *Indian Home Rule* revealed that he had probed Western Industrialism to its roots, and had found them to be cankered. He summed it up in the words: "This is a satanic civilisation; it will be self-destroyed." He perceived that its processes degraded and dehumanised the workers, that its aims and motives demoralised those who directed its courses, and spread the disease of materialism everywhere. It has been responsible for two world wars and is rapidly preparing for a third between two Dinosaurian blocks. Because both are the outcome of materialistic ideologies they lack the vision, the understanding and the moral courage to save themselves from catastrophies which they know might encompass their extinction as civilisations. These are facts of which India must take note.

A few Western Powers have developed enormous production potentials which can only be kept going by extravagant and wasteful standards of living at home, by large and ever-growing exports, and by big armaments programmes. As the demand for markets exceeds the supply, and as armaments stimulate fear, Western Industrialism is a breeder of international conflict. Before long will appear a new cause of war: a mighty clash between the rising, just demands of an awakening and long-repressed East, and the towering and ever-rising standards of material living in the West, especially in the United States, for the earth's resources in food and raw materials. These combined demands from the East and the West are now outreaching supply, and even man's power to discover new sources of supply, while ideological conflicts and the fear of war are greatly aggravating this acute shortage problem by the development of re-armament programmes which surpass all knowledge or understanding.

What India has now to decide is whether she intends to enter this international vortex, the fundamental evil of which is materialism, uncriticised, uncontrolled high standards of material living, and what follows from this, class war and finally world ideological war, or whether she means to keep out of it, which she can only do by pursuing an essentially self-sufficient economy, and a civilisation of high quality in which material values will be controlled by spiritual values and principles.

Mr. Nehru has declared over and over again that India's aim is economic self-sufficiency—not absolute, of course. This policy is necessary, *first*, in order to insure her economic and financial independence, and *second*, because with such an economy India will not be a cause of those international strains and stresses from which, as explained above, modern wars spring.

But what India has not yet decided is whether she hopes to achieve this end mainly by way of centralised mass-production industry, or mainly by way of a well-integrated agro-industrial economy. That issue is vital, as I will explain.

If India makes the former choice she will be unable to escape two major evils: the pursuit of material wealth as a major objective, and the dehumanisation of the workers on a growing, and finally colossal, scale.

The spiritual decline of the West during the last century (symbolised in its present "Satanic civilisation," with its growing fears and war preparations) has been primarily due to the fact that the making of riches became the primary motive behind the Industrial Revolution. Hence there is great danger of pursuing a particular form of industry merely because it yields the maximum quantity of goods. But quality of production must also be considered, individuality and variety, and what is much more important, the quality of human personality. An industrial set-up which turns out millions of articles every one of which is the spit of the other, produces a dead, monotonous world, and also which is much more important and dangerous, a uniform man, the mass-man of the industrial West, who has made possible, and even become the basis of, the totalitarian state. Moreover, the producers of uninspiring monotony don't do this for love, but for money, while workers condemned to repetitive labour which requires neither skill nor intelligence can only endure such human indignity for the sake of the means to live. Hence mass-production carried out on a vast scale involves human degradation all round and the infection of the whole of society with the canker of materialism.

There is this also to be said. Many Indians claim that maximum mass-production development is necessary in order to raise the standard of living of the poorest, and in the quickest possible time. The fact is, however, that the masses of India's needy live in her 750,000 villages, and were the new mass-produced goods of India presented to them for purchase to-morrow, they would not be able to buy them. Only the few workers would be able to buy them who had been brought from the villages into the new factories. What then would happen? This is what would happen. Most of the new production would have to be sold on the foreign market, as Indian textiles are to-day, since they constitute 26 per cent of India's exports, even while scores of millions of villagers do not possess more than one square yard of cotton cloth each. In payment for these exports India would import luxury goods for her well-to-do population. Hence instead of the new industrialism solving India's poverty problem, it would stimulate the class war and hasten the march of Communism.

The argument is worth pursuing. Many Indians

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do not realise how few poverty-stricken people would benefit from an even gigantic programme of industrial expansion. Today India has 390 cotton mills which contain over 10,000,000 spindles and 200,000 looms. Yet they employ only 450,000 people, men, women and children. And how long has it taken to produce them? Were India to embark on an industrial programme which included the erection and fitting out of say, 4,000 factories of all kinds during the next 15 or 20 years, she would do no more than touch the fringe of her village poverty and under-employment problem. And what about the cost?

At present world prices (which are going to remain for a very long time) the scheme would cost several thousand crores of rupees. India could not finance it, nor could any other country except the United States. But in view of the latter's military designs in Japan and the Far East generally, and the preparations that are now being made for a possible Dinosaurian conflict with Communism, would India sanction at this time an American financial invasion of her country? I know the answer to that question. In her foreign policy India is extraordinarily realist and sound. She must be equally realistic in her domestic policy, and realism suggests that she concentrate on bringing betterment by way of a steady and continuing process, and simultaneously, to the teeming millions in her villages. This can be done by one means only, the application of the Gandhian economy, that is, by the transformation of her disintegrated villages into village republics.

Gandhiji was very far-sighted and amazingly practical when he declared that India's salvation depends upon the spinning wheel—first, as a means of winning Swaraj, and afterwards as a means of raising the living standards of her poverty-stricken villages, the variety and quality of their life, and the status and dignity of their manhood.

The attitude of the Government to this claim seems to be this: Very well, if you really believe in this policy, get on with it and we will wish you God-speed, and we shall be glad to help you whenever we can. But is that enough? Big economic and international issues are at stake, including that of another world war. Moreover, equally big spiritual issues are also at stake. The decision to be made involves the issue of whether the purpose of civilisation is to make wealth and give the people a good time, (eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we die), or whether it is to make men and women of full stature—physically, intellectually, morally and spiritually—and to this end to fashion the right kind of cultural institutions. A sound democracy cannot possibly rest upon a foundation of mass men with mass minds, for they would always vote for the Government which promised them the most wealth and the largest array of social amenities. And they would win the elections for they would always be in the majority. The alternative would be a Right or Left Dictatorship.

But if the chief concern of the state be to breed a race of whole men and women, then they must be given tasks which will develop all their faculdes, especially their emotions, their imaginations and their creative powers. Without responsibility and creative opportunity in their daily avocations, this condition of human wholeness cannot be achieved. Accordingly, an economic, industrial and cultural system must be devised which will provide these fundamental rights in fullest measure to the entire community, and not to the financially privileged few.

The Gandhian economy alone can do that. It is an ancient economy, being as old as society itself. Modern industrial techniques have destroyed it. Still newer techniques must restore it, but give to it a richer content. Instead of man's inventive genius running to giantism in machines, factories and cities, it should be directed to the small machine, to mechanical devices to assist men in the producion of commodities of high quality, yet in such numbers that all may have them if they so desire. In the making of such commodities, men, women and even children would find the means of self-realisation, self-fulfilment and complete soul satisfaction. The outcome would be a beautiful world and a richly endowed humanity.

The foundations of such an India are already being laid by a few devout followers of Gandhiji. They are making enormous sacrifices; but are finding in them satisfactions which the politics and the riches of Industrialism would never give them. In different parts of India I visited Ashrams which are concentrating on producing cheap spinning wheels. Indeed I saw wheels which could be produced for a few annas, and many for one or two rupees. Could these not be produced by the million and sent into all the villages of India? How could Government money be spent better in order to raise the standard of living of the people? Cotton cloth in every Indian home means wealth and well-being—*Here and Now*, not in fifteen or twenty years. To teach women the art of embroidery, would add beauty to garments and covers, etc. After that start, other industries, cottage and village, could be introduced in quick succession, as fast as the appliances which they require could be produced, including the necessary raw materials. The production of the latter would provide new local occupations. So the work could proceed, fast enough to maintain a continuity of progress from end to end of India.

In this process such institutions as the A.I.V.I.A. and the A.I.S.A. would play a prominent part. The latter would train weavers, one from each village, who would then teach as many as were necessary. It would also arrange the exchanges of cloth for yarn and vice versa, at the recognised rates, and purchase

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the surplus production for sale or exchange in other areas. As to the A.I.V.I.A., it is able to give expert tuition in scores of village and cottage industries, including paper making, soap making, oil extraction from all manner of seeds and berries, bee rearing, meal and flour grinding, the installation of simple domestic cooking ranges, pottery, including cooking pots, etc., They also ask for samples of the various trees, berries, beans, herbs, shrubs, etc., that are grown in different areas in order to see to what uses they might be put. There is no reason why a branch of this organisation should not be set up in every area throughout India.

It is an inspiration to witness this process in action, for once it commences there is no checking its advance. It may commence in one village with one or two classes in Basic Education, in another with a maternity centre or a clinic, and in another with the sinking of a well or installing a surface drainage scheme. But what it be, news of it will spread immediately to the surrounding villages, which will then ask for the same facilities. What is more, they are willing to make a contribution towards them from their scanty means. I went into one village—a Harijan village—which already had two basic education classes and a clinic, but which nevertheless called a meeting before the Temple to consider what could be done to bring a new service to the village. It was decided that each household should contribute one rupee towards its cost.

In this particular area, in S. India, one Gandhi Ashram was carrying benefits to nearly thirty villages within a radius of about fifteen miles, about half of which I visited. I witnessed similar things even further South, below Madura, also in Malabar. Moreover, all these Ashrams are training considerable numbers of young men and women drawn from every class and caste and no caste. These Ashrams, which know caste no more, are the seedbeds of the new India. In them are as fine people as one can ever desire to see. Few in my country can equal their spirit, their courage or their sacrifice. Upon me they made a lasting impression. One or two Americans and one or two British are to be found among them. I raise my hat to them all: they are of the salt of the earth. Is India giving them the support they deserve and that India, the India of Gandhiji's dreams, demands? I ask this question in all humility conscious of my country's present plight.

As this process of village industrial expansion developed, the surplus labour of the villages would gradually be absorbed, whereupon attention would be directed to devising more and more mechanical aids, possibly with the use of electric, wind or water power. Already electricity is being carried to many villages. The main point to be watched in this development is that the mechanical devices adopted should serve as aids to the craftsman's skill, to quality production and not to cheap mass-production of characterless goods for profit's sake.

It is true, of course, that a certain amount of highly centralised industry cannot be avoided, but it should be avoided as far as possible. It is often largely a matter of technique. If it is reduced to the minimum, there would be no difficulty in arranging that the workers in such industry were given a secondary occupation which enabled them to develop their creative powers.

Were India to adopt this general plan, she would escape the evils that have overtaken the West and which now threaten the collapse and even the extinction of its civilisation. It is when civilisations become urbanised and prosperous, when money values supersede creative and other spiritual values, that civilisations begin to decay and the trek to perdition commences. The big problem of the West is whether a new social order born of a creative revolution can take place before an atomic war sweeps its civilisation, and everything else into the great Unknown. That creative revolution would be the Western counterpart to the revolution of the Gandhian economy in India.

Not only has India a clearer road to travel than we of the West, she has much more political backing, despite the enervating indecision which now prevails. Mr. Nanda, your Minister of Planning, and Mr. Patil, of the Planning Commission, have publicly expressed their profound faith in the principle of co-operation in the economic and social development of village life. Mr. Nanda sees in co-operation the surest guarantee of establishing a sound village democracy, while Mr. Patil envisages the unification of the village panchayat and the various co-operative organisations.

Were Indian statesmen to take their courage in their hands and declare their intention to build boldly on the foundations laid down by Gandhiji, and were they to call upon the nation to give them the utmost backing in this task and upon the youth of India to devote their talents to this great creative revolution in their villages, as workers, as teachers, as technicians, the face of India and the outlook of her people could be completely changed inside thirty years. It is, I am convinced, the most effective social revolution which lies open to her. It lies in India's power to initiate a new creative era which might spread to the ends of the earth whence mankind universally would enter into wider freedoms that it has ever known, including the freedoms of world intercourse and world peace.

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UNION EXECUTIVE IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

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By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

III

In the previous section we have discussed the general position in regard to the relation between the President and the Council of Ministers as laid down in the Constitution to show that it leaves room for independent action by the President if he thinks that an occasion demands it though such occasions are not expected to be frequent. We shall now discuss some specific provisions of the Constitution which suggest that it is intended that the President should exercise his discretion independent of the Ministry in the exercise of his powers under the Constitution in some matters.

In the first place Subsection (2) of Article 74 fully exempts the President from the jurisdiction of Courts in the matter of how he will react to ministerial advice. So far as the law is concerned, therefore, there is nothing to prevent the President from even acting without such advice or acting contrary to advice, if given. His conduct in this respect will not be justiciable. Although this by itself does not completely secure the position of the President and enable him to go freely his own way in his relations with the Council of Ministers still it seems to us the provision goes a great way in securing the President a good deal of independence of the Ministry, if he wants it. Under Article 75, the Prime Minister is to be appointed by the President and the other ministers on the advice of the Prime Minister. This is based on the practice in England where under a well-established convention the King calls the leader of the party that has obtained a majority in Parliament after general election to form the ministry. The King has little discretion in the matter unless no party obtains clear majority in Parliament in which case he calls first upon the leader of the party having the largest majority and so on. England has developed a tradition of two-party system from which there has been an aberration in recent times by the rise of the Labour Party into prominence during the last two decades, but there is again a tendency to lapse back to the two-party pattern by the liquidation of the Liberal Party. So in England there is seldom the scope for the exercise of the King's discretion in the matter as in France and other Continental countries with plurality of parties.

Here in India as far as we can see on the threshold of the first General Election the party situation is likely to be as in France and the Continent rather than in England and therefore there will be ample scope for the exercise of the President's discretion in the matter of appointment of the Prime Minister and indirectly the other ministers as well. The Constitution gives him the power of appointment which he may exercise in his unfettered discretion till conventions grow up regulating its exercise. But there is one important restriction imposed on his discretion by Subsection (3) of the same Article which enjoins collective responsibility of the ministry to the House of the People. That means, in choosing his Prime Minister and forming the ministry the President must have regard to the requirement that they must be in a position to discharge the obligation of being collectively responsible to the House, in other words they must enjoy and retain the confidence of the majority in the House. In England this is secured by convention; here we have introduced a written provision so as not to leave it to chance. Under Subsection (2) the ministers are to hold office only during the pleasure of the President implying full power of the President to dismiss his ministers. As in the case of the power of appointment this also is subject to the important limitation imposed by Subsection (3) of the Article that is, the power is not to be exercised as long as the ministry enjoys collectively the confidence of the House. If the President does otherwise, he would make himself liable to impeachment for violation of the constitution. If, however, a ministry is defeated in Parliament and advises the President for a dissolution of the House will he be bound to accept that advice or is he in a position to exercise his discretion? The constitution has given the President full discretion to dissolve the House when he thinks fit. Article 85(2) provides, "The President may from time to time dissolve the House of People." In England, the power of dissolving the House of Commons is a prerogative, *i.e.*, discretionary power of the Crown, but convention has restricted the use of the power of the King only on the advice of the ministry in office, so that the King cannot now refuse to dissolve the House if so advised by the Prime Minsiter. But even in self-governing Dominions who borrowed their political institutions from England the Governor-General or the Governor as the case might be has exercised free discretion in the matter until quite recently* although now the English practice has been adopted. I do not think

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* Even as late as June 1926 Lord Byng, the Governor-General of Canada, refused dissolution of Parliament to the Liberal Prime Minister Mr. Mackenzie King, although he granted it to the next Prime Minister Mr. Meighan, the Conservative leader, when defeated in Parliament very soon after. Even in 1927 Prof. Keith wrote: "In the Dominions, the discretion of the Governor is still constitutional and real, however much it may be deemed preferable that the British Plan should persist, and however clearly events are moving in that direction." (Keith: *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, Vol. I, p. 156, quoted in Wheare: *The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status*, 1938, p. 58). Even with regard to England, Lord Oxford and Asquith as late as 1924 supported the view that the King possessed a discretion in the matter of grant of dissolution. (Vide Wheare: *Ibid*, p. 58).

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therefore that the convention followed in England will automatically apply to our case. Until conventions grow up, and there is no guarantee that same conventions as in England will develop here, the President will enjoy free discretion in the matter and it seems to me in the situation envisaged above the President will be free to accept or reject the advice of the ministry. Of course, he should exercise his discretion only in exceptional circumstances, when, for instance, the advice of the ministry appears to him to be frivolous and unwarranted by the political situation and he feels he cannot accept it consistently with the best interests of the nation in his judgment. Because the President although he may be elected on a party ticket, on assumption of his office should become a neutral force politically if he is to be true to the oath of his office. As such he should place the interests of the nation at large above those of any party. The advice of the ministry will be prompted by partisan motive and for party advantage. It is only when the President as the representative of the nation and of the units of federation has reasons to think that if the dissolution be granted on the advice of the ministry it will be detrimental to the national interests and secure an unfair advantage to the ruling party that the occasion will arise for his acting against the ministerial advice.

We come next to the relation between the President and Prime Minister which is regulated by Article 78. It seems to us the provision in the Article has the effect of giving a weight to the President which does not quite belong to the English King or the constitutional head in other countries which have accepted the English model. In England also the King is kept generally informed of the affairs by the Prime Minister after decisions have been taken by the Cabinet, and the Prime Minister may seek the advice of the King on important issues but all this takes place on an informal level and "off the record," but our constitution (Article 78) makes it mandatory on the Prime Minister "to communicate to the President all decisions of the Council of Ministers relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation," "to furnish such information relating to the administration of the affairs of the Union and proposals for legislation as the President may call for." If the Prime Minister does not communicate a decision of the Cabinet or if after the President has called for some information regarding administrative matters and legislative proposals the Prime Minister refuses to furnish it he will be clearly guilty of violation of the constitution. In England it would be a mere breach of convention, but the convention is so firmly established that it is almost absurd to think that such a thing will ever happen. Of course, the smooth working of the system will depend on the growth of a relation of mutual trust and confidence between the President and the Prime Minister as in the case of the President of the U.S.A. to the Congress

England, whatever may be the provision in the constitution. Sub-clause (c) of the Article, however, in our opinion constitutes a clear departure from the principles of orthodox parliamentary system and marks an innovation. It provides that it shall be the duty of the Prime Minister, if the President so requires, to submit for the consideration of the Council of Ministers any matter on which a decision has been taken by a minister but which has not been considered by the Council. It implies the following three things which are not quite in accord with the spirit of parliamentary system of government:

1. An individual Minister may take decisions on his own initiative and responsibility;
2. If such a decision comes to the notice of the President and is not to his liking he may require the Prime Minister presumably acting in his free discretion to refer it to the Cabinet as a whole;
3. On such a demand by the President the Prime Minister would be bound to refer the matter to the Cabinet.

Now in England except in regard to routine matters in his department a minister cannot take decisions in his individual responsibility; in case of doubt whether a matter is one which can be disposed of departmentally or should be referred to the Cabinet he is to consult the Prime Minister. If he fails to do so and the matter is adversely criticised in Parliament he is called upon to resign instead of the Cabinet rallying to his side, as happened with Mr. Montagu in Lloyd George's ministry. The provision in question, in our opinion, may stand in the way of development of mutual understanding and special relationship between the Prime Minister and his colleagues and the unity and solidarity of the Cabinet so necessary for the smooth working of parliamentary system by allowing the President to come in occasionally between the Prime Minister and an individual minister. The power if used by the President indiscriminately might prove irritating and mar the good relations between the President and the Prime Minister.

Next we come to another provision of the Constitution (Article 86) dealing with the right of the President to send messages to Parliament which is more in accord with and borrowed from Presidential system than Parliamentary. The President is empowered to send messages to either House of Parliament whether with respect to a bill then pending in Parliament or otherwise and a House to which any message is so sent shall with all convenient despatch consider any matter required by the message to be taken into consideration. This is not exactly like the speech from the throne delivered at the opening of a Parliamentary session embodying the programme of business proposed to be taken up during the session as prepared by the ministry and simply put in the mouth of the King. It is more like the messages

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forming the latter of the state of the Union and recommending certain concrete measures for the latter's consideration which he deems necessary and expedient in the prevailing situation, but with this difference that in U.S.A., the executive under the constitution having no contact with the legislature and no means of giving a lead to it utilises this right to fill up the lacuna; whereas under our constitution the ministry having the leadership of Parliament has no need for such a device. If it wants to give any direction to Parliament or offer any advice or suggestion to Parliament it can do it on the floor of the House without utilising the President for that purpose. Vesting this right in the President becomes therefore meaningless and superfluous unless the President is understood to exercise this right independently of the ministry to tell the House something on his own—a thing which is not quite consistent with Parliamentary system of the orthodox brand.

The same consideration also applies to the right of the President under Article 111 to withhold assent from a bill passed by both Houses of Parliament, or to return such bill (being other than Money Bill) to the Houses for reconsideration of the bill as a whole or certain specified provisions or with a view to considering the desirability of introducing some amendments suggested by him. Although Parliament would not ultimately be bound by the President's advice or suggestions, the President would presumably be acting in these matters on his own initiative, because the ministry cannot be reasonably expected to advise the President either to withhold his assent to a bill or return for reconsideration a bill which has been passed by both Houses either on their initiative or at least not against their dissent. The President has also been given some power with regard to bills passed by State legislatures reserved by the State Governor for his consideration under Article 200. In particular the Governor is bound to reserve a bill for the President's consideration if the bill, in his opinions, if passed into law would so derogate from the powers of the High Court as to endanger the position assigned to the Court by the Constitution. In case of any bill so reserved three possible courses are open to the President—(*a*) to assent to the Bill, (*b*) to withhold assent from the Bill, and (*c*) in case of a bill other than a Money Bill to direct the Governor to return the bill to the Legislature for reconsideration. Now the question arises, would the President in making any of these decisions be necessarily bound by the advice of the Union ministry? In our view the Constitution leaves room for the exercise of the President's discretion when he has reasons to think that the Ministry in giving its advice is moved by partisan considerations, particularly when two different parties are in power in the Union and the State and that to act on the advice of the Union ministry would constitute an unwarranted encroachment on the autonomy of the State Government. In such circumstances it would be the duty of the President to assert himself as a neutral force and to hold the scales even between contending forces, although that may not be in accord with the traditions of a strictly constitutional ruler.

Under Parts VIII, IX and X of the constitution the President has been given important powers in regard to the administration of areas, territories and tribes comparatively backward for which or whom the provisions of the new constitution are thought not to be immediately applicable or suitable, just like the non-regulation areas of British days. Special provisions have therefore been made for their administration suited to the respective stages of their development providing for a period of tutelage, the ultimate responsibility for which vests in the President of the Republic. Thus under Article 239 the administration of Part C States, *i.e.*, the old Chief Commissioners' Provinces and some merged Indian States, is vested in the President, acting to such extent as he thinks fit, through a Chief Commissioner or a Lieutenant Governor to be appointed by him, etc. Under Art. 243 teritories specified in Part D of the First Schedule (*i.e.*, Andaman and Nicobar Islands) as also territories not included in other states are to be administered by the President acting, to such extent as he thinks fit, through a Chief Commissioner or other authority to be appointed by him. In discharging the responsibility for the administration of these areas the President will of course normally be advised by the Union Ministry but supposing the President and the ministry do not see eye to eye with regard to a particular policy or measure it seems to us the President may authorise action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with ministerial advice if he thinks that necessary in the interest of the areas, for the Constitution vests in him the responsibility for promoting the welfare of these areas. The same thing holds good of such powers as are vested in the President under Part X in regard to Scheduled and Tribal areas. This is made more explicit in Subclause (2) of Art. 243 which provides that the President may make regulations for the peace and good government of territories in Part D and territories not included in other states and any such regulation may repeal or amend any law made by Parliament, etc. It is clear that the responsibility for making laws for such territories is vested in the President alone who may override even Parliament, that is, the ministry which presumably leads it. The idea seems to be that the welfare and tutelage of peoples in these areas should be placed above party politics and should be the care of the head of the State who would be above party politics. The same thing appears to us to hold good in the sphere of administration as in legislation.

Lastly, we come to the Emergency Provisions of the Constitution under Part XVIII of the Consti-

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tution. These vest tremendous powers in the President and these will come into play only if the President issues a Proclamation and for that he has only to be satisfied and to declare that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or of any part of the territory thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or internal disturbance, (Art. 352)—a question of fact and opinion which would not be open to dispute in a court of law. What makes the power still more sweeping is the provision [Article 352(3)] that the proclamation may be made even before the actual occurrence of war or of any such aggression or disturbance if the President is satisfied that there is imminent danger thereof—again a question of opinion. The effect of the Proclamation of emergency is to arm the President with special powers in a number of matters. It will practically supersede the normal administration of the States, the President being empowered to give directions to a State as to the manner in which its executive power is to be exercised and Parliament empowered to make laws regarding matters outside the Union List (Article 353); it will be open to the President during the pendency of the Proclamation to suspend the financial provisions regulating the distribution of revenues between the Union and the States (Article 354). The President is empowered during the pendency of a Proclamation of Emergency to suspend the enforcement of any of the Fundamental Rights (as laid down in Part III) by any court. What is more, even in the absence of a state of emergency as stated above simply on the report of the Governor or the Rajpramukh, who by the way are the President's nominees, that a situation has arisen in which the government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the President is authorised to issue a Proclamation assuming to himself the functions of the government of the State or any powers vested in its Governor or Rajpramukh or any other body or authority in the State and declaring the powers of the State Legislature to be exercisable by Parliament and making all necessary incidental provisions including provisions for suspending in whole or in part the operation of any provisions of the Constitution relating to any body or authority in the State excepting a High Court—formidable powers indeed! The President has also been given power to issue a Proclamation of another type, *viz.*, in financial emergency (Article 360). During the pendency of such a Proclamation the Executive authority of the Union would extend to the giving of directions to any State to observe such canons of financial propriety as specified in the directions and the directions may include other provisions also, such as requiring Money Bills passed by the Legislature of the State to be reserved for the consideration of the President. The President is also empowered to issue directions for the reduction of salaries during the pendency of the Proclamation. It will be noticed that the common feature of all these cases of Proclamations that the President can issue them in his discretion and on the issue of the Proclamation he is armed with abnormal powers, although temporarily and subject to some limitations. Another thing to be noted is that whenever an emergency of any of the categories stated is proclaimed the autonomy of the States is practically thrown overboard and the Union Executive dominates the States. Even in normal times the scheme of distribution of powers between the federation and the units in our Constitution is heavily tilted in favour of the former; in emergencies our Constitution is virtually converted into a unitary form. Dr. Ambedkar did not make any secret of the fact that the Drafting Committee so fashioned the Constitution that it would work as a federation (and that even with a unitary bias) in peace times, but would become unitary in times of national emergency. We do not propose to go into the merits of that plan here, but it will be admitted that if our adoption of federal system is not groundless, it ought not to be given up even temporarily without very grave reasons. At least that question should be removed from the arena of party politics. If that is to be the case the emergency powers should not be left to the unfettered discretion of the Union Ministry, and the President should be in a position to act contrary to the advice of his ministry if he has reasons to believe that it is prompted by purely partisan considerations. Otherwise there would be a great risk of these formidable powers being used or rather abused by the party ruling at the Centre to the great annoyance of other parties that may be ruling in the units, because it cannot be expected that there will always be only one dominant party ruling throughout the country as at present. That will lead to a very undesirable state of affairs with great danger to the Constitution. The reserve power of the President will be the only safeguard and protection against such development.

To sum up, the conclusions that emerge from our discussion so far may be stated as follows:

(1) The character of our Union Executive is modelled substantially on that of England, though not wholly so.

(2) The elective character of the office of the President of the Republic introduces a fundamental difference between our President and a constitutional ruler under orthodox parliamentary system of the British type.

(3) The constitution as it stands leaves a wide margin of discretion for the President in the exercise of his functions under the constitution. In particular some specific provisions of the constitution are calculated to introduce a departure from the British system specially in the context of conditions in this country.

(4) Our constitution is however still in a nebulous condition. It is not possible to be dogmatic

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about its true character. What shape it will take will depend entirely on the growth of conventions which again will depend on many factors.

(5) But as far as we can see and it seems to be the intention of the authors of the Constitution also that the relations between the President of our Republic and the ministry is not to be an exact replica of the British original. The departure is necessitated particularly by two factors peculiar to our country—federal system and the prospect of plurality of parties. In view of these we hold it desirable also that there should be some reserve power in the President to be used in his discretion, only in marginal cases to hold the scales even between different claims. In the normal situation, however, the relationship between the President and ministry should be one of mutual trust and confidence and perfect accord, but situations might arise in the prevailing conditions of the country when the President, if he was to be true to the oath of his office and to the larger interests of the nation, might have to differ from the ministry. It is only on such occasions, which will be and should be rare, that the desirability of the President exercising his independent discretion would arise. This assumes a conception of the office of the President as a neutral, non-political and non-partisan figure in the government of the country. That is also in accord with the letter and spirit of the constitution. One thing,—his oath of office points in that direction, and secondly, a parliamentary system requires for smooth working such a figure at the Head. Of course, the method of election laid down in the constitution gives advantage to a party candidate getting elected, but there is nothing to prevent even such a man after election to shed his political affiliations and assume a strictly neutral and non-political role on the analogy of the English Speaker. It will all ultimately depend on the development of a tradition what shape the office will take.

But if we are to judge from the attitude of our first President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the prospect of such a tradition developing is bright. As the first President he has set the example of an absolutely neutral, non-partisan President which is likely to be followed by his successors. For with the assumption of office he severed his connection with the Congress Party organisation, painful though it must have been and up to now he has completey steered clear of party politics. Using his name in connection with the last general elections was also forbidden and he has not even exercised his franchise. It is hoped that this tradition will be maintained by his successor, for it is only on that basis that the President can truly fulfil the responsibilities of the office laid on his shoulders under the constitution. *(Concluded)*

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THE FUTURE OF MAN

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Nor a few hold the view that man's development from barbarism to civilisation is cyclical. That is to say it recurs in cycles like the phases of the moon.

This immediately leads to the question what then is it that we understand by civilisation? If we relate it merely to a condition of affairs which easily and elaborately satisfies our fundamental needs we obviously take a very perverted view of it. Economics as the sole consequence of man, is only a perversion of truth. The satisfaction of the primary needs of man is undoubtedly a major factor in the moulding of human life but man's mind craves for higher things of life also. Civilisation then must not only aim at the restoration of conditions conducive to the satisfaction of man's immediate needs but must give him enough leisure and energy to attend to the developments and demands of the mind and the spirit.

Those who live a contemplative life, do so, not merely for their material or social advancement, or for love of power and fame, but because they regard it as higher and take pleasure or interest in it. Thus in a civilisation, it is not merely enough that men should be rich and powerful and leisured and be able to satisfy their material wants easily and abundantly. This, after all, is only what a glorified savage would do, given the advantages of leisure and abundance. Men must also devote at least some part of their energies, to living the life of the mind and of the spirit, by pursuing those things which are good, true and beautiful. They must also create an eagerness in others to know them equally. In other words, a civilisation must have a sufficient supply of elevated minds, freed from the pressure of purely biological ends and of immediate cares. It must enrich human society with beautiful things of art and music, advance science, philosophy and religion, and explore the mysteries of this universe.

But unfortunately, while this is what civilisation stands for, few men who have become rich, leisured and powerful, have used their leisure and energy for the good of their fellowmen. On the other hand, our experience has been that they have used them like savages for the gratification of their senses and for wielding power oppressively over their weaker fellowmen.

Thus this bitter experience has led some to evolve the cyclical theory. The upholders say that civilisations rise and fall just as individuals reach a certain

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level of glory and then fade away. In this sense they take civilisations to have been the result of the activities of the communities. These acquired power and wealth and enjoyed them mainly for their benefit for some time and eventually ended either because of their own weaknesses, or because they were overun and destroyed by more vigorous and simpler peoples. Therefore, the protagonists say that the success and fall of the communities cannot be explained away merely on the ground of accident but that they occur, in fact, in pursuance of some kind of rhythm or in obedience to some kind of law.

Whether this supposition based on their experience of the past and present is true, is to say the least very controversial.

The view, even if it be true, serves no useful purpose. It offers no incentive to man to improve himself and condemns him to a perpetual barbarism. It is a negation of the view that there is a purpose in the Divine plan. Either there is a moral purpose in the universe or there is none. If there is not, life becomes quite meaningless. The theory of progressive evolution of man becomes merely the vain boast of intellectual conceits.

Unfortunately, the genesis of this view rests in the belief that human nature is essentially vicious and thus we can never expect to be very happy. The fact is that both evil and good are necessary for man's progress. If all were made in God's image we would then have been merely virtuous automata. Hence, in order that human beings achieve virtue, they must be in some sense free, and freedom means freedom to choose between wrong and right. In other words, free will is a condition of morality. But nevertheless there must be conditions conducive to the growth of moral living. These undoubtedly exist but we have only to perceive them. Where, however, we choose evil and not good, the fault is ours. But where we do choose the good, we increase its total amount and contribute to our general happiness. Thus if we live moral lives caring equally for our and others' needs, our characters may improve and our lives may be much happier. The need for moral living is all the more today, when the modern man has, through science, acquired such immense power over Nature. The countless inventions of dangerous weapons threaten the destruction of the human race so much, that it is quite possible that our civilization might come to an abrupt end.

There are three ways in which this danger may occur.

First, there is the new danger from war. The potentialities of the biological warfare and the splitting of the atom and the setting free of the incalculable forces of atomic energy might well lay waste the countries involved.

The dangers of biological warfare are far greater than those of atomic warfare. In the face of such a threat the assets, traditionally supposed to make a country strong in war, such as heavy industries, large armies, navies and air forces, nay even atomic weapons, would be valueless.

Now so long as men continue to be organised into separate national states and each state believes in sabre-rattling as the most effective way to gain an advantage for itself the threat of world war will never diminish.

Secondly, as wars generally do not remain local but tend to spread, the danger of their leading to world conflagration has become very real. Science has by accelerating man's speed shortened distances. We cannot, therefore, but treat the world today as a single whole.

Thirdly, the continual increase of world's population is another real danger to world peace. The progress of medical science has been staggeringly great. It has begun to give today such tremendous protection to human life from diseases and pestilence, that human population is fast outgrowing food resources. There is a marked reduction in infant and maternal mortality in backward countries of Asia and Africa. The prophecy of Malthus that human beings tend to increase more rapidly than the food supply was never so true as today.

Fourthly, modern scientific methods of farming causing soil erosion and the rapid growth of industries attracting people to towns are also in no small degree contributing to the food shortage.

But still science provides some resource to us. The various kinds of contraceptives enable us to limit our children. Its use has to be popularised amongst the less educated and poorer communities.

Besides, scientific inventions and knowledge can enormously increase the world's food supplies. There are two ways to do it. First, by increasing the food growing areas, secondly by making large cultivable areas produce much larger amount of food than they actually do at present. New scientific inventions and fertilisers help us a lot in this way.

But unfortunately all these benefits of science have not so far been used fully for the good of the human race. Science is used more for man's harm rather than for his welfare. If this state of affairs is allowed to continue, the world may well be faced sooner or later with famine involving wars between famine-stricken nations competing for larger shares of a dwindling food supply.

Little wonder, therefore, that the minds of wise statesmen, philosophers and economists are turning today to the need of some form of world government which may control all the world's armed forces making it impossible for any individual nation or group of nations to plunge the world into a devastating war.

The prospects of such a government, however, are not very promising. Ideals and the means to achieve the end still divide statesmen. Two attempts have already been made since the first Great War of 1914

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The first was the League of Nations created upon the termination of the first war.

The second one is the establishment of the United Nations Organisation after the last war. Yet neither of them can be said to have achieved any appreciable degree of success. The League of Nations failed to prevent the second world war and the United Nations Organisation is still struggling for snpermacy over the great powers. It can only exercise its authority or impose its will upon nations effectively when they agree to place at its disposal an armed force which it may freely use against any nation or group of nations challenging its might.

Meanwhile, the world is divided between two power blocs—Russia and Western democracies with totally different ideologies. Communism is a negation of individual liberty. It stands for abolition of private property and loathes free competition. It visualises a classless society with one economic system. The State is to assume the control both of the means of production and distribution. The interests of the State and the individual being identical it argues that there is no need for an organised opposition to the government. Such a society the communists say can only be brought about by a world revolution. In their view peace can never be restored in the world until a communist world state controlled and run by Moscow is established. It thus idealises the State and holds that individuals must serve its ends. But Communist internationalism is gradually drowning itself in nationalism.

The Western democracies, on the other hand, believe in the achievement of the ideal of social and economic equality through individualism.

The connotation of the term has undergone radical changes under the influence of socialism in the present times. Mill in the nineteenth century drew a distinction between self-regarding actions and actions affecting other people. In his view the State could best further the happiness of individuals by interfering in their personal affairs as little as possible. This freedom he conceded to the individuals all the more in the sphere of opinion. Individual liberty, in other words, according to him, consisted of the inalienable rights of man to enjoy his property freely, to speak freely and to act freely.

Herbert Spencer, on the other hand, extended its scope. He imported into it biological conceptions derived from the Darwinian doctrine of evolution. While he regarded the State as contractual in origin, he also believed somewhat inconsistently in the theory of society as an organism which had evolved. In this organism members, not fitted to play their part, he said, should be eliminated in the interests of the whole. It was no duty of the strong in his view to tolerate them and perpetuate their weaknesses by making provision for it.

Progress thus consisted for him in the elimination of those who fell behind in the struggle for existence. He, therefore, denounced all forms of State relief to the poor and all collective effort on behalf of the distressed. This philosophy being cruel discredited individualism in the eyes of the socially minded people. It encouraged the strong to ruthlessly exploit the weak. It had particularly pernicious effects in the field of economics.

Again Bentham has further, by his insistence that as men are fundamentally selfish they should be left free to pursue their interests unhampered by State interference, added to the present economic crisis. The policy of leading men to bargain unhindered and unchecked with one another has become too cold for people to act upon. It is thus clear that the doctrine of laissez faire can no longer hold good and it is this policy which has principally given rise to various theories of socialism.

The New Individualism has consequently been the result. It differs from the old in regarding the group and not the individual as its unit for political purposes. Two factors have in the main built it. First, the old Individualism failed to protect the individual from the exploitation and oppression by (1) the privately owned economic interests and (2) public opinion expressing itself in the rule of the majority.

Mr. Norman Angell thinks that men are united by a community of feeling based on economic interests which not only runs counter to but frequently transcends national and geographical boundaries. Only the competing States foster unhealthy national feelings in the people by misrepresenting issues to them. In other words, he looks forward to a time when national States will be merged in an international order of society on an economic class basis.

Again, Mr. Wallas rightly points out in his book *The Great Society* that merely the transference of the means of production from private to social ownership will not give any economic equality to the people until the State administering them becomes really representative of the society that owns them. The modern centralised State with Parliament as its organ of expression does not in his view produce the most vigorous 'collective mind.' The elections conducted and governed by the State machinery on a geographical basis cannot elect such types of men. They may be influenced by interested propaganda. He, therefore, proposes that the electorate should be divided into groups on a vocational basis and that each group should elect members to a second chamber which would be composed entirely of representatives of the different trades and professions. A lower chamber would be retained elected on a purely geographical basis. Another proposal which he makes is for the election of bodies of representatives on a geographical basis for the carrying out of particular undertakings, leavened by a minority of members appointed by professional organisations. In other words, the attempt

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of Mr. Wallas by his proposals is to protect the individual from the evils of the majority rule. He is not so much worried with the likely oppression of the State as with the likely tyranny of the mob mind.

Again, Mr. Belloc, for instance, in his book *The Servile State* offers quite another solution for the economic ills of the human society. His suggestions have been developed by the Guild Socialist. They regard human society as a federation of two kinds of groups representing respectively the producer's and the consumer's point of view.

The existing Trade Unions and co-operative societies are taken as the germ from which this group organisation of society is to be developed.

In short Guild Socialism aims at the abolition of the wage-system, and the establishment by the workers of self-government in industry, through a democratic system of National Guilds, working in conjunction with other democratic functional organisations in the community.

The principles governing its aims are three, *viz.*, (1) the principle of Functional Democracy, (2) the principle that industry should be administered by the common action of workers both manual and managerial who carry on the industry, and (3) the principle that power and responsibility in society should be related and be proportional to the importance of the functions which individuals perform in the service of the community.

It is thus obvious that the maxim "Every man for himself and the Devil take the hindmost" does not afford an adequate basis for a contented society. The concept of a modern Welfare State is, therefore, the inevitable consequence of the individualistic theory and any resistance to the growing view of State interference in industrial and economic matters is to say the least quite futile today. Human beings are so distressed with their economic condition and their minds are so stuffed with utopian ideals advocated and preached by politicians and thinkers that a step forward is inevitable.

We must remember that a happy social order can not exist nor can it be maintained until man has been drilled into a moral life. It was for this reason that Maratma Gandhiji's programme of a mixed economy combining capitalism with socialism is a practical solution of the economic ills facing the world today and is based upon a sound understanding of human nature. His anti-machine attitude may be regrettable but his due appreciation of the importance of capital and labour as indispensable factors in the economic sphere and willingness to give scope to private initiative and enterprise within reasonable limits is just what the world has to realise today.

Let us not forget that socialism succeeds or fails upon the hypothesis whether man is essentially good or vicious. If he be good, he can work in a team for the good of others without caring for himself. If he be wicked, it fails miserably.

We can by our foolishness destroy ourselves completely or revert to a state of savagery or barbarism which may last for hundreds or even thousands of years.

Those of us who wish to bring about an utopian society by force may well take stock of the risks involved in the venture. Socialism is a religion, a culture. It takes time to grow. Wisdom therefore lies in being cautiou with the experiment.

Its imposition upon people ill-equipped for it will only accentuate miseries. To hope for a uniform economic system controlled and regulated by a World Government is a vain attempt. It is neither possible nor feasible. And yet our efforts must be directed towards the attainment of a well-contented human society. The way to it is either democratic or totalitarian. Democracy implies man's freedom from bondage. Totalitarianism means his reversal to a state of bondage again. The choice is with us. Let us not blunder. The regeneration of man is the supreme need of the moment.

The establishment of the United Nations Organisation is a right step in the direction. The Atlantic Pact guarantees the Four Freedoms to man. It provides a forum to nations for exchange of views and for settlement of differences by free discussion. Perhaps it may be said that the organisation when it has not the military strength to enforce its decrees against belligerent nations cannot restore peace to the distracted world. But mere discussion creates in statesmen and diplomats a habit to think and act rightly. It kindles within them a passion for peace. The formation of world government may be impracticable but even if the organisation succeeds in persuading the nations to agree to the establishment of an international committee to control the Atomic energy and the essential supplies of raw materials and minerals we shall have gone a long way towards building up world peace.

The world may be divided into nations and each nation may be distrustful of the intentions of the other. The disarmament conference may have failed or may fail. But the setbacks need not deter us from our efforts to achieve the ideal. Variety is the law of nature. It, in fact, enriches human life. In diversity lies unity. Human life is a continual evolution from a lower to a higher plane of human existence.

This fact is indisputably established whether we take life and mind to be accidental bye-products of the working of material forces or as expressions of some vital creative force or still again as manifestations of the life and mind of a Person who created mankind in pursuance of a purpose. Let us therefore have faith in our ultimate mission and a happier world will perhaps be the outcome.

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A. G. GARDINER

Last of the Old Brigade

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, 'This was a man'."
—SHAKESPEARE

THERE is not a lover of journalism or literature who does not mourn the passing away of A. G. Gardiner a few years ago. He had long passed the psalmist's span of three score years and ten. That, however, does not mitigate the sense of our loss to any appreciable extent: rather does it serve to heighten it. We had been so very much accustomed to take his presence in our midst for granted that now we cannot bear to contemplate the void caused by his demise with any degree of equanimity. His was, indeed, a name to conjure with. The initials, "A. G. G.," were known and honoured wherever they were found: they were an instantaneous passport to our affection. We read every line of his that we could lay hands on, and, like Oliver Twist, asked for more. His writings were suffused with charm. No wonder that even his worst enemies could not resist their lure. It is no exaggeration to say that, once you came to him, you could not leave him without a pang of regret. I can still remember many a dinner that was allowed to get cold because I happened to be in the middle of an article, or essay, of his. It is equally true that I often neglected my more serious studies for the same reason. It can be said of him, as it was said of someone else before him, that he "beguiled children from play and old men from the chimney-corner."

LAST OF THE GIANTS

Gardiner's death is a loss in another respect also. He was the last of a race of journalistic giants. Scott, Spender, Massingham, and Gardiner formed a quartette that has never been surpassed anywhere. They have had no single successor. It was, probably, not quite an accident that all of them belonged to the great Liberal party. During that period there was an efflorescence of the human spirit in that party that was well-nigh unique. In politics as well as in the arts it "flamed in the forehead of the morning sky." Look where you would it was a Liberal that dominated the scene. It was from that cultural Pamir Plateau that all—or nearly all—the rivers and rivulets of genius flowed and "winded somewhere safe to sea." That illustrious savant, Lord Morley himself, drew inspiration from the same prolific source. Naturally, these four figures whose names I have mentioned above had no option, so to speak, but to tread the same path of intellectual development.

THE MOUNTAIN-PEAKS ARE ALL SNOW-CLAD

It would be unprofitable to go into the question of who was the tallest among those giants. There can be no comparison where superlatives are concerned. The mountain-peaks are all snow-clad. Scott was, undoubtedly, the doyen among them. He had also the advantage of being associated with the finest daily in England. That, of necessity, gave him a "pull" that was, unfortunately, denied to the others. He was the seniormost among them. His noble example could not but have been an invaluable asset, acting, as it must have done, as a sort of beacon-light to the younger set. Scott was an institution by himself: the *Manchester Guardian* a veritable "school" of journalism. In English journalism Scott was, indeed, a landmark; and when he died the whole country rose as one man to render him homage.

In so far, however, as comparisons *are* possible among giants it has always seemed to me that Massingham towered above them as Mount Everest towers above Kanchanjangha and Nanga Parbat and the rest. Massingham was in a class by himself: as Cowley said of Pindar, "he formed a vast species alone." His soul was like a star and dwelt apart. He was the biggest man of them all, though an unkind fate denied him the chance of becoming an institution in the same manner as Scott. His was a more fiery spirit: nor had he the knack of suffering fools (and knaves) gladly, as anyone must have who is determined to make the best of both the worlds. Even idealists, if they do not wish to be "caught out," usually contrive to have a streak of materialism deeply embedded in their composition: if it escapes public detection it is because it is camouflaged cunningly and is made to form an inextricable part of the general colour-scheme. The lack of this protective principle, of this "safety first" device, was Massingham's undoing.

J. A. SPENDER

Spender had neither the idealism nor the brilliance of either Scott or Massingham. He was not an out-and-out Radical like them and was noted for adopting

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"the middle-of-the-road" policy in most matters. He brought everything to the touchstone of practicality. The words of Sir William Watson about Matthew Arnold are equally applicable to him:

". . . for though with skill
He sang of beck and tarn and ghyll
The deep, authentic mountain thrill
Ne'er shook his page,
Somewhat of worldling mingled still
With bard and sage."

This is not to belittle Spender's contribution either to politics or to journalism; but I am here dealing with the imponderables, and Spender, consistently displaying more of the diplomatist's skill than of the idealist's fervour as he was wont to do, has, obviously, no place in this narrative. Even his literary style was not comparable to that of the other "Three Musketeers."

The Illustrious Foursome

In the foregoing I have tried to sketch the journalistic background against which Gardiner's qualities must be judged. It is easy enough to win fame if one's lot is cast among nonentities. In the country of the blind the one-eyed are, unquestionably, the monarchs, as Dr. Johnson noted long ago. But this charge cannot be levelled at "A. G. G.'s" door. He functioned in the palmiest days of English journalism. Wordsworth wrote of the French Revolution:

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
And to be young was very heaven."

The main period of Gardiner's life-work fell at precisely such a time as that depicted by the Lake Poet. He was the fourth wheel of a superb journalistic coach.

Scott in the *Manchester Guardian* and Massingham in the *Daily Chronicle* (and, later, in the *Nation*) and Spender in that "old sea-green incorruptible, the *Westminster Gazette*, and Gardiner in the *Daily News* "magnoperated," in the late Mr. James Agate's beautiful phrase, as no "foursome" had ever been privileged to do. It was the grandest symphony that anyone could have hoped to hear. For nearly two decades Gardiner preached the Liberal doctrine from the pulpit that the *Daily News* so graciously provided for him I am not prepared to aver that he was a match for the other three in point of political lore. Politics was far from being his first love. He did not come to it *con amore*. Pride of place in his mind was always given to literature. But, with all his limitations in that line, he managed to make up by unwearied diligence for what was lacking in primal impulse.

Goes into the Wilderness

Belonging as he did to the "old journalism" Gardiner laid huge store by "principles." They did not cling to him, in Falstaff's memorable phrase, "lightly, like an old lady's loose gown," but were woven into the fabric of his very life. They were not so much ballast intended to be thrown overboard at the first hint of a gathering storm; they were, rather, the precious cargo itself, and the commodore preferred to go down to the bottom of the sea with his merchandise to saving his skin by flinging it into the roaring waters. That was how, ultimately, he lost the editorship of his paper. The policy of the *Daily News* was changed to suit the new Lloyd George that emerged during the later stages of World War Number One, a Lloyd George that took friend and foe alike by surprise, and Gardiner was asked to change with it. But he sternly refused thus to trim his sails to the prevailing political wind and left the *Daily News* after an unbroken service of nearly twenty years. The loss, needless to say, was more the party's and the paper's than his.

After that he turned his hand to free-lance journalism. He did some work for the *Nation* after Massingham's departure from it. He wrote regularly for *John Bull*. But all this was, more or less, like the crackling of thorns under the pot: his life's mission ended with the editorship of the *Daily News*. The Liberal party chose new gods, but Gardiner would have nothing to do with them.

More an Author than a Journalist

To the general public Gardiner is known more as an author than as a journalist. In this he scored heavily against Massingham. Massingham did not leave a single book behind him to commemorate his memory. He might have left one, for he was persuaded to write his autobiography, but his life was cut short abruptly: he could not bear the severance of his connection with the *Nation*—into the editing of which he had put the whole of himself. The *Nation* was Massingham and Massingham was the *Nation*. But Gardiner was wise and, side by side with editing the *Daily News*, was shrewd enough to put a lot of himself into books. It is probable that now many have forgotten his editorship days but still remember with inexpressible gratitude the pleasure his printed pages gave them. When the late C. E. Montague resigned from the *Manchester Guardian* in order to dedicate himself entirely to the service of literature a farewell dinner was arranged at the Reform Club in Manchester at which Scott presided. While proposing the guest and after speaking of the affection in which he was held Scott proceeded:

"We want to thank him for all he is and all he has done, for his high temper, his political courage, the unswerving stand he has ever made for liberty, his deep and critical understanding of literature, the drama, and the finer arts, for the crystal clearness of his style and its wonderful vigour and vividness, for the model he has set before them of English pure and undefiled."—*C. E. Montague: A Memoir*: By Prof. Oliver Elton. Chatto & Windus. 1924. P. 266.

We may transfer this well-spoken eulogy word by word to Gardiner himself. Scott then referred to Montague as an author:

"Only in his books does he become completely himself. Montague has lived both lives, the life

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of the journalist and the life of the author—he has lived them hard, and he has lived them together. The paper of the day must die with the day, but its work, if well done, as Montague has done it, does not die; it enters into the life of the nation and helps to direct its mind and shape its destiny."—*Ibid*: Pp. 266-7.

This tribute also can be applied to Gardiner *verbatim*. Gardiner lived in his books much more than Montague did. Montague's passion was at white heat even while writing the day's leading article or the notice of the previous night's play. This cannot be said of Gardiner. He had always an eye to the future and practised a wise economy in his day-to-day work. While not stinting his service to the *Daily News* he looked farther ahead than most working journalists do. He was an author first and a journalist afterwards.

His "Magnum Opus"

Gardiner wrote the standard biography of his political hero, Sir William Harcourt. It compares favourably with the other political biographies in the English language, and compares more than favourably with Spender's biography of Campbell-Bannerman. It is, as usual, a "double-decker." We should have been obliged to him more than we can tell if he had been able to condense his material into the pages of a single volume, as Lord Newton did with his biography of Lord Lansdowne. Never has literature known such a foolish bed of Procrustes as the conventional length of a political biography. Everyone remembers the vehement protest of the late Mr. Lytton Strachey, conveyed in his own matchless sentences, in his preface to *Eminent Victorians*:

"Those two fat volumes with which it is our custom to commemorate the dead—who does not know them, with their ill-digested masses of material, their slip-shod style, their tone of tedious panegyric, their lamentable lack of selection, of detachment, of design? They are as familiar as the cortege of the undertaker, and wear the same air of funereal barbarism. One is tempted to suppose, of some of them, that they were composed by that functionary as the final item of his job."

But Gardiner redeems this tedium by the incomparable loveliness of his diction. I do not think that any two-volume biography has ever been written with such perfection of style. Gardiner's masterpiece—for such it undoubtedly is—scintillates with brilliance. His concluding chapter, in especial, deserves being bound by the young student of literature "for a front-let on his brow and a talisman on his writing wrist," as was said of Cardinal Newman's *The Idea of a University*. Had I had sufficient space at my command I should have quoted from it copiously. It is like a baron of beef: one can cut and come again.

His Unsurpassed "Pen-portraits"

Gardiner excelled in "pen-portraits" of eminent personages, which he gathered together between the covers of several books, like *The War Lords, Prophets, Priests,* and *Kings, Pillars of Society,* and *Certain People of Importance*. It is the literal truth to say that he had not his equal in this field. He has had many imitators, but they have not been able to dislodge him from his seat of eminence, much, no doubt, as they would have liked to do. They had neither his breadth of vision, nor his catholicity of interests, nor his felicity of expression. The one who came nearest to him was, perhaps, the late Mr. "E. T. Raymond"—in real life Mr. E. Raymond Thompson—one-time editor of the *Evening Standard* of London. He had to his credit many volumes of literary portraits as well as of full-length biographies. I have gone through most of them and I am the last person to decry his ability or to deny him his due. He had, further, an enviable command of language. Nevertheless he failed to give his readers the same "over-all" delight as "A.G.G." did.

"Where O'Flaherty sits is the head of the table," and where "A.G.G." was was the master of pen-portraiture. There is no manner of doubt that, within the limits that he prescribed for himself, he was the supreme magician. Everything must have a beginning, a middle, and an end, and his sketches had them to perfection. He marshalled his argument so that it lacked not (as the old divine puts it in Thomas Love Peacock) the primary requisites of a head and a tail. In other words, his sense of construction was infallible. He caught our interest with his very first sentence and he led us up the garden path of his narrative with just the right measure of coaxing and cajolery. In like manner he was not abrupt in his *denouements* but softened the fall of his endings, so to speak, by preparing us beforehand for them. He knew—none better—how to "join his flats."

The Mass of His Information

What struck us was his amazing mass of information. The career of every public figure seemed to be an "open book" to him. It appeared to be all one to him whether that public figure was a poet or a philosopher, a politician or a publican: he grasped them to his bosom with hoops of steel. The only condition that he made was that those who sat for him as his "models" must be persons "of importance in their day," as Browning would have called them. Of course, the more that importance promised to be permanent the better it suited him. But he was wise enough not to drive this principle to its logical conclusion.

His Unerring Eye for Pretension

In the treatment of his "subjects" he was, as a general rule, very lenient. His quality of mercy was not strained.

"It dropped as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath."

But there was an exception. He had an unerring

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eye for pretension. He had nothing but withering contempt for the *poseurs*. When confronted with any of these contemptible beings his sarcasm could be biting, indeed. I can cite two examples. His portraits of the late Mr. St. Leo Strachey, editor of the *Spectator*, and of Mr. Hilaire Belloc are unforgettable. Both of them, Gardiner hints, are (not to put too fine a point upon it) humbugs in certain respects. The manner in which he establishes his thesis is extremely revealing. He lets his full stream of irony play on them as from a hose: now the hose is turned in this direction and anon on that. I cannot resist this quotation from his sketch of Mr. Belloc. The very opening sentence gives us an indication of his method of attack.

> "Some wit has divided society into two classes —dukes and other people. This is a mistake. The true classification should be—the British people and Mr. Belloc. One ought, of course, to put Mr. Belloc first, but perhaps he will forgive the slight for the sake of the cadence. It is not intended to suggest that Mr. Belloc is inferior to the other 45 millions of us. That would be absurd. No one would recognize its absurdity more readily than Mr. Belloc, for among his many transcendent qualities humility is not conspicuous."

Twisting the Knife in the Wound

This, naturally, prepares us for what follows:

> "It was the capital crime of the Liberals when they came into power in 1906 that they forgot Mr. Belloc. They acted as though they were unaware that he was among them—that he, who had served in the French artillery as a conscript and knew more about war than anybody else could possibly know, who had burst upon Oxford like a tornado and swept it with the whiffs of his Gallic grapeshot, who had all the secrets of history in his private keeping and had turned the Froudes, the Freemans, and the Stubbses into discredited back-numbers, who had written novels and satires and poetry and biographies and histories, who had discovered the French Revolution and put Carlyle in his place, who had invented a new medieval Europe after his heart's desire, who had tramped through France and Switzerland to Rome, and from Tangiers to Timgad, and had written books about both, with pictures from his own hand, who could instruct you in art and explain to you the philosophy of Classicism as easily as he could sail a boat, mow a meadow, or ride a horse—they forgot, I say, that he was the Liberal memeber for South Salford."

"Others Abide Our Question . . ."

Is this not delicious? Opinions may well differ as to whether his pen-portraits of politicians or of literary figures are the better. I prefer the latter. His sketches of George Meredith, Thomas Hardy, Bernard Shaw, and Rudyard Kipling are among his very best. My own favourite is the first. I am a lover of Meredith myself and am happy to find that I am in excellent company. Gardiner's chief glory is these pen-portraits. He stands supreme in this chosen field of his. Matthew Arnold's memorable words on Shakespeare can, with equal justice, be applied to him:

"Others abide our question. Thou art free.
We ask and ask: Thou smilest and art still,
Out-topping knowledge."

As an Essayist

Gardiner has another title also to distinction. Under the pen-name of "Alpha of the Plough" he wrote a series of essays in the well-known London weekly, the *Star*. These are now available in book-form as *Leaves in the Wind, Many Furrows, Pebbles on the Shore*, and one or two others. His style in these is bewitching. If, as an editor, he is not in the same street with Massingham, as an essayist he is not, to be perfectly candid, in the same class as the late Mr. Robert Lynd and Mr. J. B. Priestley. It was he, however, who helped Mr. Lynd ("Y. Y." of the *New Statesman*) on to his present position. He was among the first to discern Mr. Lynd's genius and having done so, appointed him as the literary Editor of the *Daily News*. Though, as I have noted, he is not, as an essayist, of the same calibre as Mr. Lynd he occupies a unique position nonetheless. As C. E. Montague observed, a range of mountains may not be the Alps, and yet have a career. Second-class essayists, like "A. G. G.," have also a special niche in the temple of fame. Let us give them our meed of praise and pass on.

His Style

I have remarked that "A. G. G.'s" style is bewitching. Simplicity is its key-note. It is not easy to write a simple style. Nor is a simple style, as some imagine, an insipid style. There is an ornament that pertains to simplicity, and there is a simplicity that is at the same time scholarly. Gardiner's simplicity was of this nature. If we would cultivate this kind of writing, we should exercise a wise economy in words: there should be a self-restraint in language—what Walter Pater called "the beauty of a frugal closeness of Style." That Walter Pater himself did not practise what he preached is beside the point. Gardiner, for his part, observed all these rules. One is never pulled up by a clumsy phrase or an obscure sentence. In addition he was a master of epigram and of quotation. His love of literature shines through every line that he ever wrote. Like the maiden in the fairy story he could not open his mouth without pearls (of literature) dropping out of it.

Such was Gardiner. This "appreciation" of mine of him is by way of being an affectionate memorial —albeit belated. I got much from him: it is only in the fitness of things that I should endeavour to repay, however inadequately, those manifold services. May his name shine for ever as a sort of beacon-light to guide the footsteps of aspiring journalists!

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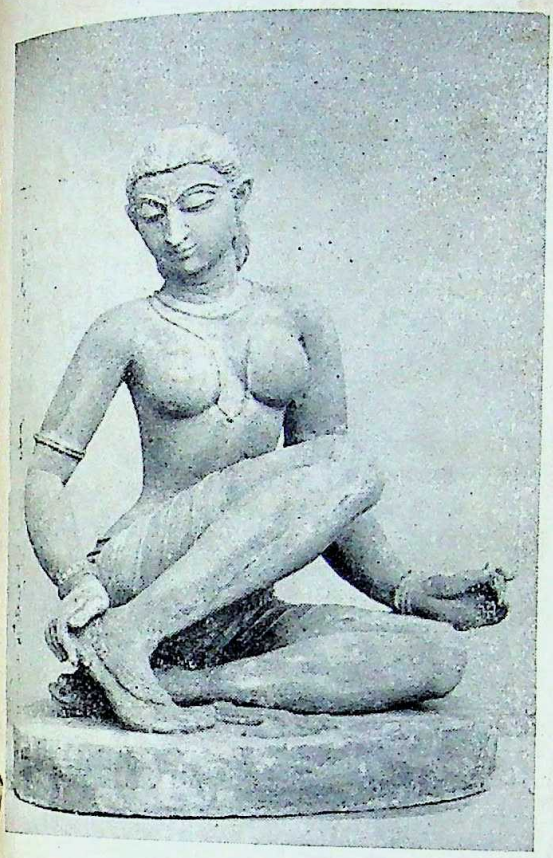
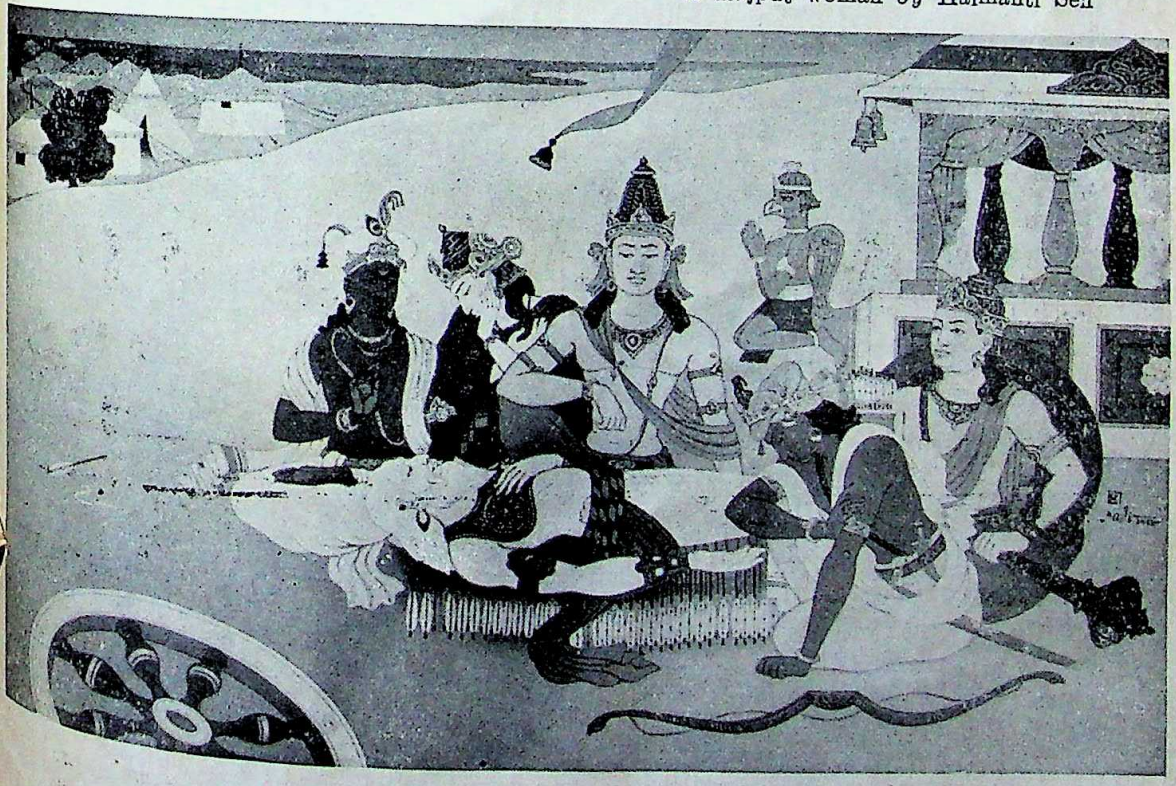


Toilette *by* Vipra Mahanti

A Rajput woman *by* Haimanti Sen



Bhisma's Sarasajya
By Sudhamaya Mukherji

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The Indian Republic Day was celebrated in Delhi on January 26, 1952. The pageantry procession represented the cultures of different States and regions of India. Here is a scene showing the Saraswati Puja of Bengal

Sergeant Muthu Krishnan and Private Kushal Kulkarni, both medical non-combatants with the 60th Indian Ambulance Unit in Korea, honour their war dead at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, under the Arc de Triomphe in Paris

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EDUCATION IN FREE INDIA

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By Dr. SATIS CHANDRA CHATTERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,
Calcutta University

Education is a matter of absorbing interest for all of us. It should engage the attention of all enlightened persons who have the welfare of their nation and country at heart. Of all the nation-building departments of a State, that of education is perhaps the most important. The life and progress of a country and the peace and prosperity of a nation depend primarily on the type of education that is imparted by the State to the children and the youth who live in it. The object of this paper is to consider the problem of education and suggest the specific form that should be given to it in a country like India in the present atmosphere of its political independence.

The word "education" etymologically means rearing or bringing up the child. So by education we are to mean the all-round development of the children and the youth. Now if there is to be an all-round development of a boy or a girl through education, then we must educate, *i.e.*, develop all the sides and aspects of his or her life. In the total life of every human being we find several constituent parts or elements. A human being is a soul or self living in an organism which is a mind-body system. A man has a soul, a body and a mind, and he stands in certain social or moral relations to other human beings living in some society. As such, the development of his life as a whole depends on the training of his body and mind, his moral and spiritual nature. Education, therefore, means finally the physical, mental, moral and spiritual development of the young human individual.

It follows from what has been said before that training of the body, *i.e.*, physical culture is the first and most important thing in the child's education. The body is the physical basis of our mental life. Unless the body is stout, strong and healthy, the mind cannot be alert, vigorous and steady. It has been truly said that a sound mind resides in a sound body. If one's body be weak and diseased, his mind too is bound to be disordered and disorganised. The health of the body is reflected in the working of the mind. Our mental powers of thinking, remembering, reasoning and understanding are all impaired when the body becomes weak and exhausted through disease, decay and long exercise. It is but a vulgar error to think, as some religious people do think, that mortification of the body is the way to salvation of the soul and that one should sacrifice the body for the sake of the religious life. The Hindu Sastras do not support this popular belief nor do they sanction this sort of physical suicide. On the other hand, it is expressly stated in our Sastras that the body is the primary condition and the necessary means for the attainment of a virtuous life (*sariram adyam khalu dharma-sadhanam*). If the health of the body be the necessary condition for our religious life, it is needless to say how far more important it is for the development and progress of our intellectual life. Hence we are to recognise the value of physical culture for mental development and say that it should be given a place of supreme importance in any comprehensive scheme of education.

The second thing that is necessary for education is the training and development of the child's mind. For this purpose adequate provision should be made for imparting effective instruction to the child in the various arts and sciences. Among other institutions, the schools, colleges and universities in our country provide for the progressive instruction of the students in the different arts and sciences. The main object of the instruction thus provided for, must be to give the students a sound and intelligent understanding of the subjects of their study, instead of enabling them only to pass the examinations and obtain the University degrees as passports to the different professions. So also the students in their turn should not succumb to the lure of passes and degrees and be entirely forgetful of their primary duty of acquiring a sound knowledge of the subjects they study. It is learning and wisdom that should be the aim of this part of education. What Indian youths need most today is that reasoning power and critical faculty which will enable them to study all things rationally and judge their value critically. If the system of education in our country help the Indian youth develop such critical powers, they will not be swept away by the impetuous flow of foreign ideas and 'isms' into our land. The glitter of Western civilisation and the apparent success of Western science will not blur their vision and benumb their intellect and thus prevent them from seeing anything good and valuable in their ancient thought and culture. Hence mental training as a part of education should consist in the acquisition of such learning and wisdom as will enable a man to see things in their proper perspectives and appreciate and realise the eternal values of life.

The next thing that is very important for the education of the youth is the formation of moral character. For this purpose moral training should form an essential part of any sound scheme of education. The main objects at which moral training should aim are self-continence, self-control, or discipline of the mind-body, love of truth, moral courage, fortitude, fellow-feeling and patriotism. The necessity and importance of continence for the building up of the youth can scarcely be over-emphasised. In ancient India, the vow of *brahmacharya* or continence was given a place of supreme importance in the life of every student. The development of the student's body and mind, the vigour of his youth, and the happiness and prosperity of his future life—all depend on this great virtue. So also a rational control over the

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natural passions and impulses of life is the first step in the formation as well as reformation of one's moral character. Along with these, there should be instilled into the impressionable mind of the youth a deep regard for and a sincere love of truth. He should be taught to be truthful in thought, word and deed and to despise all that is untrue and false. Moral courage is another great virtue which should be possessed by all educated youths. It consists in the firm resolve to follow the right path and do the right thing without any concern for the opinions and interests of others, without any consideration of the frowns or favours of others, and of loss or gain to oneself. We should give such moral training to our youths that they will have the moral courage to live and die for truth, and sacrifice their all for the sake of a good and righteous cause. Closely connected with moral courage is the courage to stand adversity and suffering. This is the virtue of fortitude which, if acquired in early life, stands one in good stead amidst the dangers and difficulties of later life. Among the social virtues, sympathy is the most fundamental and vital. Man is a social creature. He has to live in a society of individuals each of whom has to work not only for the good of himself but also of others in order that the social organism may be healthy and prosperous. So in the moral training of the youth attempt should be made to free him from selfishness and develop in him the virtue of fellow-feeling and altruism. Patriotism as the disinterested love of one's country is a virtue which extends the bounds of one's sympathy over the whole nation. As such, it should be infused into the mind of every student, so that he may be in a position to place his country above all else and consider no sacrifice to be too great for the sake of his country and the State. Lastly, religious instruction should form a necessary part of education. It may be that in a Secular State there may be objections to the inclusion of religious training in the scheme of public education. But considering the place that religion has in the life of man it would be unwise to exclude all religious instructions from his education. Man is a spiritual being even though he has an animal nature as well. The evolution of humanity is the gradual process of transforming man's animality and developing his spiritual nature. Religion is a powerful agency that helps to bring about the spiritual regeneration of man. It is true that in the history of the world certain dogmatic, institutional and sectarian religions have done more harm than good to the human race and often retarded its peaceful progress. But that is due not so much to the intrinsic nature of religion itself as to its prostitution for non-religious ends and purposes. Wherever religion has been made the instrument of tyranny and oppression, we may reasonably suspect the presence of mean motives of personal gain or national exploitation. Religion as a sincere and firm faith in the self of man within and God overhead is not only a rational belief but a saving grace for the life of man. It gives man a safe anchorage in the ocean of life and sustains him amidst the dangers and difficulties in the journey of life. Religion in this pure and universal form must be made a part of the training of young minds.

So far we have tried to explain the different parts and aspects of education in general. Now we proceed to indicate the special form and type of education that should be imparted to the Indian youth in free India. The educational system of a country must be suited to the genius of the race or the people who inhabit it. It should also respect the tradition and culture that exist in the country and constitute the common heritage of the race. During the British rule in India for about two centuries the system of education obtaining in this country hardly satisfied these conditions. It was adapted more to the administrative needs and purposes of the ruling class than to the building up of the Indian nation. Now that India has attained independence after many years of hard struggle and intense suffering, she should adapt her educational system to the national needs and ideals and make it suited to the spirit of Indian culture, on the one hand, and the modern conditions of life, on the other. The eternal culture of India is spiritualistic in spirit and has its primary basis in the Vedas and the Upanisads, and is summed up later in the teachings of the Bhagavadgita. Hence in the system of education in Free India, provision should be made for the study and dissemination of Indian thought and culture, especially of Indian philosophy and religion. To achieve this end, Sanskrit language and literature, which are the repository of India's ancient culture, should be given an important place in the education of the Indian youth. But while India may be rightly proud of her spiritual heritage, she cannot afford to shut her eyes against the movement of things and events in the world outside. At the present age, the Western world has made immense progress in the study and development of the physical, mental, industrial, commercial and political sciences. The practical achievements of the Western countries in the field of science are as great as those of India in the life of the spirit. But the scientific culture of the West seems to be a stupendous body without a soul, and the spiritual culture of India a meagre soul without a vigorous body. To keep pace with the movement of the world and to infuse new life and vigour into their spiritual culture, Indians must study and acquire a mastery over the Western sciences. In a Free India, therefore, the system of education must effect a synthesis of all that is best in her spiritual culture and the scientific culture of the West. It is only in this way that Indians can become a vigorous and prosperous nation in the world, and India can occupy a place of honour in the comity of nations and contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world at large.

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A GLIMPSE INTO CHINESE POETRY

By DHARMA BHANU, M.A.

China has a prominent place in the international affairs of the day and the student of world affairs and history is specially interested in that great country and her culture. We in India are her close neighbours; we two played a prominent role in world affairs in the past and acted as torch-bearers to the world in fields more than one. As the literature of a land affords us a peep into the cultural and social life of a people, it is proposed in this brief paper to study the poetry of China with a view to "unlocking her heart."

The first problem that confronts a student of Chinese literature in a foreign country is that of translating it—poetry and drama, fiction and prose. It was sheer chance that Chinese literature attracted the attention of translators. It would be a mistake, however, to think that Chinese literature has not left any mark on English literature or any other literature of the world. It is Chinese literature, in fact, that gave the world most of the new types of verses and poems in recent times, as I propose to show in the course of this paper. So many books of Chinese poetry have appeared in our times that their popularity cannot rest merely on novelty.

Legge was the first English translator to be attracted by Chinese poetry. He translated some of the most beautiful and musical passages of Chinese poetry into English. So he became the forerunner of the contemporary translators—Mr. Arthur Waley, Prof. H. A. Giles, Mr. Witter Bynner; and among the Chinese themselves, Dr. Kiang Kang-hu, Prof. Lu Ch'ien, Mr. Ten T'ai and others.

Original Chinese poems read mostly like songs; but the musical setting, the rhyme, the rhythm and other beauties have, in almost all cases, been lost in translations. Though one of the best translations, *The Book of Songs*, translated by Mr. Arthur Waley, does not come up to the standard of the original or even to the standard required in works like those which are aimed at introducing and explaining the literature, culture, society and aspirations of one people to another. But it is not essentially the fault or short-coming of the translators it is almost always an inherent defect in all translations of poetry.

II

Generally speaking, for the sake of convenience, we can group Chinese poetry under three heads: (1) Ancient Style, (2) Modern Style or Code Verse, and (3) Curtailed Verse.

Ancient Style allows a good deal of latitude to the poet and is less strict and less rigid in comparison with Code Verse; it gives the poet a greater facility and is a lesser stumbling block in his path. Ancient Style is the oldest form of Chinese poetry, as the name itself suggests. In spite of being less rigid, however, Ancient Style has a smaller number of poems to its credit than Curtailed Verse. As an example of this form of poetry we may cite "The Moving House" by T'ao Yuanming, to which we refer in the latter portion of this paper.

Code Verse or Modern Style is governed by a set of strict rules. Modern Style does not mean that the form is new, as one might be led to believe. It is as old as Ancient Style. It is, however, more fixed and rigid. The subject-matter, the allusions, the accent and other qualities which go to make good poetry, have got to be balanced in the different lines of the poem. Here the length of the line, the arrangement of characters, tones, rhymes, etc., have to follow strict conventions and set rules. The matching of the different lines is almost essential—the final characters of every other line must match and rhyme. The same character, at the same time, must not be used twice in one poem, while all parts of speech, that is, noun, adjective and verb, must match by the use of the same parts of speech in the next line. With all its rigidities, Modern Style makes it more difficult to be used as a vehicle of the poet's emotions and ideas. In course of time this form became so strict and rigid and its rules so numerous that it became impossible for poetry and imagery to get a place in the form. Thus from a general vehicle of poetic genius Code Verse changed into an artistic and scholastic exercise. "I Send My Sweet Caresses" by Yuan Chen (779-831 A.D.) is a good example of *Code Verse* or Modern Style.

The last, but not the least important, form of Chinese poetry is *Curtailed Verse*. The main function of Curtailed Verse is not to tell a tale or relate a story, but to create a mood and to treat a single emotion of the poet. This form may very aptly be compared to the English lyric. Curtailed Verse makes the largest amount of Chinese poetry and, as such, deserves our greatest attention. It is, like the English lyric, most popular among all classes of people and poets of all shades of opinion. Also, it has been used by practically all poets.

III

Li Po (705-762), Tu Fu (712-770) and Po Chu-i

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(772-846) are some of the greatest poets China has ever produced. There are numerous names in the history of Chinese poetry, but the rest of them stand nowhere in comparison. Among the modern poets the well-known ones are T'ao Yuanming, Yu Yiu-jen, Ch'eng Ch'ien, Chu Hsi and Professor Lu Ch'ien.

Li Po was a wanderer for a major portion of his life and sang of the then beauty of China, Yang Kuei-fei. He was fond of pleasure and loose life, a gay townsman. However, he appreciated the beauty of nature, the mountain, the river and the ocean. The remarkable thing about his poetry is that it is spontaneous—oozing from the heart, as it were. He does not labour over his poetry and thus make it artificial. However, he is a master of style, expression and words. In spite of his departures from the conventional restrictions and his freedom in composition, his poetry has a beauty of its own.

The poetry of Tu Fu, on the other hand, has an artificial and unnatural atmosphere about it, and it is apparent that he has a laboured style. His poetry lacks the music and lyrical quality of Li Po. Tu Fu was a realist and therefore he tried to divert emotion and imagination into definite channels. He is primarily a poet of the down-trodden and the suffering masses and speaks for them.

Po Chu-i was trained in the Confucian literature and gospel. He has made poetry the vehicle of moral teaching, though in some of his poems he betrays a romantic outlook. And it is these, the latter type of compositions, which have made him immortal, and not his preachings. His work has the great quality of being intelligible to all sections of the people.

IV

One of the greatest difficulties in the translation of Chinese poetry, as in all translations, is the general character of the local ideas and ideals. There are many types of poems: some owe their beauty and grandeur to the idea the poem sets forth; some have their beauty in the association and sensitiveness of the words the poet chooses (as the prose of Mr. James Joyce,* the Irish novelist) and sometimes it is the vivid and realistic description that adds beauty and makes the poem more appealing.

Most of the Chinese poems are suggestive in nature. Po Chu-i, Chu Hsi and Wang Wei are poets of this type: most of their poems are loved and appreciated for the sensitive, the suggestive and the appealing association of the words they have used. Here is a good example from the works of Po Chu-i:

Over the river, the fog stealthily glides,
Over the river, the wind icily blows.
All the night, rain drops on the stern,
All the night, waves strike the prow.
In the boat there is a sick passenger
Going down towards Chiang Chou.

In the original Chinese the beauty of the poem lies in the brilliant association of words, their sensitiveness and their suggestiveness: the poem owes its charm to its undertones. All this has been lost in the translation—and this happens with all translations of poetry.

Then there is the difficulty of making sense out of the peculiar and strange local ideas of China, strange as they may seem to a foreigner. These are difficult to understand for the Westerner as well as the Indian unless one happens to know the Chinese background and sentiments. If we translate them literally, we will be doing a great injustice; and if we try to render the ideas into a different language, the ideas themselves are so peculiar to our ears that they would not yield the real beauty or the sense. Here is an example of this strange difficulty from a passage translated literally from a poem of Chu Hsi where one cannot make any sense out of the translation:

Suffering, checked, to see the Eastern Wind's figure,
The Spring is ten thousand times purple and one
thousand times red and black.

Surely this is a very strange description of the colours of the Spring season and a very odd way of expressing the beauty of the proverbial King of Seasons!

V

Professor H. A. Giles, in his book *A History of Chinese Literature*, while giving the chief characteristics of Chinese literature has said that Chinese literature abounds in works on morals and in every literary work, whether prose or poetry, it seems as if the author were preaching morality.

". . . Harmony of literature and morality," says Prof. Giles, "is the quality of Chinese literature. . ."

This, however, is more apparent in prose works than in poetry. Chinese poets have used poetry to express and to teach the various ideas and ideals of morality and moral character and conduct. The Chinese, it seems, love poetry because it is an expression and preaching of morality both in its tone and its subject-matter.

However, we have to add that sometimes Chinese poetry is over-moralizing. And this over-moralizing bores the reader, especially a reader who is not used to such moralizing and preaching in literature and whose notion is that literature should not sound like a sermon. In Western literatures, especially in French, moralizing is not liked and is sometimes hated. Gustav Flaubert could never have stood such a literature. But the method of Flaubert, too, was not all good and worth copying in toto. In fact, though literaure knows no boundaries and regions, it must have some national character. And it is this that differentiates the literature of one country from that of another.

* Refer to the two articles on James Joyce, by the present writer, published in the *New Review*, Calcutta, January and February, 1949.

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Lu Ch'ien preaches:

I desire all men to be brave,
Not believing in empty words,
But taking up responsibility upon their two shoulders.
Let us raise our flags and shout aloud
And with clenched fists overthrow all obstacles:
For then our hearts will know no sorrow,
But in our shabby blue gowns we will work hard.

VI

The Chinese conception of love is far different from the European or the Indian. To a Westerner, love is at its peak in the young hearts and during the time of courting and the honeymoon; that love is considered to be the best which is the freshest and the youngest—love at first sight. To an Indian, love is at its peak after the couple have lived together for some time, faced some difficulties of life and come victorious out of them—when the two have proved their love for each other and are still young enough to love and be loved; that love is wanted which has come out victorious in the battle of life and still has a bright future ahead of it. To a Chinese, love is at its best after it has been tried fully; love of the old age, when each of the couple can help the other as a friend; such love is wanted as has survived to see the old age. To be a bit more clear: a Western poet is a passionate lover; an Indian poet a philosophic adorer; a Chinese poet a friendly mate.

The difference, as we find it, seems to arise from the social customs and conventions and the marriage systems of the different countries, as also the cultural effects and the heritage.

Tu Fu sings in "To My Retired Friend Wei":

It is almost as hard for friends to meet
As for the morning and evening stars . . .

VII

The T'ang dynasty is known for some of the best poetry and painting that it gave to China. However, as Latourette has rightly remarked, it is worth noting that "a note of sadness runs through much of the T'ang poetry" and it seems that this poetry "almost certainly had some connection with Taoism and Buddhism, for both these faiths encouraged the man of insight to look below the surface appearance held to be illusory to the reality beneath and to do so through the approach of the mystic."—(Pp. 206-7).

It is the poetry of parting rather than that of meeting of which the Chinese poets write. We read in *The Jade Mountain*:

Friend, I have watched you down the mountain
Till now in the dark I close my thatch door
Grasses return again green in the spring,
But, O my Prince of Friends, do you?

Another poem, by Yuan Chen, strikes our attention in this connection. Writes Yuan Chen:

Hsieh Kung, the youngest, inclined to pity her;
Since you married Ch'ien Lou, a hundred things have gone wrong.
Seeing me without clothes, you searched your treasure box;
I chivvied you—to provide me with wine—to part with your gold hair pin.
Wild green made our food: sweet was the perennial *huo*;
Fallen leaves added to our feed; we look up to the old *huai* tree!
Today my salary exceeds one hundred thousand cash;
To my princess I offer libation; I practise fasting.
Thinking of death, in the night I constantly awake
In recompense for the life-long furrows of your brow.

Such is the type of the Chinese love poetry. It is almost always the poetry of parting coupled with a sense of respectful regards for the other party who is far away or no more.

VIII

The love of Nature of the Chinese poet as also the common folk of China is well-known. The Chinese are great lovers of Nature as also great ascetics, just as their neighbours, we Indians are. The life of a Chinese, on the whole, is usually simple; his wants are few and restricted. The poet of China, too, reflects this trait of Chinese life. T'ao Yuanming is one such poet. In his poem "The Moving House" he writes of his shifting his abode from the congested and hectic life of the city to a peaceful and secluded house in the midst of natural surroundings in a forest. Says T'ao Yuanming:

For many years I had longed to settle here;
Now at last I have managed to move house.
I do not mind if my cottage is rather small
So long there is room enough for bed and mat . . .

The rapturous beauty of the moonlit night and the moon is a common feature of Chinese poetry. It is depicted so realistically that we are compelled to admit the mastery of the poet. The following stanza is a good illustration:

The wounded soldier sighs,
The sun has set and the moon rises;
For he complains that care-free people simply enjoy the moon,
But it was in moonlight that enemy planes wounded him.
The moon is setting, my bones are aching;
The fate of the country is at stake
And I am fortunate to be in the sacred war.
Last year I sang and danced at the moon festival in the army,
But this time I grieve that I cannot participate . . .

And now I reproduce a passage from the famous poem of nature, "The Deer Park Hermitage":

There seems to be no one on the empty mountain
And yet I think I hear a voice,
Where sunlight, entering a grove,
Shines back to me . . .

IX

The Chinese war poems form a group by themselves and are a very important branch of poetry in the twentieth century history of Chinese poetry. Some of the best war-poets are (1) Ch'eng Ch'ien, the

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author of the long and well-known poem, "The Achievements of Dr. Sun," (2) Ten Pao-shan, (3) Sun Wei-ju, (4) Lo Cho-ging, (5) Huang Ch'iou, (6) Ch'iu Feng-chia, (7) Ch'ien Ch'eng-kan, and many others.

The war and the destruction wrought by it have been depicted by Yu Yiu-jen in the poem "The Fatherless Child":

The whole land suffers beneath fire and sword,
Where the exiled people go?
The fatherless child sheds tears
And wets his mother's garments . . .
In the Eastern village the house is burnt
And people fled from the Western suburbs.
My father went out to fight the barbarians,
But when did he die on the battlefield?

A poem by Professor Lu Ch'ien reads as follows:

For us to write about the War is vain;
No victory shall we, by speaking, gain.
It matters not if but bare hands we have,
For when the end is reached a change must be;
Only we must hold fast to integrity . . .

This is how love of the motherland has been described by the reputed poet Yu Yiu-jen:

The long song is long, the short song is short,
The sacred war takes its course,
And brothers follow each other
To lay down their lives for the country;
Until the barbarians are defeated
And we return home singing.
The short song is short, the long song is long,
To die for one's country
Is eternal glory.
We love our dear ones, we hate our foes;
Our heroes are not afraid and the humane need
not fear fate,
But let us rise up together to defend our sacred land.

This is the war-cry of China. The war hysteria, specially that of the Civil War there, penetrated also the mind of the poet, and he sang of the glory of the War and inspired his reader to fight for the motherland.

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NUTRITION PLAN

BY DR. T. H. RINDANI, M.D. (Bom.)

Now that we have declared ourselves as a Sovereign Democratic Republic, we are in a position to review and fashion all our policies independently. No doubt several aspects of our national life need reorientation and reorganisation, but nutrition can easily claim top priority, for man is what he eats. The first problem, therefore, to be tackled on a national level is that of nutrition; and since we either plan or perish, it is time that we plan our nutrition forthwith.

The problem of nutrition can be viewed from at least two angles—the quantitative and the qualitative. While much emphasis is laid by the lay public and even politicians on the former, equal, if not more emphasis must be put by us on the latter. Today our source of nutrition—food—is scarce both in quantity and quality. While leaving the former to be made up by the agriculturists and the economists of the country, we may attempt to plan out the latter so as to improve the nutritional state of the Nation which is far from satisfactory today.

The best-fed nation today is the United States of America. The science of nutrition and its application on a national scale is most advanced in the United States of America. It, therefore, appears that nutritional standard goes hand in hand with the advancement of the science of nutrition. An attempt, there-

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fore, to raise up the nutritional standard of our nation, should be on a scientific basis and can be organised on the following lines:

(1) A statistically correct nutritional and dietetic survey held simultaneously in all the States together with a census of the data regarding age, occupation, residence, income, etc.

(2) An analysis of the nutritional status according to age groups, residence, occupation, income, and dietetic habits of the people.

(3) Standardisation of the minimum cost of optimal diet and its relation with per capita income.

(4) Finalisation of the methods of raising the nutritional status to the normal level.

These four points may now be considered in detail:

(1) Nutritional and Dietetic Surveys are being held in some States at present, but these are not carried out on a national basis and are often haphazard. These surveys must be carried out by a trained personnel and must be on a method standardised for the whole country. The survey should endeavour to embrace a total cross-section of the nation, and not restricted merely to groups like schools, camps, employees' associations, etc. The survey should also include an examination of the easily available articles of food and their classification into three heads (Mottram): (*a*) purpose of foods (*i.e.*, whether for energy production, etc.), (*b*) chemical nature and (*c*) source of obtaining them; the three classes representing the attitudes of the physiologists, the chemists and the caterers. Towards this end personnel training centres must be opened up in all the existing medical, public health, and social welfare institutions. Even training courses for dietetics may be introduced into the universities as is being contemplated in some of the foreign universities.

(2) In order to assess the influence of different factors that affect nutrition, data obtained in (1) should be subjected to an analysis. This would help us in two ways. It would indicate the important operating factors, and it would also indicate the various age groups, occupations, etc., which need our particular attention most.

(3) On the basis of the accepted standards of the optimal diet, and prevalent prices, minimum cost of the diet should be worked out. It is likely that in a large number of cases the cost of such a diet may fall too much outside the per capita income. This would indicate that rather than merely asking people to plan their diet according to their income, we may have to consider the fixation of the minimum per capita income to ensure an adequate diet to all. This may be difficult on economical ground but if we are to improve our national nutrition, even a substantial or a drastic readjustment of our economical plans should be undertaken.

(4) Having obtained the necessary data from the above three, we may proceed to work out the methods of raising the nutritional standard to normal level by working on the following lines:

(A) *Preparation of samples of optimal diets* suitable for the needs of persons of different age groups, dietetic habits, income and residence from the most easily available articles of food.

(B) *Education*: Every social welfare centre and hospital, whether private or State-owned, must be equipped with a nutrition centre. This centre would function both as a research and as an advisory centre in hospitals and only as advisory centre in the welfare institutions. Large-scale measures to popularise these centres should be undertaken and people should be induced to attend these centres regularly. Here each family or individual would receive detailed instructions regarding the optimal diet so as to be within the means. Prepared samples of diet can be put before those that attend the centre giving them a wide scope of selection of suitable dietetic combinations.

(C) *Ensuring adequate supply of certain articles*:

(*i*) Nationalisation of key industries may wait, but nationalisation of dairy cannot. In fact, for ensuring an adequate diet for all, nationalisation of this industry must be immediate. No amount of compensation required to be paid in terms of money should be considered too high to achieve this end. Adequate supply of milk and its products must be within the reach of all. If foreign processed milk and its products are available in India at prices that are competitive with the price of fresh milk, no argument can be advanced against nationalisation of milk in our country. The initial expenditure and organisation may be heavy, but the reward would be more than anticipated. Milk colonies on the model of Arey Colony of Bombay should be the rule rather than exception in all States. Free movement of processed milk to parts of the country where fresh milk is not available in sufficient quantity can be easily done from such centres. Milk supply to the special groups like children, women and older persons would be facilitated by the development of the milk industry on national basis. Suffice it to say that adequacy in diet in India would not be possible unless a good supply of good milk and/or its products is assured by the States to be within the budget of all. Supply of quantities of milk far in excess of the dietary requirement to the haves at the costs of the have-nots is a sad anachronism in a democratic state, and must be abolished as early as possible.

(*ii*) Amongst the other articles of diet, introduction of eggs in the vegetarian groups would go a long way. This can be only done by education. The fishing industry in our country also needs a fillip. Once we are assured of the adequate supply of such important articles of diet at cheaper rates, adjustments of optimum diet would be easier.

(*iii*) A significant proportion of our malnutrition is attributable, particularly in urban areas, to a

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lack of facilities for getting wholesome food on the premises of employment. Every institution whether educational, social, industrial or otherwise, must be asked to maintain canteens, catering for the members having the two different principal dietetic habits—vegetarian and non-vegetarian. The foods supplied here must be always on the basis of optimal diet and in strict accordance with the cost that can be borne by the members. Luxury foods in such establishments must be disallowed, as these often tend to increase the cost unnecessarily.

(*iv*) Distribution of vitamin preparations in institutions looking after children and youths should be a routine measure.

(D) *Ensuring Wholesome Food—Food Hygiene*: Enough care is not being taken at present to respect even the elementary laws of food hygiene. This subject has to be looked upon both from national and personal aspects. Centralisation of food production and education in personal hygiene for the caterers and others handling foods should help to promote a better sense of food hygiene, helping thus to ensure safe food.

It will thus be seen that the problem of national nutrition has manifold aspects and if all these are tackled systematically then only can we hope to reach our goal of raising the nutritional standard to normal level.*

* Paper submitted to be read before the Nutrition Section of the 2nd Bombay Provincial Physical Education Conference, Ahmedabad and forming a part of the proceedings of the same.

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SIKKIM

The Corridor between India and China

By SHIBDAS BANERJI

Sandwiched between Tibet and India is Sikkim, strategically an important State north of Bengal, inside the enigmatical Himalayas. Death-defying zigzag roads amidst stupendous mountains, blue and green, grey and mauve, engulfed the toyish Land-Rover in which I travelled from Kalimpong, and within only a few hours I was at Gantok, the capital of Sikkim.

It was evening, but it was a kind of evening the like of which I had never seen before, not even in Assam, that land of colours. The crimson of the sun hedged by the greenness of the pines and wind-swept valleys made me feel like a man travelling in the moon—possessed.

The people around me were different. The plants and the vegetation were different. The flowers too were different from the ones I am used to on the hill stations in India. The rhododendrons of blazing colours—red, blue, velvety green and pink—made Sikkim a garden in the Himalayas. Later I knew Sikkim really is known to the visitors as the "Garden of the Himalayas," its second name being the "Land of Lightning." I could not think of an apter name, for it thunders here all the time from May to September. Sikkim's elevation is 7000 feet above the sea-level and five of the world's highest mountain peaks are mapped in this state. These snow-capped mountain peaks and their smaller satellites present a mighty spectacle. Their dreadful avalanches of rocks and ice-blocks frequently toppling down, tearing violently from their dizzy precipitous slopes thundering into a gale . . . who dares to describe them . . . not me!

Sikkim to the Sikkimese is "Den-Jong"—meaning locally the "Land of Rice." The 2,818 square miles of the State's area gives no idea as to the land cultivable, for most of these so many square feet are just hard rocks and depthless forests. Only the valleys in between the rocks make wonderful cultivable land where plenty of rice, millet and maize are produced. Yak, the four-footed, strange animal that ploughs the land is a beauty to be admired. It has a pair of long horns, silky growth of hair all over its being and a beautifully shaped muscular body. The yak's milk is like the cow's milk but very tasty and full of vitamins. You have to look at any Sikkimese (they are 1,60,000 in number) male or female, to believe in the vitality of the yak's milk. The yak is the ship of mountains—*a la* ship-of-the-desert, the camel.

I went right up to Yatung in the Chumby Valley of Tibet. On my way back I followed a Tibetan caravan carrying merchandise to Kalimpong, the Indian gateway to Lahsa. Their yaks and mules carried wool and musk. Most of the wool exported to Kalimpong goes to the United States of America. The Chinese Government, I learnt at Yatung, will shortly be banning the "shipment" of wool [illegible] Gantok.

At a friend's house in Gantok I saw the Lepcha dance which is unique in its brilliancy and grace. Its charm and perfection was undeniable. The dance was mostly allegorical but expressive and effective. It is a form of worshipment to Mt. Kanchanjangha, "whom they regard as their God and for whom their fear and bewilderment is unending. The dance in its real form continues for three days and the dress used for the occasion is very colourful, costly and resplendent with gold and silver.

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Sikkim has a history which is mostly unknown to the outside world. Till the end of the 18th century the State was a dependency of Tibet. Pamionchi was its capital for long. The Nepalese made several attacks on Sikkim. In one of their biggest invasions they plundered Gompas, which is Tibetan for monastery, and after insensate barbarism deprived the Sikkimese of their treasure that they had been accumulating for centuries. Till the end of the 18th century the present Indian towns of Darjeeling and Kalimpong belonged to Sikkim. But the conflict between Nepal and Sikkim gave the British their much-awaited opportunity and in the Pact signed in 1861 they drew the final boundary of Sikkim depriving the Sikkimese of Darjeeling and Kalimpong which, of course, then was but a tract of mountain—barren and unaccessible.

John Claude White was England's first Political Officer in Sikkim. It was White who made Gantok what it is today. And it was also due to him that Sikkim is negotiable from either way—China or India. John Claude White, according to current report, carried a bagful of valuable jewels pillaged from Gompas in Sikkim.

After Britain's withdrawal from India the present Maharaja of Sikkim sought for a merger of his State with India. This was not agreed upon by India. In 1950 a Treaty was signed between India and Sikkim. The said Treaty entitles India to post a Political Officer at Gantok and also to station a garrison of army there. Sikkim's annual revenues is Rs. 6 lacs. Because of the Treaty she also receives Rs. 3 lacs annually from India, gratis. The Treaty gives the Sikkimese a dual nationality, which no doubt is a great boon to them.

Before proceeding to the present problems of the State, as I understood them to be, I would briefly give the outlines of the people who inhabit this country:

Lepchas are the original inhabitants of Sikkim. They are of mild, quiet and indolent disposition. Given to sentimentalism they are shortish but stout people. Their womenfolks are bright, vivacious and equally hard-working as their menfolks are. A load of two maunds and a mountainous zigzag road is a child's play for them! From birth they are great lovers of Nature. They are natural botanists and have a love for entomology. They have their own names for every flower, plant, moth and animal of Sikkim. And you should know there are thousands of varieties of animals, moths and butterflies in Sikkim. And the varieties of flowers are almost unlimited. Each of them has a name in Lepcha. As people, the Lepchas are very trustworthy and they make excellent friends.

The Bhutias are of Tibetan origin, and now they form about one-fourth of the total population in Sikkim. They are mostly Buddhists and their language is a dialect of Tibetan language. They inter-marry with the Lepchas. The women are rather amazonish. Very gay, hard-working but slipshod and untidy they are also fond of flowers and moths.

The Nepalese poured into Sikkim with alarming rapidity and today they form the bulk of the population. They are the richer class of people in Sikkim.

Walking over the narrow, dirty rain-soaked leech-plastered street of Gantok I came across many Marwaris from Rajasthan, some of whom are said to be here for generations. I often heard it said at Gantok that though Sir Tashi Ramgyal is the crowned King of Sikkim, the uncrowned King of the State is Jaitmal Bhojraj, who by the way is a Marwari.

With the advent of freedom in India the people of Sikkim also became restive. They had heard of the epic struggle for freedom in India, and they also had heard of the unique message of Mahatma Gandhi. But to them all this knowledge was of no avail, for the mere talk of freedom was a red rag to the authorities. The result was the continual suffering of the people, a suffering which seemed to have had no end.

A spark, only a spark, of movement was seen in 1949 after centuries of abject submission by the down-trodden people. And by May 12, 1949 a people's government was formed for the first time in Sikkim's history. The cabinet was formed with Tashi Tshering, a retired Government Officer, as its Chief Minister. That Ministry was, however, dissolved within 28 days of its formation. Since then the Maharaja is ruling the State with the help of a loaned officer from India. He is called the Dewan of the State.

Sikkim, strategically an important State on road to Lahsa, will shortly have a new Government—government by the people, chosen from amongst the people. Within a few weeks from now a new Cabinet nominated from the existing three political parties of the State will be formed. But since no party with any tinge of democracy is allowed to function in the State it is very doubtful if the would-be government will have the backing of the people.

As a political observer I believe, and this belief is born out of my intensive study of the problems of Sikkim on the spot, that unless a truly democratic Government is formed in Sikkim anything might happen here. Sikkim's proximity to China which is marching ahead with its progressive experiments makes it imperative on New Delhi also to see that they do not bungle at Gantok.

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THE AMERICAN NEGRO

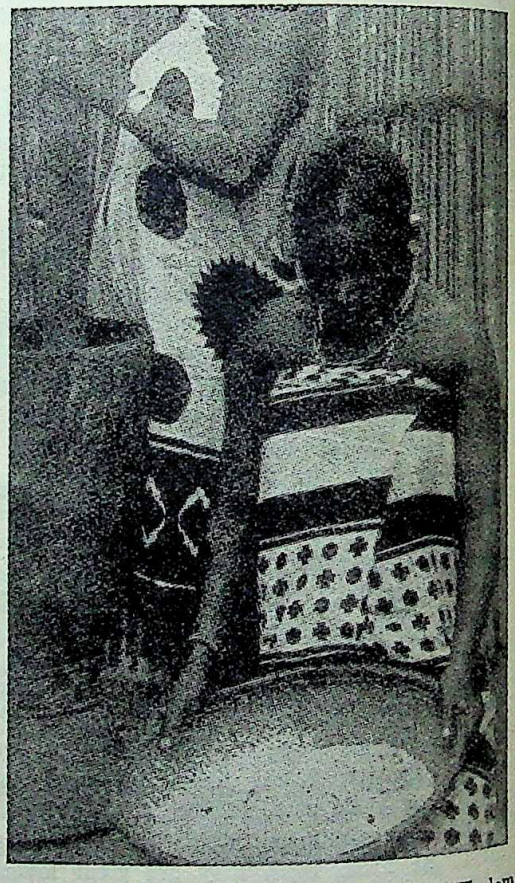
By S. P. SHOME

One of the most picturesque and purely humorous of human beings is the American Negro. Everything he says or does seems to be interesting—it is in him—and there is never any getting away from it.

The chuckle in their laugh and even in their speech is alone sufficient to make one take a delight in hearing them. They insist and keep on insisting that the emancipation of the American Negroes must come from within. The trumpet call of self-advertisement and the thrust and parry of political battles is not the solution to their problem. They are all one in their cry that the breastplate of their armour must be a broad and liberal education, if they set forth to battle for liberty and equality. They are claiming Africa as their natural home, and the interests of the African tribes, they consider, are inseparably bound up with those who are in America. It is a fact that between 1808 and 1860, 1,270,000 Negroes were smuggled into the United States of America as slaves. These importations of African slaves increased the population of the Northern and the Southern States of America. They were regarded as highly profitable form of labour. Ingle estimates that in 1850 there were 2,500,000 slaves on the plantations of the South, of whom 350,000 were employed in growing tobacco, rice 250,000, sugar 150,000, hemp 60,000. The remainder, 1,690,000 men, women and children were at work in the cotton fields of the 'black belt.' This vast army of slaves represented fully one-third of the total population of America. Washington, Jefferson, and many other statesmen repeatedly expressed their conviction that slavery should be abolished. It is needless to mention what President Lincoln did for the emancipation of slaves. In 1861, the slave-holding classes were directed to set free their slaves and to provide for their education and maintenance at public expense.

Today the Negroes are protected by social and political laws, but their standard of living has been artificially lowered by the whiteman. In his private dealings with the Negroes, the whiteman has never

A Negro marine officer with his wife



A Negro woman cooking her food, Harlem, New York

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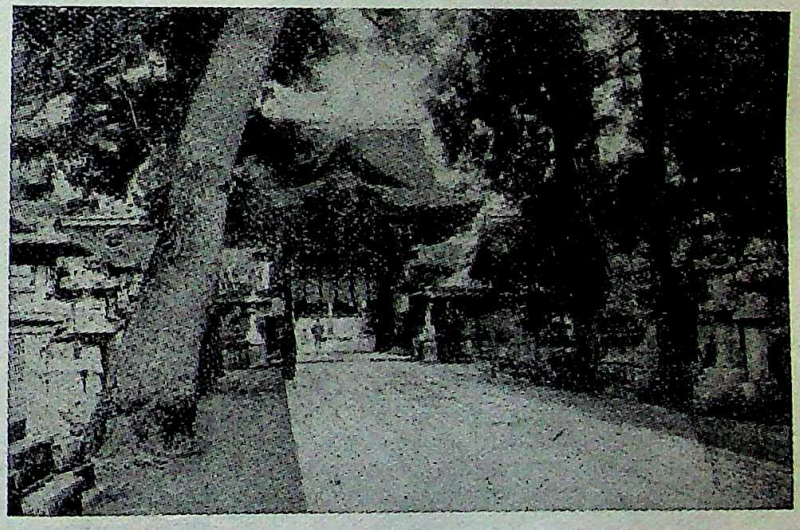
allowed them the rights and treatment to which they are entitled, and considers them to be 'inferior beings' or objects of contempt and exploitation. The American Negroes cannot dine in the restaurants where the 'whites' go. Of course, there is no legal objection to their going to any of these restaurants. But if they did enter any of them, no waiter or waitress would take their orders, and so they would have to go home hungry. You hardly meet Negroes and Negresses for tea or dinner at the houses of your friends. A white barber would not shave a Negro. In the Southern States, Negroes have special parts of the tram-cars assigned to them. They live in special quarters of the cities all over the country. For example, the Negroes of New York live mostly in Sen Chuan Hill and Harlem. The Negroes are every now and then lynched for certain offences. It has been estimated that 480 Negroes were lynched for rape during the last twenty years in the United States of America. A few months ago two Negroes were burnt to death in Chicago by a mob of white men. They were suspected of having killed their landlord and his son. It was afterwards discovered that one of the two Negroes was absolutely innocent; the other's guilt was not proved but there was considerable doubt as to it! Sometime later a mob of Americans 1,000 strong dragged out of jail a Negro under-trial prisoner and hanged him from a tree; the charge against him was the murder of a white woman. In 20 years (1901 to 1930) the white mobs in America have murdered 3224 'Negroes' in the United States of America alone! In many cases large crowds of the "white population" assembled to enjoy the cries of the poor Negroes when they were lynched on 'live coal.' The Negroes are given very few facilities for education. In Florida, the 'Whites' are actually punished for teaching anything to the Negro children!

Some farm houses near Richmond, Indiana

The modern American Negroes are conscious of the "inferiority complex" which labels them as though they are members of another and a lower, almost a subhuman species. They are therefore welding together by a common desire to rise above the ignominous race-segregation. They are using all their educational influence, their extraordinary powers of racy, convincing oratory and their wit and wisdom as Committee men—in fact, their whole life to secure opportunities for self-development, self-expression, and self-determination. Marcus Garvey, the creator of the Negro Improvement Association and the African Communities League with the *Negro World* as its organ, hurled the following sentences at an audience of 25,000 Negroes:

"What is good for the whiteman is equally good for the Negro, namely, freedom, liberty, and equality. We have no apology, no compromise to offer. If the Englishman claims England, the Frenchman France, the Italians Italy as their native habitat, then the Negroes claim Africa and will shed blood for their claim. We shall draw up a Bill of Rights for all Negro races, with a constitution to govern their destinies."



The China Town at San Francisco, California

Then he clinched his argument with the following words:

"The bloodiest of all wars is yet to come, when Europe will match its strength against Asia, and

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that will be the Negroes' opportunity to draw sword for Africa's redemption."

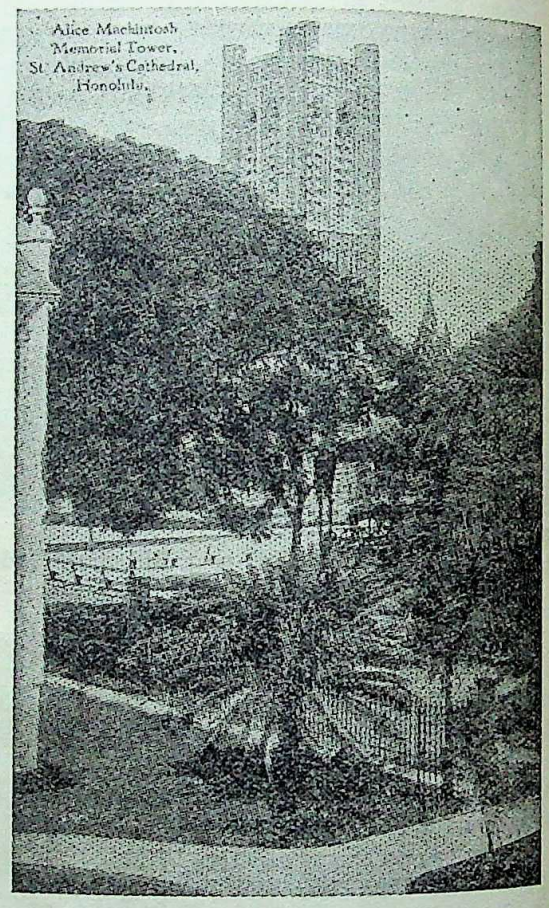
The fact is that the wisest minds are still groping for the knowledge as to how this confronting problem of 'colour' may be solved on a world scale. In an interesting interview the late Dr. Sudhindra Bose, of Iowa University, once asked of Captain Amundsen,

A Negro woman enjoying her smoke

the famous Antarctic explorer, "What do you think of the theory of race superiority?"

"Science," said Captain Amundsen, "does not recognise any such fable. It is the age of the laboratory; it is the newest development in the scientific research. Careful investigations are exploding the myth of the superiority of skin colour and are constantly emphasizing the importance of latent individual powers hidden beneath the skin. Intelligence, scholarship, mentality have no relation whatever to complexion. The Western world, which is now apoplectic about the white superiority, will some day come to see that racial colour is only skin-deep. Progress is a matter of opportunity, freedom and environment. There are unused, undeveloped possibilities within each individual of all races of all countries. The latent values can most certainly be stimulated to activity through education and other factors of environment. To put it in another way: complexion—white, brown, red, yellow or black, signifies little or nothing in regard to intellectual ability."

The average whiteman in America possesses very little knowledge of the American Negroes and their affairs and in particular about the great changes, social and cultural, that have taken place among them during the last twenty-five years. He knows something about their agitation for social and political equality; but knows nothing or almost nothing of what they are



St. Andrew's Cathedral, Honolulu

doing to promote their social, educational and economic progress and to develop the national spirit among them. There is hardly a whiteman in America who does not look upon the Negroes with the same eye as he does in the case of Asiatic labour immigration. He knows nothing of the good qualities of the American Negroes. The whiteman's house of cards which he was trying to build through centuries, came down with a crash after World War II. Thousands of African and American Negroes went to Europe and took part in the war. They saw the barbarous and cruel deeds of whitemen perpetrated against whitemen in the different scenes of the war. There was widespread disillusionment. The whiteman and his civilization came under universal criticism. When they came back to their own countries, they showed symptoms of the growing spirit of nationalism. They were unable perhaps to represent fully their case to the United Nations

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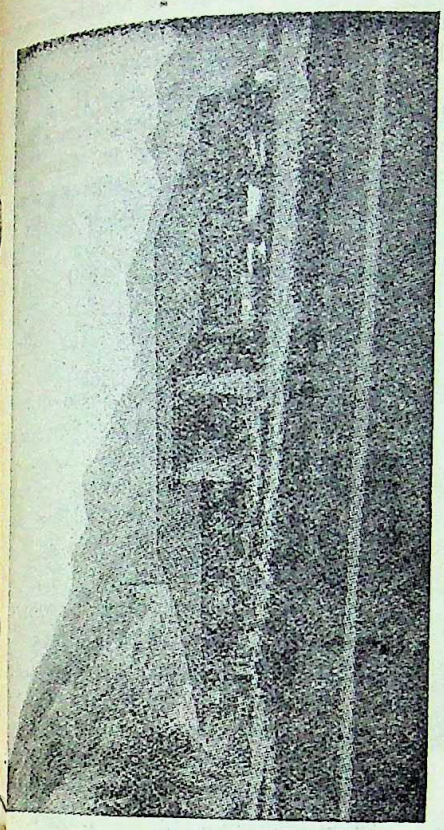
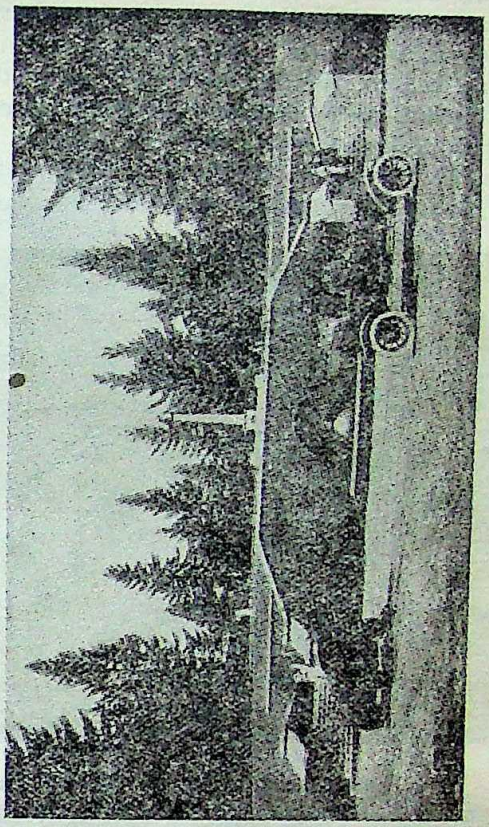
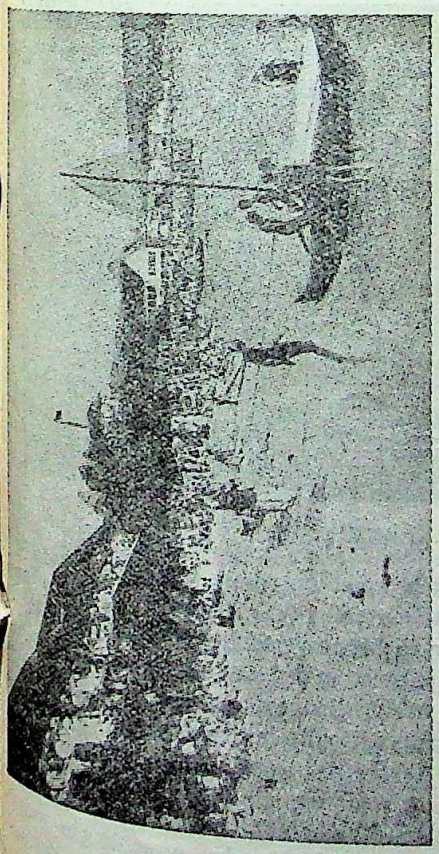


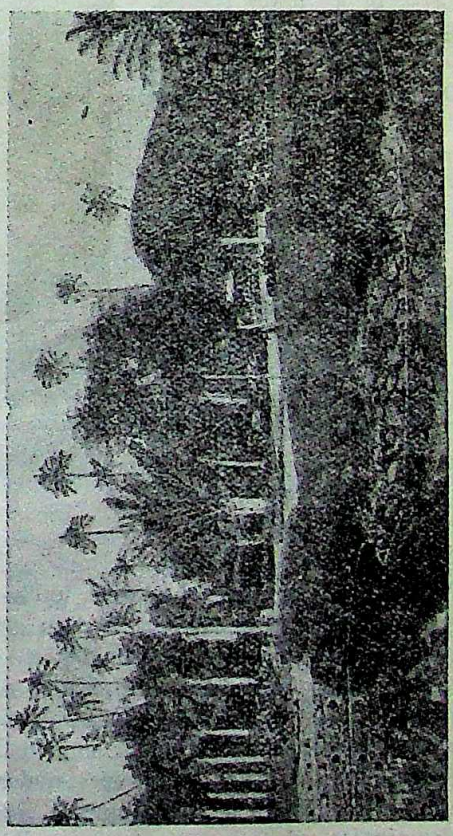
Country Club, Honolulu



Main entrance to city park, Portland, Oregon



On the beach at Waikiki, Honolulu



Moanalua Gardens, Honolulu

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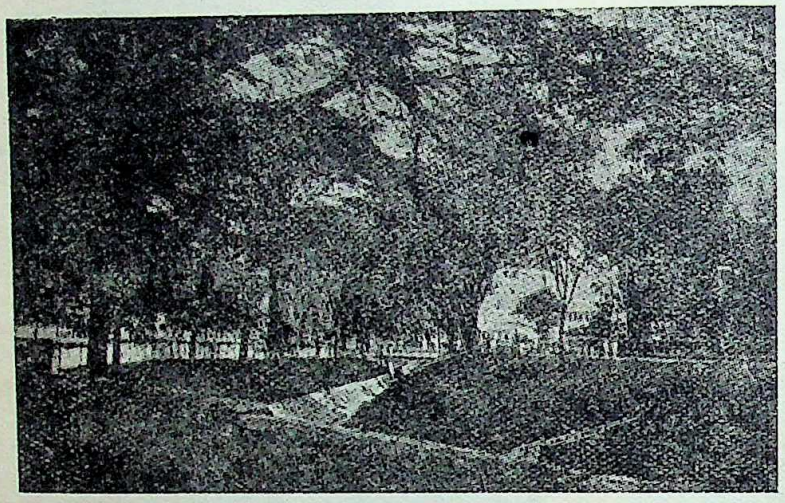
Organization, but they were able to demand for (1) an international code of laws for the recognition of their rights to control and guide their own destinies; (2) an international code of laws for the recognition of their rights to do high-grade industrial work in America and other countries at just wages and under fair conditions; (3) and what is of the greatest importance, freedom from the perpetual ostracism and degradation



The clover-field, Santa Monica, California

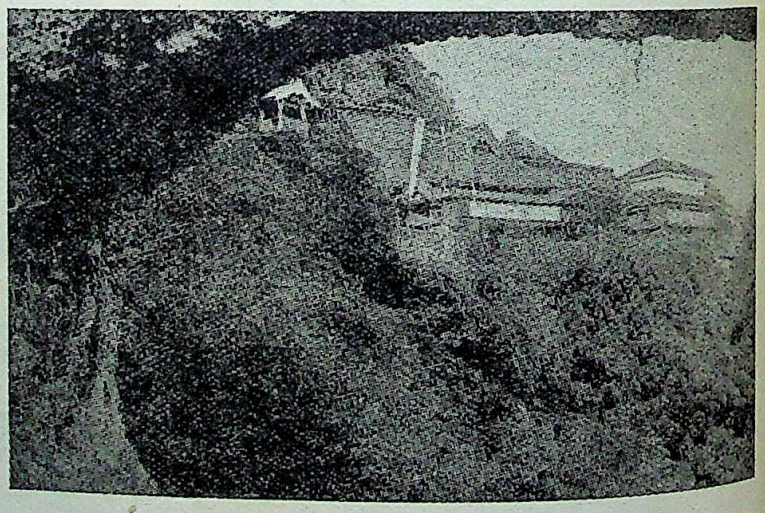
they are subject to as though they are members of a lower species. They stood however disillusioned, when the actions of the United Nations Organisation gave the lie to those lofty and noble principles which it so persistently enunciated before the world. It is not the American Negroes alone that are feeling the pricks of political thorns. The Asiatic Immigration Law, the Alien Land Law, the Exclusion Law have all been sponsored to humble the pride of the Chinese, the Japanese and the Indians alike in America. The Ku-Klux Klan, a powerful secret society in America, is not only at war with the Negroes, but with all the Asiatics and even the Jews in the country.

The American Negro is absolutely unlike an African Negro, in appearance, manner, and in speech; the one being naturally deferential and the other naturally insolent. The American Negro is one of the quickest of wits. He is never at a loss for a reply, no matter how unlooked-for the query, or how deficient he may be in information on the subject under discussion. An American Negro is a born mimic, even to the little piccaninnies, who can imitate the walk, with the most killing exaggerations, and speech and

attitudes of all the white folks in the neighbourhood.

The American Negro is sometimes very superstitious, and believes in all sorts of strange "possessions" of both animate and inanimate objects. If he has ever met with any mishap, such as falling from a tree, sliding into a ditch, or being hurt by an animal, he ever after regards this particular thing as having some special designs upon himself, and will never pass it if he can help doing so; or if obliged to do so, will repeat some long prayers whereby he hopes to conciliate the devil therein.

A wedding in the Negro quarter of the United States of America is a festivity never to be forgotten. Everyone, from the parson down to the grinning children holding the huge bouquet of field daisies, are objects to be for ever stored in the memory. The extreme gravity of expression on all faces during the ceremony, and the stately solemnity of the procession, together with the strict observance of rules and customs of the occasion, make up a scene that nothing else in one's experience ever quite equals. I still



South-east corner of the forests of Louisiana

recall one such wedding, where the parson, a grizzled old man, with steel-grey, stubby hair and a most imposing pair of horn spectacles, setting way down on the end of his nose, called out in the most concerned tones to the bride, "Honey, do you love your man?" while she answered quite as seriously, "I surely love my man!"

Next to a wedding, a christening is one of the most impressive of ceremonies among the American Negroes. The parson's hands presenting a sort of pantomime truly fascinating to behold, even the sur-

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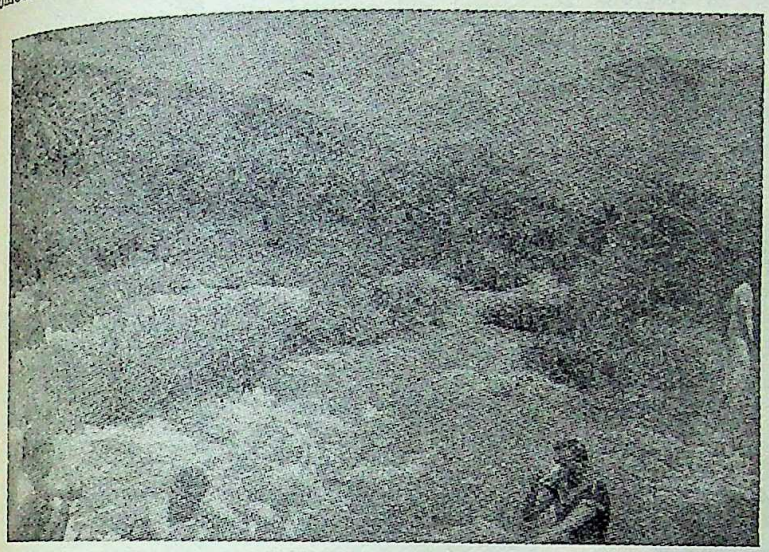
prised infant is deeply impressed by it which is manifest from the way it stares at him during this rather trying ceremony. To the parents, at any rate, all babies are objects of beauty and wonder; but the baby of an American Negro is, to the unprejudiced onlooker, a really fascinating little creature, with its



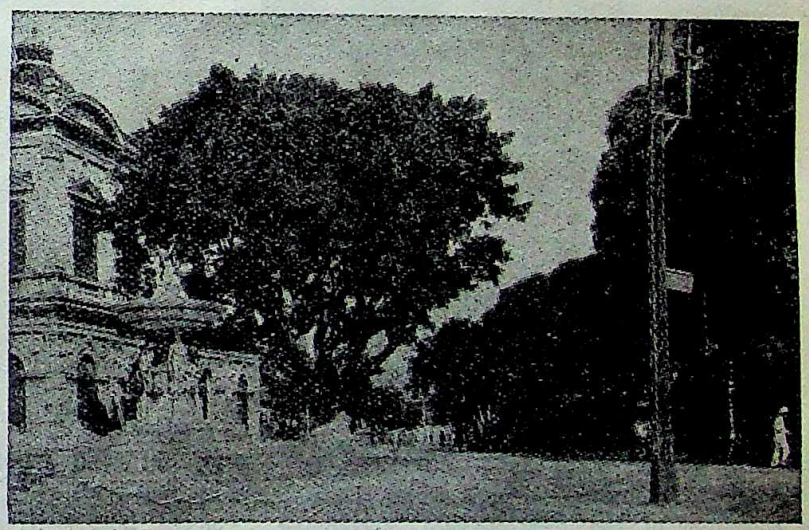
A forest near the Dilaware River, Pennsylvania

great dark eyes showing the whites so plenteously. Negro babies are never very promising in colour when young, but sufficiently so to show a marked difference between themselves and a white infant, and a dark baby is so much more 'humorous'-looking, seeming to be perfectly conscious of the ridiculous side of the life he sees going on around.

Yes, the American Negroes have a sense of humour of the pleasantest kind. But they are flaming with a sense of injustice that may result in burning resentment at any time at their exclusion from all social privileges, at their omission from high grades of industrial and political life, and at the inhuman murder of their men, women and children by white-men that has led to a great reduction in their population in many parts of America. Burghardt Du Bois, the brilliant Negro writer and orator whose *Darkwater* has stimulated a movement among the Negroes of America as well as of Africa to make the Negro-consciousness stand out defiantly against the white-man's domination, said (after the war):

"Wild and awful as that shameful war was, it was nothing to compare with that fight for freedom which the Negroes of America must and will make unless their oppression and humiliation and insult at the hands of the 'White World' cease. The 'Dark World' is going to submit to its present treatment just as long as it must and not a moment longer."

The American Negro is no longer to be quieted by a few concessions; he is seeking the recognition of those rights of humanity which have been withheld from him for ages. He demands law and liberty, independence and union. Divided, dismembered and oppressed he has neither a name nor a country. The Negro Improvement Association may not be a fully representative body in the sense its title suggests, but its voice has always been the voice of the unhappy Negroes of America (and Africa)—the expression of the collective thought of the Negro youth who are the initiators of the future. The Negro youth is no longer content to be kept tied to the leading strings of the white-man. Their revolt is inspired no doubt by genuine patriotism, but the desire of personal advancement on the part of great numbers



The Radio Broadcasting Station at Portland, Oregon

of them, whose education has fitted them for higher posts in the American States, greatly aggravates the feeling. Add to these inspirations the influence of Socialism, Communism, Nationalism, and you have the main element of the American Negroes' ambitions. It is an inevitable growth of years of oppression of the American Negroes, but it has undoubtedly made a great progress since the end of the World War II, both in the extent of its demands and in the number that embraces the movement. That America would keep her present hold on the American Negroes is not open

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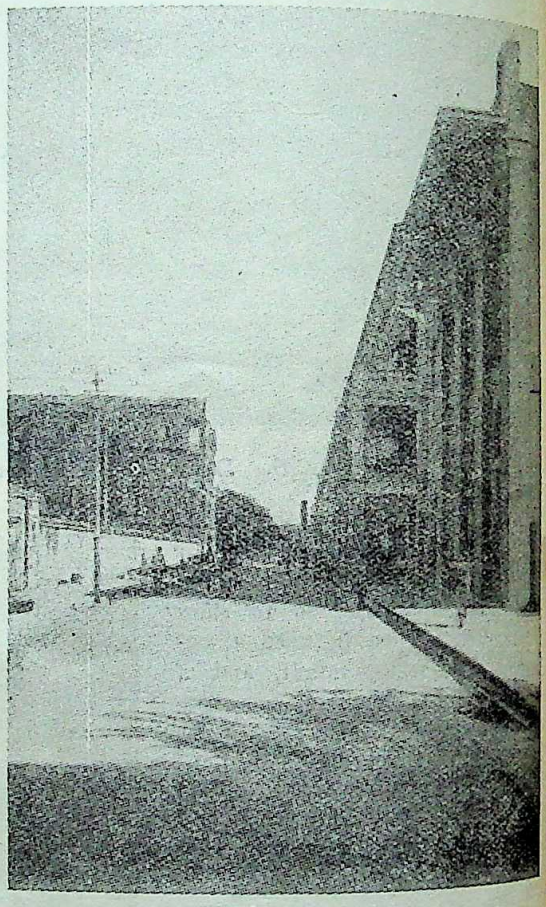
to question. But there is a violent spirit of revolt against the oppression and highhandedness of white people. It may not be difficult to find men of education to fill the high offices of State, if only America is sincere in her good intention to help the American Negroes to stand on their own legs. And little has really been done to encourage the American Negroes to accelerate the pace of their political progress.

The mountain-side of Navarro River, California

It is not my purpose to deal in detail the various wrongs which the American Negroes have suffered at the hands of their 'bosses' in America. I just stop at the threshold of the great Negro awakening. The American Negroes have already claimed of the American Government for the recognition of their equal rights with the white population. Self-determination is their motto as it is the motto of the other races of the world. The *Negro World* has hurled the following sentences to the white people of Canada, the United States, and Mexico:

"You cannot treat the American Negroes as helots year after year, generation after generation, without ultimately provoking retaliation. You cannot boot a Negro off the sidewalk when he is in your way, throw him out of his compartment in a railway train because you want it to yourself, beat him unmercifully as if he is still a slave, and smash up his head because he demands equality with you, close the public halls and hotel dining rooms to him just because he is a Negro and though he is born in America! But even a 'black' man will turn. And when he will do so, then you will come up for reckoning!"

In the opinion of many American whitemen to give social and political equality to these Negroes is absolutely absurd. But the American Negroes have



The Municipal Office at Port Worth, Texas

not gone under as many think they have. They live and their spirit lives and will live as long as the spirit of liberty lives. The important fact about the American Negroes is that they are rapidly consolidating themselves into a united front for the purpose of breaking away from white domination. This patriotic feeling has not been artificially hatched by a few Negro leaders or Negro politicians. It has come to include the whole Negro World, from the primitive African tribes to the highest layer of educated Negroes. The Negro leader of the future, who holds the destiny in his hands of all Negro races, must realise his responsibility and privilege. May he inspire all Negroes to break away from all evil habits, and to surrender individual interests to the larger interests of all Negro people for liberty, equality and prosperity!

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VAJRESHWARI

By M. K. KRISHNAN

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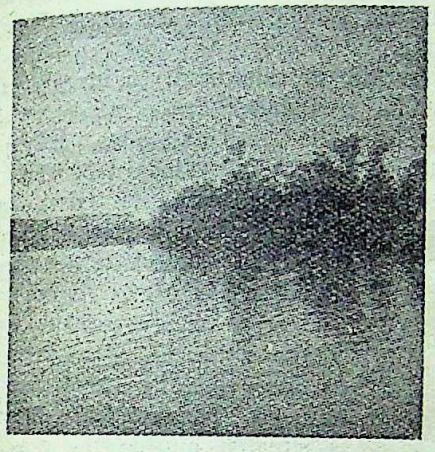
NATURE is the mother of beauty. One cannot copy her in perfection. Artists are only imitators. We feel that to commune with Nature is to make one with God.

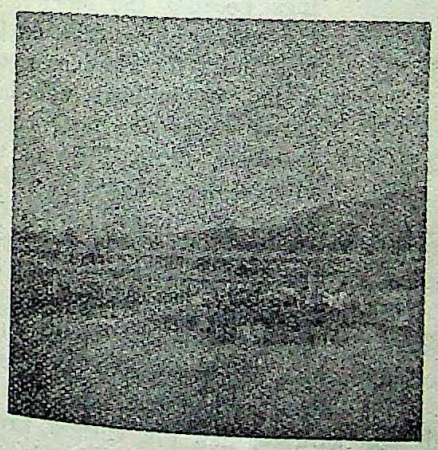
"Steep and lofty cliffs,
That on a wild secluded scene impress
Thoughts of more deep seclusion; and connect
The landscape with the quiet of the sky."

One of the beautiful spots I saw in Bombay is



Sunset at Vajreshwari

Vajreshwari, a hamlet of hills and valleys, ravines and springs, temples and *satrams*. It is an enchanting holy place for pilgrimage. An eighteen miles' drive from Basin station through the thick forests was an ex-



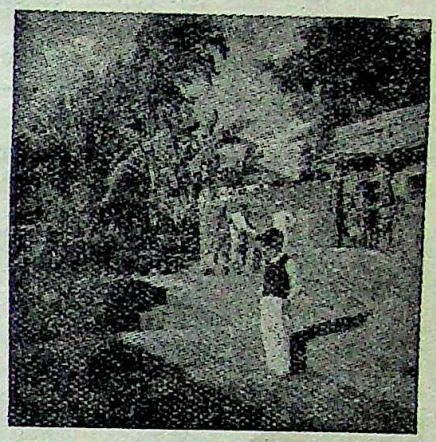
People bathing in the spring

hilarating trip to us. How sweet it was to roam from field to field and to taste the beauty of the green world that vastly stretched before us. We sat on the beds of the river that glides through the valley like a silver screen that glistens through the green canopy.

"And I made a rural pen,
And I stained the water clear,
And I wrote my happy songs,
Every child may joy to hear."

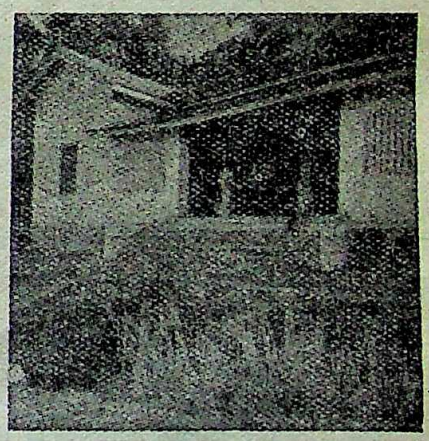
The novelty of this landscape is the existence of hot springs with medicinal properties that have the curative value for all those suffering from high blood pressure, skin diseases and rheumatic complaints. Every Sunday thousands flock around Vajreshwari to have a dive in ponds, especially in winter. It is strange to note that the water remains always pure and clear.

Another attraction of Vajreshwari is the presence of Swami Nityananda, a *yogi* of unusual psychical powers. Swamiji has built some *satrams* and *dharmasalas* and local-board authorities use some of them as



A child watches the hot spring

dispensaries and schools. This uncommon little man of silence is fond of Harijan children and plays with them. He hails from a poor family of Malabar and is the disciple of the late Swami Sivananda of Malabar.



Village hospital at Vajreshwari

Today Vajreshwari is springing up as a little town. It can be improved as an ideal village to attract tourists from far and near. It can also serve as a model village for country folks. Nearly two hours we roamed all over the valley and enjoyed this sojourn in the heart of this beautiful place where the holy and healing waters of the hot springs of Vajreshwari ever bubble up.

"Here amid solitude and shade we wander
Through green aisles, or stretched upon the sod
And awed with silence, reverently ponder
The ways of God."

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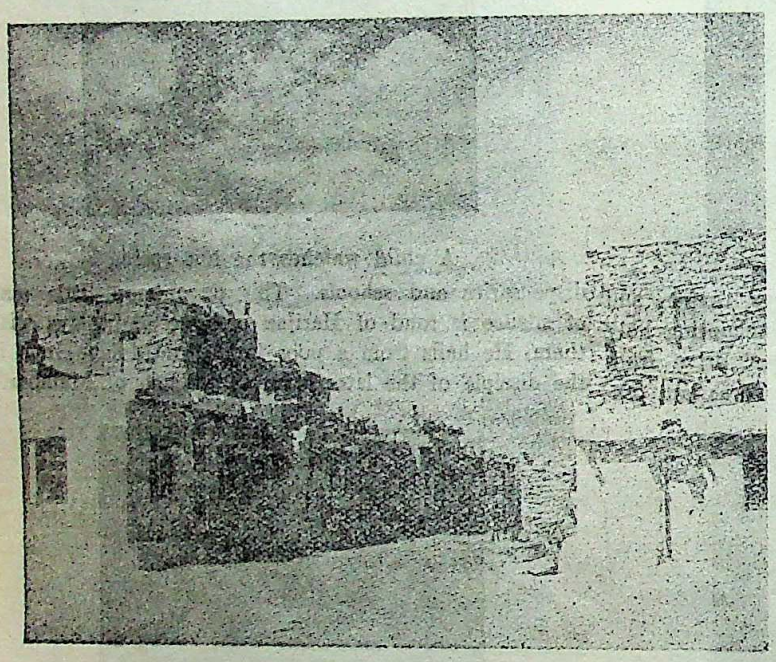
HOPI INDIAN COMMUNITIES IN THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST

By WALTER COLLINS O'KANE

Eighty miles from the small town of Winslow, in the southwestern State of Arizona, lie the lands of the Hopi Indians, which cover an area of more than 60 square miles and encompass the 12 Hopi villages that nurture the traditions and culture of one of the oldest communities of American Indians.

To reach this American Indian community one travels over a desert road which, in dry weather, is smooth, well-packed sand with round stones paving the washes—the wide cuts in the desert floor through which muddy water tumbles in time of heavy rain.



A sun-drenched street in Shungopavi, one of the 12 Hopi Indian villages in the American South-west

Courtesy : University of Oklahoma Press

The fact that it is easily reached in good weather but almost inaccessible in bad has been one of the principal reasons why the Hopi country and its people have remained unchanged and unspoiled—this and the further fact that there is no tourist center anywhere in the community. Isolation has meant preservation of customs and values that might otherwise have been lost.

The Hopi Reservation, established by executive order of the President of the United States in 1882, is a rectangular area extending about 57 miles from east to west and about 68 miles from north to south. Its southern boundary is 35 miles north of Winslow, Arizona. The Indian lands lie in the high-altitude region of northern Arizona, where the height above sea-level varies from 5,000 to 7,000 feet. In climate, vegetation, and topography the country is different from that of southern Arizona. The land which the reservation occupies is tilted up from south to north. The southern part drops down toward the Little Colorado River, which drains the entire area. The northern part, encompassing the Black Mesa, is 2,000 feet higher.

The surface of the country is deeply carved. In the southern part black buttes (flat-topped isolated hills) rise from the broad and often sandy plains. In the northern part the elevated tableland of Black Mesa, with its dark growth of pinons and cedars, has been gouged out in places to a distance of many miles, leaving long, irregular, knobby fingers reaching out toward the south. On these fingers or near their ends lie 11 of the Hopi villages. The twelfth, Moenkopi, is situated outside the area, 40 miles to the west.

The villages are not conspicuous from a distance. The houses, mostly one-story, are of stone and are much the same color as their surroundings because the stone came from the nearby hills. The dwellings are well built, for Hopi men come from a line of builders who have used native stone for their houses for a thousand years. Nine of the Hopi villages are situated on top of Black Mesa, out near the tips of the fingers. From the valley, 600 feet below, it is not easy to distinguish these villages unless one knows what to look for and where to look. In the broad valleys, called washes, which separate the Mesa fingers, lie most of the Hopi agricultural lands and orchards. The fields and gardens, like the villages, have a way of being inconspicuous. They give little indication of their productiveness, but these areas, skillfully farmed as they are, produce good crops. They do not look like farm lands elsewhere. By comparison they are unimpressive. But corn plants, growing no more than three feet tall, bear more ears of corn, some of them as much as 12 inches long. The yield of beans and melons and peppers is heavy, and the peach and apricot trees bear excellent fruit.

In crops and food supplies, in roads and transportation, the sun in the sky is paramount in Hopi life. Equally it plays a leading part in the ceremonies and mythology of the Hopi people. Its rising and

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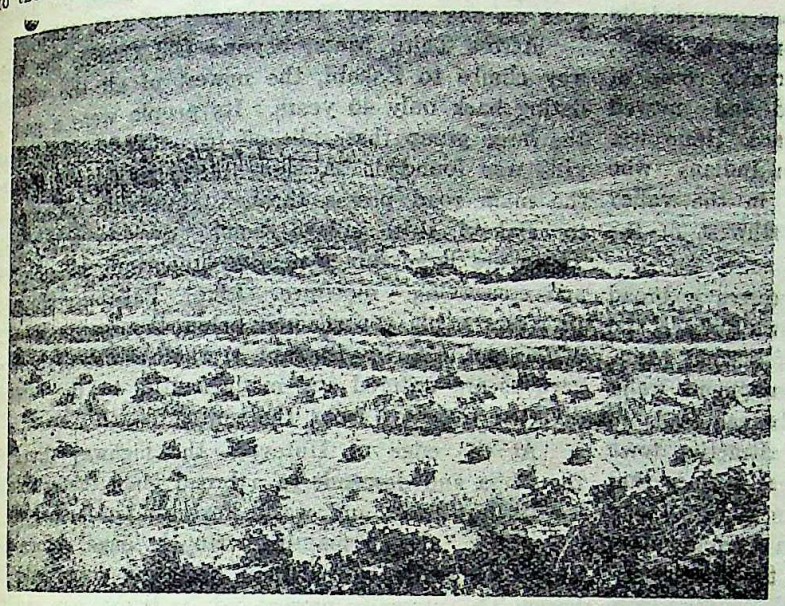
setting, its seasonal advance and retreat, are both vital and symbolic. Each day, in the clear air of the high country, the unhampered sun pours its warmth on the land. Each night the earth loses that warmth to the starry spaces of the sky.



The vegetable gardens of the Hopi Indians

In November and December as the sun sinks lower, the temperatures, day and night, drop steadily. Hopi ceremonies celebrate the advent of the period when the sun makes ready to swing back toward the north and toward warmer and more fruitful days. Midwinter brings temperatures of zero Fahrenheit and below, also snowstorms.

In March the winds begin to blow and sometimes there are sandstorms. Windstorms often sweep across the country in persistent violence. It is during this period that crops are started and the ingenious Hopi farmer sets up windbreaks to protect his plants.

In early July the period of thunderstorms and cloudbursts arrives, but these may not bring rain to the right places. So, in August, two impressive Hopi ceremonies take place which are prayers for rain as well as for a bountiful harvest. By September the thunderstorms are usually over and another period of little rainfall begins, extending through October and November. This is the glorious time of year for travel in the Hopi country—clear days, warm sunshine, cool nights, and as a rule roads that are now well repaired and settled.

The principal roads into the reservation approach from the south, although the Hopi country also can be reached either from the east or from the west. However, all of these roads pass through parts of the Navajo American Indian community. Each of the approaches to Hopi lands leads through vast areas of scanty vegetation. Some of these areas, covered with shifting sand or denuded by destructive erosion, are completely barren, or nearly so. Others belie their appearance and bear useful vegetation, although it is sparse.

Whatever the route of approach, an east-west road that zigzags through the reservation gives access to the Hopi villages. Farthest to the east, down in the valley near the road, lies Polacca. Its houses seem to have been placed helter-skelter on knolls and in hollows. The settlement represents overflow from the ancient villages on the Mesa that rises steeply behind it, the migration of families who wished to be nearer to water supply and to the highway. The villages high up on the Mesa are not easily discerned from the valley, and a visitor gazing up toward the tableland finds it difficult to believe that there are three separate communities there, Walpi to the left at the tip of the long ridge, then Sichomovi after a gap of a few yards, and then Hano. The long rocky finger on which these settlements are located is called First Mesa to distinguish it from two more fingers to the west.

A Hopi Indian examines a corn plant
Courtesy: Walter Collins O'Kane

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A road, starting back of the trading post, climbs diagonally to the top of the Mesa, coming out in the midst of the houses that crowd its restricted area. Hano and Sichomovi can be reached safely by automobile but one must walk to Walpi which is separated by a narrow neck of bare rock. Walpi has occupied its present site for about 250 years. Sichomovi is newer, dating back to about 1750, when apparently some of the inhabitants of Walpi felt crowded and moved across the short gap to unoccupied space. Hano was settled about 1720 by a group of Tewa Indians who emigrated from their ancestral homes in the valley of the Rio Grande River, 14 miles northwest of the New Mexico city of Santa Fe.

Beyond First Mesa the highway crosses a broad flat area, where Wepo Wash sweeps down toward the southwest. It then ascends the flank of Second Mesa, following a route cut out of the escarpment walls. After it has attained the level top, a branch leads to the village of Shungopavi. This is an attractive town with white houses built on a smooth rock surface that is almost white. The Mesa top here is broad and ample. The remaining two villages on Second Mesa —Shipaulovi and Mishongnovi—lie to the northeast.

Proceeding west, the highway descends from Second Mesa and crosses the broad valley called Oraibi Wash. On the farther side a branch road leads into the village of Kiakochomovi, often called New Oraibi. Nearby is the Hopi High (secondary) School with its modern stone buildings. Kiakochomovi is an offshoot of Old Oraibi, which is on top of the nearby Mesa. As with Polacca, some of its houses seem placed helter-skelter in the midst of short, sandy streets. The fact seems to be well authenticated that Old Oraibi dates back further than any other community on the North American continent. It was in existence, on its present site, long before any other settlement now extant, and it has been continuously occupied ever since it was founded. Just how far back its history goes no one can say, but at least to A.D. 1150.

Across Third Mesa, beyond Old Oraibi, the highway climbs to Bakabi, the newest of all the villages, dating back only 40 years. Its people were a part of the large group that split off from Oraibi when Hotevilla was founded. A short distance beyond Bakabi, the main road passes through Hotelville. Compared to Bakabi, this village seems overrun with sand. There are large dunes nearby, important in collecting and conserving moisture. Like Bakabi, Hoteville possesses a big spring, just below the margin of the Mesa, and, also like Bakabi, a whole series of terraced gardens are watered and made fruitful by the carefuly diverted overflow from the spring.

At the edge of Hotevilla the highway dives off the Mesa and descends to a broad plain that stretches to the northwest and west. Forty miles farther along it reaches the remaining Hopi village, Moenkopi. There are really two villages here, the upper and the lower. The upper is newer and its houses are modern in character. The lower dates back about 80 years, and many of its houses are built wall to wall. Its streets are narrow, and it is the only Hopi village that possesses irrigated fields.

These are the 12 Hopi villages—ancient and modern communities on the sun-baked Mesas of Arizona which perpetuate the culture of a proud people.—From *Arizona Highways*

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SERAMPORE COLLEGE

Pioneer of Scientific Education in Bengal

By TRIGUNANATH BANERJEE,
Department of Chemistry, Serampore College

Serampore College holds an abiding place in the history of Bengali language and literature. It was the College House, which is still vibrant with the memories of the past, that formed the scene of the labours of William Carey, a great linguistic genius and lover of humanity and of his illustrious comrades. This is the place which is reputed to be the cradle of Bengali prose, and where the pursuit of linguistic study led to the publication of works in about forty different languages. Referring to the great impetus which the Bengali language and literature has received at the hands of Carey, Dr. S. K. De records his opinion that

> "To Carey belongs the credit of having raised the language from its debased condition of an unsettled dialect to the character of regular and permanent form of speech, capable as in the past of becoming the refined and comprehensive vehicle of a great literature in the future."

This and various other activities of pioneer missionaries, literary and social, have served to win a place for Serampore College in the hearts of all educated Bengalis. In fact, Serampore College in the early part of the 19th century was the cynosure of all eyes, especially of distinguished scholars all over Bengal.

Botany

The literary and social activities of Serampore College loom so very large in the eyes of historians and students of Indian culture that its importance in other aspects has sometimes been overlooked. In the

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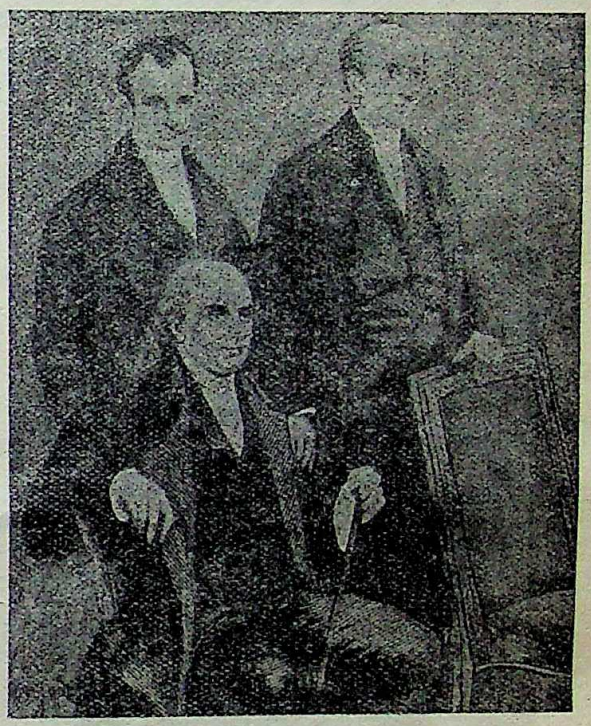
field of Science the activities of Serampore College in its early days have been no less important than those in any other field. Carey was a distinguished Botanist. The Serampore College Botanical Gardens, founded by Carey, could then vie with the Government Botanical Gardens at Sibpur for excellence, and had received much admiration from eminent scientists of the East and the West. "Many plants to be found in Bengal today," it has been said, "came of seeds first bird-borne or wind-sown from Carey's garden." Dr. Carey from his boyhood had been fond of natural history, and from the time of his arrival in India he had been making collections of mineral ores and other specimens, which at the time of his death had become very extensive. The study of Botany was his constant delight and one of his chief occupations. On his settlement at Serampore he enclosed a portion of ground consisting of several acres in extent and planted in it the rarest plants and trees which he could obtain from different parts of the world. His fondness for his garden remained with him till the end of his days. No one was allowed to interfere with the arrangements of his garden which was his favourite retreat. The arrangement followed by him was based on the Linnaean system, and to disturb the bed or border of the garden was to touch the apple of his eye. It is here that he enjoyed some of his most happy moments of private devotion and meditation. Carey's garden formed the best and rarest botanical collections of plants in the East. On the Science of Botany he frequently gave lectures, and his publication of Roxburgh's *Flora Indica* made it a standard work for botanists. In the Asiatic Society and the Agricultural Society of Calcutta he took an active interest and for many years assisted both, by his suggestions and writings. The services of Dr. Carey for the Asiatic Society were so greatly appreciated that on his death, which took place on the 9th June, 1834, the following resolution was placed by the Bishop of Calcutta himself before the Society and was carried:

"The Asiatic Society cannot but note upon their proceedings the death of the Rev. William Carey, DD, so long an active member and an ornament of this institution, distinguished alike for his eminent services in opening the stores of Indian literature to the knowledge of Europe, the natural history, and botany of this country, and his useful contributions in every branch towards the promotion of the objects of the Society, without placing on record this expression of their high sense of his value and merit as a scholar and a man of Science; their esteem for the sterling and surpassing religious and moral excellences of his character, and their sincere grief for his irreparable loss."

Chemistry

In the study of Chemistry Serampore College can rightly claim to being pioneer in creating an interest in the subject throughout the province of Bengal. The activities which manifested themselves in popularising the study of Chemistry first originated in Serampore College and subsequently spread throughout the province, and this was due to the untiring efforts of John Mack (1797-1845). John Mack was a distinguished scholar in Chemistry as Carey was in Botany. We shall briefly review his career at Serampore College as a professor of Chemistry and also as one who was responsible for introducing the study of Chemistry not only in Serampore College but in the province of Bengal generally.



William Ward (*left*), Joshua Marshman (*right*) and William Carey (*sitting*)

William Ward, one of the principal coadjutors of William Carey, returned to India from England in November 1821. Before he left England he had heard about the scholarship and the brilliant career of John Mack, and thinking that his services would be of great help to Joshua Marshman in managing the affairs of the College, Ward invited him to the College staff and came back to Serampore accompanied by Mack. Mr. Mack was then a distinguished scholar of Edinburgh University and was only twenty-three years of age. In the University of Edinburgh he acquired proficiency in Science along with that in the Greek and Latin classics. He obtained certificates from professors Christison, Dunbar, Ritchie, Brown, Leslie, Playfair and Hope in flattering terms for his attainments, and attended a course of Chemical lectures at Guy's. He exhibited the depth of his scholarship also in higher Mathematics and other branches of Science. But among all these different branches of Science Chemistry was his chief favourite. He came to

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Bengal as a representative of the Baptist Missionary Society.

On reaching Serampore, Mr. Mack joined forces with his co-workers and undertook teaching in the college in right earnest. He entered upon his duties in the Scientific department of the College, and undertook the general superintendence of classes. The number of students at the close of the year 1822 was fifty, of whom fifteen were in the preparatory class, and thirty-five engaged in the higher studies of the College. Along with his teaching work he began to learn Bengali, and became gradually associated with the other activities of the Mission. Now an opportunity came to him for introducing the science of Chemistry as a subject of study in the College. On

John Mack

the eve of his departure from England James Douglas of Scotland made a gift of five hundred pounds for the purpose of establishing a chemical laboratory in the Serampore College. In acknowledging his indebtedness to the donor Mr. Mack wrote in the preface to his book of Chemistry, "To James Douglas, Esq., of Cavers in Scotland, to whose enlightened generosity Serampore College is indebted for its well-furnished laboratory of Chemical apparatus. He devoted £500 to this purpose, just at the time when I was selected as its first European teacher." With this sum the laboratory was very soon established and the requisite apparatus and chemicals were procured. Mr. Mack used to deliver his lectures at first in English, but after he had learned Bengali sufficiently well, he utilised his knowledge of the local language in his regular teaching. He also used to illustrate his lectures with scientific experiments. "Mr. Mack was also encouraged to give a course of chemical lectures in Calcutta by the gentlemen who were attached to Science; and Lord Hastings, on the last occasion of presiding at the meetings of the Asiatic Society, proposed that its rooms should be placed at his disposal. The attendance, which varied from eighty to a hundred, was greater than could have been expected in a community very slenderly imbued with scientific tastes. Among the attendants were ten native gentlemen. The series of lectures produced about £105, which Mr. Mack generously made over to the Mission funds (1822). There was hardly any arrangement then for the teaching of Chemistry in any of the colleges in Bengal. His lectures were always highly educative and interesting and his writing elegant and powerful. He was pre-eminently distinguished for his eloquence which has seldom been equalled, and has never been surpassed in India. On one occasion, having been prevailed on to speak at a meeting of the Auxiliary Bible Society in Calcuttta, he electrified the audience by his address to such a degree, that the late Bishop of Calcutta, who presided at the meeting, involuntarily exclaimed, "Why was that man a dissenter?"

"As a public writer, Mr. Mack had few equals in India. His compositions bore the exact impress of his mind, and were remarkable for their purity, clearness and vigour. He cultivated his style with no little assiduity, and was remarkably happy in clothing his thoughts in the strongest and most appropriate expressions. When the *Friend of India*, a weekly journal published at Serampore, was commenced in 1835, he took an active share in its editorial management, and as long as he could command leisure enriched it with his contributions."

Soon after his arrival in India, as we have already observed, he gave a series of lectures on Chemistry in Calcutta, the first ever delivered in the city. His fascinating mode of delivery made the subject extremely popular, and in consequence the study of Chemistry, which had been begun at Serampore College, extended to Calcutta and also to other parts of the province. The study of Chemistry was thus introduced in Bengal.

Mr. Mack did not rest content with teaching a few students. He used to keep notes of his lectures and at a later period, prepared an elementary treatise on this science, and translated it into the Bengali language for the use of native pupils. Thus he is credited to be the first author of a book in Chemistry written in Bengali entitled *Kimiya Vidyar Sara* and published from Serampore Mission Press in 1834.

For some time past attempts are being made to find out appropriate equivalents in Bengali for scientific terms. It has now been decided that the terms having an international form should be also incorporated in Bengali without any change. More than a hundred years ago Mr. Mack also thought about the problem and gave his opinion on the same lines.

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the preface to his book of Chemistry he noted down the following arguments supporting his views:

"First, that our European terms have been taken from our ancient languages for the very purpose of preventing the confusion which must arise from as many different names being applied to the same thing as there are languages, in which it is spoken of; and secondly, that it is a mistake to suppose, that any good will be done by accurate translation of scientific names, since as many of them as far as their derivative import is concerned, are totally misapplied, and the translation of them, therefore, would only be giving currency to error. Thus the word oxygen might have been very neatly rendered *umlujan* (the producer of acidity); but the result would have been, that the exploded idea of oxygen being necessary to the production of acidity, would have been embodied in the new word."

Mr. Mack died on the 30th April, 1845, at Serampore. "Few men have ever come out to this country who appeared to be so eminently fitted for public usefulness, by extraordinary endowments of nature and personal acquirements. He was a well-read classic, and an able mathematician, and there were few branches of natural science in which he was not at home, and in which he did not succeed in keeping himself up to the level of the Science of Chemistry which he had cultivated with success under the most eminent professors in London." He created the nucleus of a chemical laboratory in Serampore College, the first of its kind in Bengal, which has grown in the course of years and has been trying to maintain the traditions of the past.

In preparing this article references have been made to:

(1) *Oriental Christian Biography* by W. H. Carey, published 1850.
(2) *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward* by John Clark Marshman, published 1859.
(3) *Sey Juger Bijnan Sadhana* by Jogesh C. Bagal (published in *Prabasi*, Kartik 1357).

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY BY THE LATE AKSHAY KUMAR MAITRA

By KSHITIS CHANDRA SARKAR, M.A., B.L.,
Varendra Research Society

The valuable contributions made in the field of research by the late Akshay Kumar Maitra, B.L., C.I.E., one of the founders of the Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi (now in East Pakistan) is still acknowledged with gratitude by all antiquarians of the day. He died on the 10th February, 1930, and February, 1952 completes the 22nd anniversary of his demise.

Educated sons of Bengal should yet recall to their minds with admiration the contributions Srijut Maitra used made to the reconstruction of the history of Bengal and its culture as a pioneer. He first took up as his special subject of study, the period of the last days of the Mughals immediately before the British conquest of Bengal. The patriotic spirit which induced him to make his debut with *Sirajuddaula, Mir Kasim* and *Pringi Banik* gradually attracted him to the history of ancient Bengal. His *Gaudalekhamala* as the first collection of important inscriptions of the Pala Kings of Bengal will always rank among the source-books of the history of Bengal.

Sree Brajendra Nath Bandopadhaya has done a great service to the cultured Bengal and to its future generation for having compiled a catalogue of references to Akshay Kumar's prolific writings in the pages of the *Sahitya Parishat Patrika* (Nos. 3 and 4, Vol. 53) in a chronological order which had appeared on varied topics in various journals through the medium of Bengali.

Akshay Kumar's versatile talent was not confined to the language of his mother tongue alone, for which he already earned the reputation of a distinguished litterateur and a historian for his unique style and cogency of reasoning in the presentation of the materials before him.

His contributions to Art and Archaeology through the medium of English in the current and defunct journals were also great indeed.

Sree Banerjee's laudable enterprise in this direction has encouraged me to cull the captions of the contributions which had appeared through the medium of journals in English, principally in the pages of *The Modern Review* and *Rupam*. All these writings are a standing tribute to his scholarship and versatality, and the publications of such valuable materials might in future be constituted into a volume to afford a permanent value to the future scholars who might utilise the resources with profit.

The most important contributions are enumerated below as far as practicable in a chronological order.

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A supplementary list may be forthcoming by others interested in them to complete the series if there be any error or slip in the present compilation.

Subject	*Reference*	*The year of publication*
1. A new copper-plate Inscription of Lakshmanasena. (Anulia copper-plate).	*The Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal,* pp. 61-65.	1900
2. Two Buddhist images from Malda	*The Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal,* pp. 621-623.	1911
3. The Stones of Varendra.	*The Modern Review,* June, pp. 618 ff.	1912
4. The Stones of Varendra.	*The Modern Review,* September, pp. 244 & ff.	1912
5. The Fall of the Pala Empire. (Calcutta University lectures from 21st to 25th January.)	A course of four lectures in the Calcutta University.	1916 (unpublished)
6. The Black-Hole debate	*The Bengal Past and Present.* (proceedings) pp. 156-171.	1916
7. The Monuments of Sanchi (a scholarly review of Sir John Marshall's guide book.)	*The Modern Review,* August, pp. 137-148.	1918
8. Taxila—a meeting ground of nations (a review)	*The Modern Review,* September, pp. 478-482.	1918
9. Garuda, The Carrier of Vishnu in Bengal and Java.	*The Rupam,* January, pp. 2-7.	1920
10. The River Goddess Ganga.	*The Rupam,* April, pp. 2-10.	1921
11. Aims and Methods of Painting in Ancient India.	*The Rupam,* Jan.-June, pp. 19-27.	1923
12. Sculptures of Bengal (Introduction with a note on Varendra Research Society's collection by Dr. Stella Kramrisch.)	*The Modern Review,* January, pp. 57-62.	1923
13. Studies in the Sculpture of Bengal.	*The Modern Review,* pp. 194-197	1923
14. Studies in the Sculpture of Bengal.	*The Modern Review,* pp. 478-482	1923
15. The Lotus of Life.	*The Rupam,* July, pp. 85-88.	1925
16. Studies in the Sculpture of Bengal.	*The Modern Review,* pp. 446-450	1925
17. Historical Antiquities in Rajshahi.	*The Bengal Past and Present,* pp. 37-41.	1926
18. Principles of Indian Painting. (The six limbs of Indian painting.)	*The Rupam,* July-Dec. pp. 130-131	1926
19. A Forgotten Capital of Bengal.	*The Bengal Past and Present,* pp. 172-175.	1926
20. Indian Architecture According to the Silpasastra (a scholarly review of Dr. P. K. Acharya's book on Architecture—*Manasara*)	*The Rupam,* July-October, p. 39	1926
21. A Rejoinder to Mr. Saksena on Dr. P. K. Acharya's works on *Manasara*	*The Rupam,* pp. 90-91.	1926
22. "Panchadevata" (or Siva, Ganesh, Vishnu, Surya and Sakti.)	Translated by Dr. Stella Kramrisch and published in *Ostasiatische Zeitchrift* beginning with Vol. IV, halft. 3, pp. 109-119.	1928
23. An illustrated lecture note in the Indian Museum, Calcutta delivered on the 18th March, 1927.	Published as Monograph No. 7, (*The Ancient Monuments of Varendra,* edited by Kshitis C. Sarkar, Varendra Research Society with Introduction and six Appendices.)	1929
24. A Note on Paharpur Mound.*		

* I am thankful for the facility I obtained in utilising the libraries of the Vangiya Sahitya Parisad, the Asiatic Society, Book and the library of Mr. O. C. Gangoly in drawing up this list checking up the references in Calcutta.

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POPULATION CONTROL IN RELATION TO FOOD IN INDIA

By MURARI PROSAD GUHA, M.A.

From the dawn of civilization when man first started to live community life he found that by continuous cultivation the same piece of land gives poorer returns. He also learnt that there were some soils that were not good for cultivation and there were some that gradually became poor. The land was not limited, hence he had not to revert to his former nomadic life. Thus the eternal question of resources began to trouble his mind from that time. When his resources in that particular locality was exhausted he migrated to richer soils. Gradually he learnt the technique of manuring and thus his migration stopped to some extent.

Today we have advanced far in the technique of land-utilization and we know better the requirement of soil in relation to a particular crop and thus can enrich the soil. We can get better yields today from the same land which was giving poor yield. But still we should consider that the population of the world has vastly increased through centuries. The present population of India is an increase of 13.4 per cent in a decade over the 1941 figure with almost a net increase of 12,000,000 yearly. The figures are staggering indeed because the country is vast. The present production of food is far below our requirement, and there are menacing natural calamities, such as famine and flood.

To get out of the tentacles of the octopus of food shortage and large increase in population a two-pronged drive is required. Let me draw up my scheme.

The immediate programme is a short-range one and we have already made some headway in this line. As an immediate necessity we are to increase the production of food through reclamation of waste land that is culturable and through cultivation of the fallow land. We are to increase production by increasing the yield per acre of the lands already under cultivation through better practices and by stopping the wastage of the food thus produced through plant protection and other measures.

The following is the classification of areas in India issued by the Economic and Statistical Advisor of the Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India:

Classification	*Average* 1936-37 & 1938-39	1945-46
	(*In thousand acres*)	
Area according to village papers	401,860	403,044
Area under forest	62,426	62,491
Area not available for cultivation	63,256	62,413
Other uncultivated land excluding current fallows	68,805	68,556
Fallow land	36,008	37,937
Net area sown	171,365	170,806
Irrigated area	35,395	9
Area sown more than once	26,781	

The figures may have altered a little due to the activities of the last half decade but still the data speak for themselves. We cannot, and no starving Nation can, afford to waste such resources untapped. Already every province has started to reclaim the waste lands and small Co-operative Farms are cropping up with young enthusiasts as workers and organisers. But the main handicap is man-power. There is shortage of agricultural labour, and the Indian cattle is almost useless and uneconomic in agricultural operations although it quickly multiplies itself and is competing with us in the consumption of the nation's food. The condition of the cattle population should have to be improved by breeding. Hence, what is wanted is partial mechanization of agriculture in our country and heavy tractors should be wholly devoted to reclamation work to save time. But unfortunately we do not manufacture them and are to depend solely on import. For this we need dollar and we must not waste it on luxury goods which today are eating away a large portion of it.

Land reclamation should be done in a pre-planned way with simultaneous settling of displaced persons who will be given the sole authority over the lands thus settled. 'Produce or perish' should be the motto and none of these displaced persons should be allowed to quit as this will break the morale of others.

Lands are in most cases kept fallow for shortage of labour and draught cattle, *i.e.*, bullock, inasmuch as all the operations, which mostly depend in our country on the vagaries of nature, become necessary in a specified time. This can be solved by partial mechanization which though difficult for individual cultivators may be done by co-operation. Even today our villagers are not co-operative-minded. There should be State-sponsored units of co-operative farms, etc., which will act as demonstration centres or rather eye-openers to the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. Our cultivators are conservative and always desire to remain within the snail's shell due to age-long sufferings but still they will drive onwards if definite impressions are created on them.

Though we solely depend on cereals as our main food, our production per acre, as is evident from the statistical table, is at the bottom of all other countries of the world. A comparative chart from the *International Year Book of Agricultural Statistics* (1947), Vol. I, as given below, shows the average yield per acre (in round numbers) of some of our most important crops and their highest yield obtained in other countries.

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Rice: India	1,100 lbs.	Australia	4,100 lbs.
Wheat: India	700 ,,	Denmark	2,900 ,,
Maize: India	800 ,,	New Zealand	2,800 ,,
Ground-nut: India	700 ,,	Mauritius	2,200 ,,
Sugarcane: India	14 tons	Jamaica	30 short tons
Potato: India	4 short tons	Ireland	9 short tons

The figures show where we are. That our cultivators sometimes lack initiative or rather incentive to grow more may be true, but we give them advice from our ivory towers. That they are not bad growers has been proved through the two important all-India crop competitions in rice and potato held sometime ago. As regards production of rice, Bengal certainly lags much behind Australia, but there has been an increase of more than 600 mds. in the production of potato in Bengal and in other provinces. If only a few prizes of a few hundred rupees can give so much incentive, then can we not take them into confidence through other amenities given to them? And here lies the defect in the policy hitherto pursued. We always want that the cultivator will produce enormous food for us so that none can starve. But never do we consider what in return we are giving to the toilers of the soil. What he produces is taken away to the last grain, but do we try to look to any of his comfort? The Kumarappa Report (*Report of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee*, 1949) gives the following as the income of agricultural labour in different regions in our country:

See Table (A) →

We do not want to compare it with any other foreign country as it will bring shame to us, not to the agricultural labour. It is difficult to imagine how with that small income they can manage their family, overburdened with too many children as they are. The children do not get milk or medicine and are left to the mercy of the gods. Even cruel accidents occur due to this poverty. A *P.T.I.* news from Shillong dated 27.7.51 states:

> "1,722 persons died in Assam by drowning in the last two years. Of them 951 were children and 285 women. This figure does not include the persons who lost their lives as a result of floods . . . Want of proper care and attention on the part of parents about little children while left at home during their busy hours outside is the primary cause of these sad incidents."

This is only a solitary example among many more such incidents.

Our food producers are toiling hard but the rising price indices are making it harder for them. Prof. Sridhar Misra of Kanyakubja College made sample surveys in U.P. about the rise in the rates of wages and rural cost of living enquiring of 60 families about their budgets on the basis of 26 essential commodities selected, the year 1939 being taken as the normal year. Instead of taking some of the details into consideration let me give the comparative summary.

Lag in Agricultural Wages and Prices

District	1939		1945		1948 (Jan.	
	Wages	Prices	Wages	Prices	Wages	Prices
Azamgarh	100	100	214	300	214	448
Gorakhpur	100	100	214	340.7	214	448
Unao	100	100	125	400	125	420
Meerut	100	100	212	425	..	..
Jhansi	100	100	215	335.3	..	..
Almora	100	100	360	318	..	..

And after 1948 the price index of the essential commodities has gone still higher up without any increase in the income of the agricultural labour. Moreover, an agricultural worker has always an unbalanced budget due to the unequal income earned by his wife and children. Let me quote Kumarappa again:

> "We do feel that the practice of the U.S.S.R. in making no distinction in respect of pay for men and women should be followed while fixing the rates of wages at least for some operations. The rates of wages for children should have reference to their essential needs, as members of a family. In the Soviet Union all employed youths over 18 receive the same wage as adults performing the same work in Agriculture while young workers are trained without any cost to themselves and receive pay while learning. This unique achievement of the U.S.S.R. should be a beacon-light to all countries fixing fair rates of wages for labourers agricultural as well as industrial."

Our system of land management is ancient and primitive. The weak bullocks have generally forced cultivators to depend on shallow ploughs which is a hindrance to good cultivation. In an attempt to force cultivators to grow green manure crops before growing sugarcane it was found that they prefer money for cow-dung, etc., to the free supply of the legume seeds. Green manuring is difficult because the shallow plough cannot quite invert the soil and properly cover the legume for rotting in the soil during the rains. Similarly soil operation before rains is difficult in dry regions as it becomes too hard for the weak bullocks and shallow ploughs.

From time immemorial we are cultivating the same soil without fertilizing the replenished earth. Our age-old neglect to mother earth is unparalleled. We broadcast the seed and want to harvest a good crop. We do not have proper rotation, growing the same crop in the same land year after year. nor do we grow any legume to plough down as green manure. The sources of other organic manures are absolutely limited. This led to the use of inorganic fertilizers in large quantities by the progressive nations of the world. The advocates of inorganic fertilizers are not blind and they do not want to replace the existing sources of organic manure. We advocate a well-balanced manurial schedule of both organic and inorganic manures taking into consideration the new sources and the soil climatological factors. The following comparative chart (taken from U.S.D.A. Misc. Pub. No. 593: Pre-war world production

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TABLE (A)

Daily cash and kind wages of Agricultural labourers in various Provinces.

Province	*Unspecified work*		*Ploughing*		*Sowing and Transplanting*		*Harvesting*		*Weeding*	
	Cash	Kind	Cash	Kind	Cash	Kind	Cash	Kind	Cash	Kind
Assam	No data available.									
West Bengal		Re. -/12/- plus 1 meal Rs. 2/- plus 1 meal plus tiffin.			1/8/- to 2/8/-		2/- to 2/8/- both one meal and tiffin.			
Bihar	-/12/-	3 seers food-grains (1½ to 2 seers paddy) plus ¼ to ½ seer sathu pailas paddy plus breakfast	-/8/- plus 2 meals 2¾ pucca srs. food-grains & 1 bigha land; 3 srs. food-grain & 10 of land.		-/12/- for men and -/8/- for women.			1 bundle for 16 bundles.		
Bombay	1/4/- to 1/8/-	1 meal, 2 tea, 5 srs. paddy (in lieu of 8 annas cash and 4 seers paddy, tea and morning tiffin*)								
C. P. and Berar	1/2/- to 1/4/- for men, -/12/- for women.									
Madras	1/- to 1/8/- for men, -/10/- for women.		2/- to 2/8/-				8 to 10 as. and 1 or 2 meals and even 2½ M.M. (Madras, Measure) and 2 meals 1½ seers cholam (men), as. 5 to 6 and 1 meal, 2½ M.M. (women) Inamdars measure at Mirasdars place.	5 M.M. paddy 2 M.M. with 1 meal; 4 M.M., 1½ M.M. paid by Mirasdars.		
Orissa	1/- to 1/8/- for men, annas 8 for women.	4 seers of paddy.					Nearly 3½ to 4 seers paddy.	Nearly 3½ to 4 seers paddy.		
U. P.	As.12.		Re. 1/-					1 bundle for 16 bundles of grain harvested (men), 1 bundle for 12 bundles of grain harvested (women).	-/8/- plus breakfast.	

* This applies to Halis also.

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consumption of plant food and fertilizers) on the use of chemical fertilizers by us in India and other countries speaks for itself.

Consumption of Nitrogen, Phosphorus and Potash together per acre of land

India	less than 1 lb.	France	33 lbs.
Netherlands	300 lbs.	Egypt	33 „
Belgium	159 „	Peru	28 „
Belo Luxemburg Economic Un.	150 „	Eire	28 „
New Zealand	125 „	Portugal	27 „
Germany	96 „	Italy	24 „
Japan	87 „	Australia	20 „
Switzerland	64 „	U.S.A.	9 „
U. K.	52 „	Un. of South Africa	8 „
Denmark	47 „	Canada	3 „

In our country the main sources of organic manures are yet to be tapped. Even now we are not utilizing the night-soil and other refuge in the municipal towns by composting though instead of costing anything it brings an extra revenue. Not only that, simple dumping brings dust and disease in the locality, it is a haven for feeding flies and other carriers, whereas composting keeps the locality clean. People have now started to appreciate sewage sludge of cities. They are also giving attention to the enemy of waterways, the byacinth, by utilizing its manurial properties by composting. Here at least the people and the Government are moving together in West Bengal.

The question of improved varieties and strains and the replacement of poor yielding varieties by them is drawing the attention of all thinking people. But there are only a few seed multiplication farms throughout the country and in the present context it will take decades to replace them. It is necessary that almost all the districts of all the provinces in India should have one general seed multiplication farm and its working should be supplemented by a chain of registered growers in widely scattered localities who will again multiply them.

Land utilisation which covers a wide domain should come to the forefront of all agricultural prospects. The checking of erosion of the soil created through ages, its proper utilization, flood control and maintenance of the equilibrium of the soil should get top priority. But this planning of agriculture should always be preceded by the preparation of a very good soil-map of the country, so that proper cropping schemes can be undertaken or suggested.

Last, but not the least important, is the fact that we are not giving proper attention to those particular non-cereals that give the maximum yield in the same unit of land. And this high yield is in no way low in food value compared to any other crop. The sudden increase in population due to industrialization and the high standard of living in the European countries led to their search for the high-yielding non-cereal food crop that can replace cereals from their main item of food and in this way potato made its headway and is now the staple food of many a nation. It will be observed from the following comparative table taken from Choudhuri ("Problem of Food Production—the Role of Potatos," *Bull. Bot. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. 4, No. 1, page 64) that potato as a non-cereal crop yields a very high amount of Carbohydrate and is the source of a much higher unit of calories than the two most important cereals, Rice and Wheat:

	Rice	Wheat	Potato
Estimated yield per acre (Maund)	10*	10†	100
Protein yield (Kilograms)	31	43	55
Carbohydrate yield (Kilogram)	284	258	882
Calories per acre (in thousands)	1280	1260	3850

The question of Tapioca may also be considered in this context.

Today plant-protection measures are drawing the attention of authorities and gradually we are having the co-operation of the cultivator to protect his crop from diseases and pests by dusting and spraying protective chemicals. Diseases and pests are eating away a large portion of the nation's food and in addition rodents are a menace to mankind and unless one is very serious it is almost impossible to control them.

We should now consider the question of our big population and its control through long-range practices. We know that in this vast sub-continent an increase of one per cent over the present means some millions and already we are overburdened with crores. It is true that we will have to exert all our energies immediately to augment the present production to stop all imports of food from foreign countries, but how can we ignore the vastness of our population? It is a gigantic problem and we will have to proceed step by step.

The increase in world population every fifty years during the period 1650–1950 shows that the growth has not been uniform and has tended to rise rather in geometrical progression. Also it has been found that in agrarian societies with the approach of industrialization there has been a rise in the standard of living along with the immediate lowering of death rate and the automatic rise in the population. Then came the next phase. With declining fertility came a further decline in mortality resulting in a stable population. Then the last phase—with mortality more or less constant, fertility has declined further, and there is a decline in population. Europe and America are passing through the last phase today.

In our country we will have to implement our promise of compulsory and free primary education to all. It is long overdue and the promise should be implemented at once. Education should be basic and practical making people conscious of the value of the land and its good management. Also they should be made conscious of themselves, and free themselves

* Slightly above the all-India figure but slightly below West Bengal average which is 12.17.

† Slightly below the all-India and West Bengal averages which are 109 mds. and 102.75 mds. respectively.

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from wrong exploitation. This will raise the standard of living at once with a tendency of a sudden rise in population. Here we will have to educate our countrymen, particularly those who have family and have attained maturity, to pass over the two phases of industrialization and come to the final phase through a policy of scientific population control. And this scientific population control or birth control may have some repercussions in our country a large section of whose people is conservative and not enlightened by education. Here is the need for a long-range policy of education in family or population control to keep the population in equilibrium with the production of food. A check is necessary so that the nation may not be starved.

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PANINIAN ANALYSIS OF ANCIENT INDIAN GEOGRAPHY

By ASOKE CHATTERJEE

Panini, by far the best Grammarian of the world, has shown, along with the display of a true grammarian-*cum*-scientific spirit, a tactful handling of various geographical data. His grammar being older than the two great epics of India should be seriously taken into consideration for the knowledge of ancient geography of India as the two great epics are often sought for.

He often speaks of the Eastern countries or *Prachyadesa* (*e.g.*, 2. iv. 66, 4. i. 160, 4. ii. 120, 4.ii.113, 4.ii.123, 4.ii.139, 8.iii.75, etc.). What he exactly means by that term is not known. Taking him to be an inhabitant of the Punjab or Kashmir, perhaps Benares and its surrounding territories is meant. Hence he purposely omits the name of Kasi, the greatest of the sixteen Mahajanapadas of India. The same darkness prevails regarding his use of the term *Udichya* (*e.g.*, 4.i.109, 4.i.157, etc.).

Some countries are mentioned indirectly by him. *Kacchagni Vaktra Varlottarapadat* (4.ii.126) speaks of Bhrigukaccha, etc. Another Sutra *Kopadhadan* (4.ii.162) also suggests the name of some countries which were known at the time of Panini. Moreover, although many of his Sutras do not throw light on the realm of geographical interest of the country, still the illustrations of these Sutras, given by Kasikakara and Bhattoji are much helpful in rediscovering India's ancient geography (*e.g.*, 2. iv. 6, 4. i. 171, 175, 4.ii.127, 2.iv.62, etc., the Sutra *Kastirajastunde nagare* 6.i.55 indicating a town having a small coastline, really proves nothing). But here we are concerned with Panini only not even with Katyayana or Patanjali, not to speak of Vamana Jayaditya or Bhattoji Diksita.

The predecessors of Pushyamitra were known to Panini as he mentions their names in one of his Sutras, *i.e.*, *Vikarnasungacchagaladvatsabharadvajatrisu* (4.i.117). If not the rulers of some territory of the North-western part of India, they at least were a powerful nation. In *Vikarnakushitakat Kasyape* (4.i.114) we find the name Vikarna. It is interesting to note that Bhasa in his *Dutavakyam* ascribes an elevated place to the Lord of Vikarna. (cf. *Aryyau Vaikarnavisvadevau*). Is there any connection between "Chagala" of this Sutra and the King Chagalaga of inscriptional fame? Chagala is also mentioned in 4.iii.109. Vatsa is one of the sixteen Mahajanapadas. Its capital as evinced from the Jatakas was Kausambi —modern Allahabad—4.ii.36 also speaks of its name. This Kausambi has no connection with Kausambi of Rajshahi district, mentioned in Sandhyakarnandi's *Ramacharita*. The Sutra, *Bhargattraigarte* (4.i.iii) directly speaks of Jalandhar district, *e.g.*, *Jalandharastraigarttah Syum* 4.ii.137 also indirectly suggests its name. It is of much interest to note that Sindhu and Sauvira are not mentioned together, although the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman mentions their names together, for the former is mentioned in 4.iii.93 and the latter in 4. i. 48. Although Vitabhaya as named by the Jaina is the capital of the two still it has been settled that west and east of the lower Indus are understood by these two respectively.

The Sutras from 4.i.169 to 4.i.178 excepting *Tetadraja* (4.i.174) and *Atascha* (4.i.177) deserve a special scrutiny, for the following names of the countries are mentioned by those, *e.g.*, Salvas, associated with the Matsyas, Gandharas, too well-known to be further identified. It was situated on both sides of the Indus. Kashmir also was included in it; Magadha (South Bihar), Kalinga (Orissa), Kosala—one of the four great kingdoms according to Dr. Roychoudhury. It was situated on the east of Gumti and west of Videha. Asmaka was situated on the banks of the Godavari. Its capital has been identified with Bodhan in the Nizam's district, by the scholars; Kamboja—one of the sixteen Mahajanapadas—is close to Gandhara, Avanti roughly corresponds to the Ujjain region, Bharga is a dependant of the Vatsas, Yaudheya is mentioned in the *Allahabad Prasasti* of Samudragupta, the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman and other inscriptions. According to the Puranas, it lies between the Bitasta and Sindhu. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar locates them between the Sutlej and the Jumna; Kuru, mentioned

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twice, is a famous Mahajanapada. Surasena, mentioned with Magadha and Kalinga in 4.i.170, has not been identified.

Kekaya of *Kekayamitrayupralayanam* (7.iii.2) is definitely identified with the western Punjab between Gandhara and Beas. *Kacchadivyascha* (4.ii.133) speaks of modern Cutch in the north of Kathiawad, the country of the Madra-s is mentioned in 4.ii.108 and 6.ii.91. It comprises the central part of the Punjab. 4.iii.93 speaks of Takshasila which is nothing but the modern Taxila.

So much is stated about the North-western part of India. The names of Usinara (2.iv.20, 4.ii.118) and Andhaka and Vrishni (4.i.114, 6.ii.34) produce evidence that the Madhyadesa was also known to Panini, for Usinara is the northernmost part of Mid-India and the two others are closely associated with *Dhruva Madhyamadis*. Dr. Roychoudhury's statement that they were defeated and pushed southwards and eastwards by the Kuru-Panchalas cannot be supported; the evidence of Sat. Br. is too meagre to be relied upon.

Thus, in conclusion, it can be safely remarked that the *Ashtadhyayi* of Panini even without considering the *Ganapatha* or others, is a great source of investigation for the ancient geography of India.

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SRI AUROVINDO'S PHILOSOPHY

A Review

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

A number of books on the philosophy of Sri Aurovindo have been published by the Calcutta University, Banaras Hindu University and by other publishers. Numerous articles on the subject have been appearing in the leading journals of India, Europe and America. While reviewing *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Sri Aurovindo** by Dr. S. K. Maitra, Head of the Department of Philosophy, Banaras Hindu University, let us try to understand the excellences and limitations of Sri Aurovindo's Philosophy.

According to Dr. Maitra, Sri Aurovindo is the most creative thinker in the Modern East.

> "He is a seer," observes Dr. Maitra, "with the same prophetic vision and the same explosive power of truth as the great sages of our land in the past such as Manu, Yajnavalkya or Vyasa. His place is by the side of these great seers, *Mantra-drastarah*."

The learned professor concludes his book under review with these words:

> "We may say that if the bridge of thoughts and sighs which spans the history of Aryan culture, as it has evolved so far, has its first arch in the Vedas it has its last in Sri Aurovindo's *The Life Divine*."

Sri Aurovindo's magnum opus *The Life Divine* is in the opinion of Sir Francis Younghusband the greatest philosophical religious work which has been produced in India for centuries. Sri D. S. Sarma compares this massive product of the present Hindu Renaissance with Dante's *Divina Comedia*, the Italian Epic. Besides the three volumes of *The Life Divine*, the two volumes of *Essays on the Gita* is another outstanding work of Sri Aurovindo. Excepting Tilak's *Gita Rahasya* no modern commentary on the Gita can stand comparison to it. In this voluminous work the sage of Pondichery explains at length the new Gospel of synthetic Yoga. Not only these two but also his *Bases of Yoga*, *Mother* and several other books have to be considered for a comprehensive and critical survey of his philosophy.

In order to fully fathom the depths of Sri Aurovindo's mind it is very necessary to peep into his educational, professorial, political and literary career. Sri Aurovindo was born in Calcutta in 1872 and passed away in 1950 in Pondichery. He was educated in London and Cambridge for fourteen years from the seventh to the twenty-first year of his life. While in England he became a scholar in Greek and Latin, and also learnt French, German and Italian and could read Dante and Goethe in the original. After his return from England he served for thirteen years from 1893 to 1906 in the Baroda State where he worked as a professor of English in the local college. It is there that he studied Bengali and Sanskrit. While in England he could not speak well even in his mother-tongue, but composed poems in English. In Baroda he happened to meet Sister Nivedita, the renowned English disciple of Swami Vivekananda. Sister Nivedita presented to him a copy of her Guru's *Raja-Yoga* which he read carefully. In order to study Indian thought in the original he began to learn Sanskrit there. Political activity of Sri Aurovindo lasted for four years from 1906 to 1910 A.D. During this period he started his literary career and edited three journals, *Bande Mataram*, *Karmayogin*, and *Dharma*. The last forty years of his life was spent in Pondichery where from 1914 to 1921 he started and published the *Arya* and wrote thought-provoking articles in it. His *Life Divine* and many other books, brought out later, appeared serially in this philosophical monthly. So

* Published by Banaras Hindu University. Second edition. Pages 112. Price Rs. 2-8.

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these fifteen years from 1910 to 1925 may be called the intellectual period of his life when he wrote his philosophy. In 1926 he attained Rishihood and since then remained buried in the silence of meditation for the last twenty-four years of his life. He is, therefore, more a seer, a prophet, a Rishi than a philosopher. Sir S. Radhakrishnan rightly calls him a scholar-mystic.

On account of foreign education the influence of European thought was so deep-rooted in his mind that his philosophy has become an amalgam of Western and Indian thought. This has not escaped the keen observation of his admirers and expounders. Dr. S. K. Maitra whose book is under review, rightly speaks out thus:

"When I say that Sri Aurovindo belongs to our Aryabhumi the last thing which I have in mind is to underrate the influence of European thought upon him. The influence is there, very clearly visible . . ."

In another place the same author says that Hegel perhaps comes nearer to Sri Aurovindo than any other philosopher either in the West or in the East.

Sri Aurovindo's originality consists in the powerful restatement or reinterpretation of the Indian thought in the light of the West. His greatness lies not in revealing new truths, as Prof. D. S. Sarma of Madras rightly observes in his *Renaissance of Hinduism* (p. 337), but in reinterpreting old truths according to the needs of the times and making them dynamic once again. Like Swami Vivekananda or Rabindranath Tagore or Mahatma Gandhi, Sri Aurovindo is a bold interpreter and exponent of Indian thought in this age. In 1918-19 when William Archer hurled his infamous attack on India and her culture in his book *India and the Future* Sri Aurovindo rose equal to the occasion and made a forceful protest in a series of very thoughtful articles. In those articles he pointed out some of the salient features of ancient Indian culture. He said therein that the Indian genius is characterized by an exhaustive many-sidedness and ingrained spirituality. In another place while appreciating the spirit of India he said that a national awakening is always preceded in this land by a religious renaissance. In the course of pointing out the dominant note of the Indian society he remarked that Rishi is the ideal man of the Indian society and attainment of Rishihood is the goal of Indian life. These are some of the excellences of Sri Aurovindo's profound thinking.

While expounding the philosophy of the Gita Sri Aurovindo establishes the doctrine of Purusottama, the Supreme Spirit. According to him, the Supreme Spirit is neither One nor the Many but the One in, through and beyond the Many. Thus, according to him, multiplicity is as real as unity. Here Sri Aurovindo differs widely from Sankara and evinces a strong Hegelian bias. It is regretted that he commits the grave error of saying that Sankara teaches illusionism. To call Sankara an illusionist is nothing but to misunderstand his philosophy. Even Sir S. Radhakrishnan, who is the distinguished author of the *History of Indian Philosophy*, has misunderstood Sankara and misinterpreted him while trying to explain his philosophy in the light of Western thought. It is very very difficult to clearly understand the standpoint of Sankara. Paul Deussen of Germany and Rene Guenon of France have made it quite clear in their masterly works on Vedanta. Unless one strips his mind of all Western influences and bathes in the crystal-clear water of the Vedic thought one can never grasp the true view-point of Sankaracharya, who alone of all Indian exponents holds the key to the soul of Vedic wisdom.

The most important concept in Sri Aurovindo's philosophy is that of super-mind. Borrowing a suggestive Vedic expression he gives the name of Rit-chit or Truth-consciousness or simply supermind to the divine power dormant in each soul. He says that when Supermind dawns one becomes a Superman and leads the Life Divine. Supermind in his view is the connecting link between the two hemispheres of Being and Becoming, of the Absolute and the Relative, of Knowledge and Ignorance. When the Supermind descends an individual becomes a gnostic being and then all beings would be to him his own selves and he would feel the presence of the Divine in each thought and action. Is not this conception of a Superman a modern restatement of the Vedic ideal of a *Jivanmukta*?

In the Gita the Wise One is called the *Sthitaprajna, Gunatita* or *Yogaruda*. Sri Aurovindo's description of a gnostic being or Superman is not at all different from that of a Brahmajnani given in the Gita. When Sri Aurovindo says that personality and impersonality, individuality and universality are quite compatible in the divine life he merely echoes the voice of the Gita and Upanishads.

When Sri Aurovindo dreams of forming a gnostic community on earth and producing a race of Supermen he voices the idea of a Christian millennium. The Christians dream of establishing the kingdom of God on earth. Is not all this a mere Utopia or moonshine? Let us conclude the short survey of Sri Aurovindo's philosophy by presenting the readers with what a Western has said about this. Mr. Vincent Sheean, an American visitor, met Sri Aurovindo in February, 1949 and wrote in the September issue of *Holiday* (Philadelphia, U.S.A.) an article entitled "Kings of the Yogis," in which he says "Immensely complicated. heaven-storming arrogance of Sri Aurovindo is understood by nobody but himself when he says that the Supreme can be brought down into human life and is now about to be brought down thus achieving an immensely forward step in evolution." For want of space we are unable to discuss other points in Sri Aurovindo's philosophy that are alien in character to the orthodox tradition of India.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE CHARKHA: *A collection of some of Gandhiji's speeches and writings on Khadi. Compiled by Shrikrishnadas Jaju. Sarvodaya Pracharalayam, Tirupur, Madras. Pp. viii + 112. Price fourteen annas.*

The compiler has brought together some of the more important sayings of Mahatma Gandhi relating to Khadi. Spinning is an ancient art in India. By itself, it can no more assure us freedom than any other mechanical device can. Gandhiji gave Khadi a new meaning, for his plan was to build up a new life in the villages of India which would be based upon self-sufficiency in regard to the basic needs of life. That life was to be free from exploitation and inequality, and where all built up a co-operative community life. Although the spinning wheel became popular through Gandhiji's personal influence at some periods in course of our national struggle yet the social content of his new emphasis on the revival of spinning was often lost sight of. Readers will, therefore, be thankful to the compiler for having once more called attention to these aspects of Gandhiji's thoughts on the subject.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES: THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITION: *By Mohinder Singh, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. 1947. Pp. xv+213+xl. Price Rs. 7-8.*

Caste and untouchability form two of the most urgent problems of India's social life. It is however unfortunate that although the Government of India has a Department of Anthropology and several of our Universities teach the subject up to the post-graduate standard, yet the scientific treatment of the subject has been left to untrained social reformers, and science has not been adequately utilized to prevent wastage of much well-intentioned effort.

We turned therefore with a great deal of expectation to the book under review; but have to confess that our hopes have not been wholly justified.

The author of this book on the 'Depressed Classes' has devoted as many as 137 out of 213 pages to a detailed consideration of the 'economic servitude' under which these classes labour in North India, ranging from the Punjab in the west to Bengal in the east. The disabilities described, or the economic information given by him relate, however, not merely to the depressed classes *as such*, but all other castemen also who are exploited by owners of land and of capital. It is well that he supplemented the information obtainable in official reports by personal field investigation but unfortunately, here again, the number of families studied is not given except in one case, and we are presented merely with percentages of different grades of income or of indebtedness, without being able to check up whether the sampling was adequate or not, and without again, being able to compare the figures for 'depressed' with that of poor 'higher castes'.

In regard to the customs, beliefs and cultures of the 'depressed classes,' the author has made use of much undigested, anthropological material with the result that the picture of the depressed classes, as such, has become obscured by being mixed up with the superstitions and ignorances of those who do not definitely belong to that class.

This is particularly unfortunate, because, the author is gifted both with human sympathy as well as the necessary, academic qualifications for undertaking such a study. Perhaps, he has been in a hurry in his crusade on behalf of the down-trodden; but such an attitude must not be allowed to vitiate the scientific rigour of social investigations.

It would perhaps have been much more fruitful if Dr. Singh had tried to find out if the depressed classes do actually form a separate ethnic group *now*, as they obviously did in the past; how their own, blind efforts at self-improvement have led to further fissions in the caste, without being able to weaken the roots of that system itself; what have been the quantitative results in sample areas or sample communities, and so on. A clear, objective presentation of the facts regarding untouchability, and of their sociological roots, determined by comparison with like economic groups belonging to higher social grades, would have helped us much more than the present study, even when it is inspired by the noblest of passions.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee has furnished a brilliant introduction, which we would recommend all social reformers and legislators to read. We can also say that they will materially profit from a reading of Dr. Singh's essay as well, because what he says holds true of the down-trodden in our country, whether Harijan or otherwise.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, Vol. II: *By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 408. Price Rs. 10.*

It is fortunate for the history-loving people of the world that they are getting the second revised edition of the first three volumes of the *magnum opus* of Sir Jadunath Sarkar—*The Fall of the Mughal Empire*—done by the savant himself. The fourth and the last volume is a recent publication, but this Vol. II first came out just seventeen years ago in 1934. The re-

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searches and discoveries of Sir Jadunath himself made it imperative that a revised up-to-date edition should be brought out. That has been achieved in the volume under review. Its uniform format with the new fourth volume and the revised other two volumes completes a lovely set. An authoritative book like this needs no praise from a reviewer. We are only indicating the additions made in this edition. They are: (1) the bibliography of the Panipat campaign has been recast and brought up to date, (2) the Durrani invasion of 1764-65 has been expanded from a short paragraph into a full section, (3) Shah Alam's exile in Allahabad has been newly described, (4) exact dates and details in the account of Jawahir Singh's last years, and (5) a description of the topography of the environs of Panipat with a map, to help visitors.

ASIATIC JONES: *By A. J. Arberry, Litt. D. Published for the British Council by Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd. Forty pages and ten illustrations of which one is a tri-colour portrait of the great savant Price not mentioned.*

The work of Sir William Jones, the pioneer of Indian studies, in making the real India known to the Western world, had been great and it was he who influenced Colebrooke, Wilson, Muir and a host of others to pursue Oriental studies, thus establishing a tie between the East and the West. He was in Bengal in the latter half of the 18th century. He was born in 1746 and this neat brochure has been published to commemorate the bicentenary of his birth. We must admit gratefully that that has been befittingly done. The book mainly deals with Sir William's Asiatic feeds and researches.

INDIA: *By Swami Vivekananda. Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Pp. 120. Price Re. 1-12.*

In this decently produced volume the publishers have placed before the public some of the writings of the great Swami on India. None was more competent to speak on the subject for he knew her hopes and aspirations, her joys and sorrows. His knowledge was first-hand. He also knew about the cultural heritage of India and the readers of this selection will also know it, such is the fervour and appeal of his writings. The reader will also admit what Sister Nivedita once said about her master—"The thought of India was to him like the air he breathed."

B. N. B.

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE: *By J. T. Parikh. The Popular Book Store, Bombay. 1949. Pp. 255. Price Rs. 3.*

This little monograph has been prepared by the author as a text-book for the first year classes in the Bombay and Poona Universities. Of its ten chapters, the first two are more or less of an introductory character, the third deals with the pre-historic period, the fourth and the fifth (constituting its longest portion) with the Vedic period, the sixth and the seventh with the rise of Magadha culminating in the Mauryan empire, the eighth with the period intervening between the Mauryas and the Guptas, the ninth with the Gupta Golden Age and the tenth and last with the post-Gupta period down to c. 1000 A.D. This short survey of its contents is enough to show how it suffers from a want of proportion, too much space being given to the pre-historic and Vedic periods at the expense of the later times. In his introductory chapters the author gives good descriptions of the distinctive features of our culture (p. 3 *f.*), the physical characteristics of our land (p. 6 *f.*) and the racial composition of our people (p. 9 *f.*). Again, his accounts of the pre-historic Indus Civilisation (p. 14 *f.*) as well as the civilisation of the Vedic Aryans (p. 34 *f.*) are sufficiently full and accurate. On the other hand, some of the author's statements are open to criticism, as when he speaks of Chandragupta Maurya's conflict with Seleucus towards the end of his reign and the subsequent treaty of his marriage with the latter's daughter (pp. 174-5), or of Asoka's sending missionaries to Tibet (p. 177), or of the independence of the "Bhoja Kingdom of Berar" following Asoka's death (p. 199), or of Hindu colonisation of Burma, Malay, etc., during the period from 600-1000 A.D. (pp. 250-51). The translation of Rajukas as "law-surveyors" (p. 182) is strange. So also is the description of the period from 200 B.C. to 250 A.D. as marking "the beginnings of Hindu power" (p. 198). The author's judgment that "Hindu imperial power disappeared" after Harsha's death and that "there was absolutely no political peace" between Harsha's accession and Sultan Mahmud's occupation of Kanauj (pp. 250-51) errs grievously on the side of exaggeration. The rendering of Sanskrit *anarya* as an-Aryan (pp. 36-7, 66, etc.) is inaccurate and unnecessary.

U. N. GHOSHAL

GROUP PREJUDICES IN INDIA: A SYMPOSIUM: *Edited by Sir Manilal B. Nanavati and C. N. Vakil. Published by Vora and Co., Bombay. 1951. Pp. 223. Price 16s. 6d.*

The title of this book led the reviewer to think that it probably consisted of the findings of the various projects for sociological research which have recently sprung up throughout the country. But she was soon disappointed. A book with such a title may be one of two things. Either it may be the study of specific problems relating particular facts, or it may be the presentation of general theoretical discussions based on such facts. But this book does not seem to have either of these characteristics.

Besides the introductory material by the editors, twenty-nine different articles are presented in the book by thirty-one writers, (two being joint authors). Each article is written independently and separately without any seeming plans of co-ordination between the writers. Besides, as they do not come to any discussion with one another, and as there is no semblance of continuity from one chapter to the next the reviewer fails to see the basis of calling the book a "symposium."

The book is encyclopaedic in its outline in presenting six sections with titles, such as "culture and prejudices," "religions and prejudices," "social prejudices," "politics and prejudices," "minorities and prejudices," and "miscellaneous." The majority of the articles seem to present the view that there ought not to be any prejudices towards members of various groups in the Indian communities, and then each presents its own solutions for obliterating such prejudices. The views presented are usually supported by common observations and beliefs and historical knowledge. These elements are indeed important in social studies, but mere minglings of historical facts and common knowledge do not produce scientific social research.

The reviewer, therefore, wonders about the purpose of this book. In not presenting a scientific viewpoint or new facts the book can hardly expect to gain the attention of social scientists. And even the layman will find many of the articles repetitious, and the mode

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of presentation of some of the articles, as those on the caste system, as rather archaic. Moreover, the majority of the articles are not documented, and so a serious student will not be able to use this book for references to other works.

JYOTIRMOYEE SARMA

THE MAKING OF MODERN HOLLAND: *By A. J. Barnouw. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 8s. 6d. net.*

The Netherlands emerged as a distinct political entity with the Dutch revolt against Philip II of Spain in 1581. The Act of Abjuration passed by the Dutch in that year was the first spasm of a revolutionary tremor destined to revolutionise the body politic of Europe. The Union of Utrecht (1579) completed the process of gradual contraction of the Low Countries by drawing a line of demarcation between Belgium and the modern Netherlands, which has been known as Holland from the days of the Bonapartist regime in the late 18th century.

Mr. Barnouw gives a bird's-eye view of the history of Holland from the beginning of the Christian era down to the modern times. He faithfully records the succession of changes—evolutionary and revolutionary—that turned the Dutch people, once enslaved by the Vikings into a free, prosperous and self-confident nation.

The volume under review, meant primarily for beginners, may be read profitably by the advanced students of Dutch history as well.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

UNTIL BENGAL (Poems in War): *By Harry Milner. Introduction by John Gawsworth.*

FIFTY MODERN POEMS: *By forty famous Poets.*

Both published by Sushil Gupta, 1, Wellesley Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3 each.

The British Royal Air Force, which was stationed in India, for waging war in Burma and the Far East had some members in it who were poets of considerable merit. Of them were Harry Milner and John Gawsworth. By publishing some of the works of these poets and writers Sushil Gupta, an Indian publisher, has surely won some distinction among his fellow-traders in India. Many of the poems of *Until Bengal* concern India and Ceylon as seen and understood by a foreigner. About Bengal, the poet sings:

"O freed from red Delhi, so spaced and so clean,
Let me swim in Bengal's haze of virulent green."

The words "virulent green" are so much expressive of Bengal's sweetness and strength, harmoniously balanced.

From Tennyson down to 1936, the best specimens of English verse during that period were collected by W. B. Yeats, that Irish poet of renown whose name we adore because it was he who could first appreciate the greatness of Poet Rabindranath. The collection by Yeats is entitled *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse.* In 1938, John Gawsworth prepared his *Fifty Years of Modern Verse,* with 230 poems representing 110 poets.

Fifty Modern Poems is an abridgement of the *Fifty Years of Modern Verse.* The publisher's intention lies in "giving pleasure to those readers in India who have been dissatisfied with the one face of the Janus-head of British poetry." Among the poets who have found place in the collection have been Havelock Ellis, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, Arthur Symons, Lascelles Abercrombie, John Drinkwater, Siegfried Sassoon and others who have already been known to us for writings other than poetry. So, *Fifty Modern Poems* is an interesting publication from this aspect alone.

SANTOSH KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE ROLE OF FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIAN ECONOMY AND ITS FUTURE: *By Prof. K. C. Bhandari. Published by Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Hospital Road, Agra. Pages 133. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The author discusses the subject-matter of this book in eight chapters and the three different stages in the history of the foreign capital are described as "Merchant Capital" (1600—1850), "Industrial Capital" (1850—1914) and "Finance and Loan Capital" (1914 onwards). Various estimates of the foreign capital invested in India made from time to time by distinguished authorities are discussed and examined and the author is of opinion that £500 millions is the correct figure of foreign capital invested in India as at 31st December, 1947. A chapter has been devoted to so-called "India" Companies which have foreign share-holders—these being Indian counterparts of English Companies operating in other parts of the world. The Government of the Indian Republic have announced in no uncertain terms that the investment of foreign capital in industries in India is welcome in the interest of the country's economic advancement. They have further declared that within the next ten years there shall be no programme of nationalisation to affect the activities of capitalistic undertakings. In spite of this the investment of American capital is negligible although the investment of British capital is not so disappointing. The reason is that U.S.A. has ample opportunities to invest its own capital within its own borders and the British surplus is not so large as it was before the war. Independent India can with safety import foreign capital without any fear of foreign political domination provided such investments are economically sound. The author has a word of 'caution' for such capital import.

A. B. DUTTA

INVESTIGATION OFFICER'S POCKET MUFASIL LAW GUIDE: *By D. Das, I.P.S., Cuttack. Pp. 288. Price Rs. 4.*

The investigating police officer in the muffasil often commits error of judgment due to his ignorance of law. For ready reference he can not carry all the bare Acts even; for him the relevant extracts, with short notes from different Acts, selected by the author himself an experienced police officer, will be found to be extremely useful.

J. M. DATTA

STANDARD ESSAYS: *By Prof. N. M. Kulkarni, M.A. Published by Students' Friends, Allahabad and Banaras. Pp. 507. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The book is intended for college students of Arts, Science, Agriculture and Commerce in the Indian Universities and for candidates for all competitive examinations in India. The number of essays are nearly 200 and the subjects selected for the essays are varied and miscellaneous, and deal with all the important current topics of our country and the world which every modern student ought to know. In the beginning of each essay are set forth outlines of ideas on the subject to be discussed upon. The essays are brief, but they are suggestive and written in a lucid style, which will serve as good models to be expanded upon by students with their own ideas and expressions. The writer deserves thanks for bringing out this excellent help-book for college students.

B. K. SEAL

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SANSKRIT

RATNADIPIKA AND RATNASASTRAM: *Edited with Introduction by Sri P. S. Rama Sastri, Professor, Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore. Madras Government Oriental Series, No. LXXVIII. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Price Rs. 2-4.*

We have reference in different places to a good many authors and works on *Ratna-sastra* or literature dealing with jewels. But unfortunately quite a small and insignificant portion of this literature has so far been published. An idea of the subject may be formed from two Bengali works, *e.g., Ratna-rahasya* by Ramkamal Sen (Calcutta 1884) and *Ratna-pariksha* by Jogesh Chandra Roy (Calcutta, 1904). The *Ratna-pariksha* in Sanskrit, attributed to Agastya, is published in the former under the title *Agastimata.* In the volume under review we have editions of two works by Chandeswara and Buddhabhatta based on two solitary manuscripts found in the Madras Oriental Library. The learned editor has made laudable attempts to correct the defects met with in the manuscripts by suggesting emendations which, however, are not always appropriate and free from doubts. And there still remain many cases where it was not possible to suggest any emendation. It is to be regretted that no other manuscript was available for collation. It has been pointed out that attempts to secure manuscripts belonging to the Venkateswar Institute proved unsuccessful. It is not known if enquiries were made in other quarters, especially in the big manuscript libraries of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona where manuscripts of the *Ratnadipika* are known to exist.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

GITAY SWARAJ: *By Sri Trailakyanath Chakravarty. Published by Sri Gauranga Press, 5 Chintamani Das Lane, Calcutta 9. Second edition. Pp. 279. Price Re. 3.*

The author is well-known for his extraordinary incarceration in the Indian Struggle for political freedom. He suffered and rot in the British Indian gaols for a very long period of thirty years. The pathetic story of his prolonged imprisonment has been recorded by him in an interesting Bengali book. He was suspected of a conspiracy to wage war against the British Government and banished to the Andamans for a full decade. Thence he was brought to the Alipore Jail at Calcutta where he managed to write this translation and annotation of the Gita.

The book under review contains the Sanskrit text of the whole Gita with literal renderings and simple explanations. Though no traditional commentary is followed yet the explanations are up-to-date and constructive. The Gita is such a wonderful scripture that it supplied necessary inspiration to the revolutionaries of Bengal to die for the country's freedom. Now that we are politically free it is high time for us to establish Swaraj on the stable foundation of the Gita. The author is constrained to observe that cowardice, immorality, indiscipline, dishonesty and the like that run riot in the country as the result of long foreign rule can never be uprooted from the society unless the Gita-ideal is lived collectively. As the author rightly wishes, if the Indian Swaraj is built

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upon the Gita it is sure to develop many unique features that would be imitable to other free nations.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

HINDI

(1) BAPU KI JHANKIAN: *By Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar. Pp. 123. Price Re. 1.*

(2) BAPU—MERI MAN: *By Manubehn Gandhi. Pp. 55. Price ten annas.*

(3) HAMARI BA: *By Vanmala Parekh and Sushila Nayyar. Second edition. Pp. 228. Price Rs. 2,*

All published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

Kaka Kalelkar, the renowned *ranconteur* and *litterateur*, has given varied glimpses of Gandhiji's mental myriadsidedness in his *Bapu Ki Jhankian*. They are authentic ancedotes recorded by the author with all the precision and pungency, delightfulness and descriptiveness of his style. The book is informative, interpretative and instructive: as such, it brings out Gandhiji's idealism, practicality and humanity more richly and revealingly than a dozen "essays" in the study of his character by library-dominated scholars.

Bapu—Meri Man is a collection of extracts from the private journal in Gujarati of Manubehn Gandhi who was one of Gandhiji's constant companions towards the end of his life, translated into Hindi carefully and correctly by Kurangibehn Desai. These extracts, covering the period of his Noakhali pilgrimage, "show up" Gandhiji in the role of a tender-hearted mother to the young, to the suffering and to the sorrowful, though at times his love looked like a menacing mentor, too!

Hamari Ba is a fascinating study of the life of Kasturba, that loyal and loving life-long partner of Gandhiji in his experiments with the love of truth and the truth of love. Indeed, Kasturba's soul had the hidden musk of the truly, and yet terribly meek. The translator Shri Kashinath Trivedi has preserved successfully the simplicity, spontaneity and sincerity of the Gujarati original.

G. M.

GUJARATI

KABIR SAHIBNUN BIJAK (Second Edition): *By Manilal Tulsidas Mehta. Published by the Swayamved Office, Baroda. 1948. Thick Card-board. Pp. 544 + 12. Price Rs. 10.*

Beejak, an account book, is Kabir Sahib's well-known work in Hindi setting out his philosophy, where he has discounted on the differences of various creeds and beliefs, described the real significance of Jiva, and commented on the Religion of Truth. Its translation into Gujarati with explanatory notes has proved so popular that a second edition has been called for. The original Hindi text as well as the text of the Guru Mahsina is also printed for the convenience of the reader.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Plight of the Writer Today

George Godwin writes in *The Aryan Path*:

When economic processes militate against cultural activities, the loss to the community is inevitably real though unmeasured and unfelt save by those adversely affected. This is the situation in which the writer finds himself today, for since the war the material end of his business has undergone radical economic changes and these have all been to his disadvantage.

In the first place the cost af manufacturing books has gone up steeply. Then the wages in the printing trade have advanced. Lastly, paper, now costing four times its pre-war cost, is in short supply. A large proportion of writers who could anticipate publication of their work with some degree of assurance know today that, unless a publisher's readers and other experts in such matters assure him that a proffered manuscript is probably sure of a sale of 10,000 copies, their work will be returned with regrets.

Since writers who aspire to live by the production of original work must live from the royalties of their books, many now find themselves driven from their chosen craft in order to secure enough money to pay their way.

Economic factors are exerting a breaking effect upon cultural activities, and the flow of creative literature is being dammed at its source.

I recently offered a full-length manuscript, an odd story, admittedly, since its central theme was Plato's theory of reincarnaiton, to Mr. Victor Gollancz. In reply came a charming personal letter to the effect that he found the book very much to his liking—the actual word was "delightful"—but that he could not see a sale of more than 2,000 copies, which would not be economic.

Stories like that may be heard wherever writers today discuss the economics of their craft. Yet—and here is the curious anomaly—while the publishers are pleading these increased costs as defence for (*a*) proposals to cut down royalties and (*b*) increasing the price of books, leading firms are making greater profits than ever before. The price of paper has increased fourfold since 1938. Printing costs are more than treble, and all overhead costs have correspondingly increased.

No increment falls to the writer, however. He faces increased cost of living, increased cost of secretarial assistance. A good secretary was within the reach of a moderately busy writer before the war. She asked 3 to 4 guineas a week. Today, a girl with like qualifications can demand seven guineas. The paper upon which the writer writes may appear as a trifling overhead in his trade. Before the war it was. I could obtain buy quarto at under 3s. a ream. Today, it costs close to 18s.

Let me give an example of the sort of financial return a writer may anticipate today for the labour of writing a non-fiction, 80,000-word book. Three years ago I signed a contract for a book of that length upon the subject of religious revivalism. I delivered my MS. wi hin a year. Nine months later, after several applications, I was paid £50 as advance on royalties. Nearly three years after writing the book I have the manufactured article in my hand. From the American edition of 2,000 copies my share on a percentage basis is £28-10-0. But that is not paid to me, since the sales of the English edition are said not to have earned the £50 advance!

The writing of a book of that kind involves two separate labours. First, preparation of the material—the reading and note-making; next, the compilation of the actual book—a heavy task, since the typing of 80,000 words in itself is real work.

Now contrast that with what the writer may expect when he turns to the periodical market. For a 3,000-word article in the lately defunct *Strand Magazine* I was paid by its liberal and kindly editor the sum of fifty guineas—and that for the first British serial rights only.

The periodical press in Britain has advanced its rates well since the war. Why, then, cannot the writer of books turn to this lucrative market to supplement the dearth on the book side of his activities? The answer is simple. The continued shortage of newsprint has so limited the periodical press and the daily press that the space available for the outside contributor is exceedingly limited. But newspaper proprietors, and the proprietors of weekly and monthly magazines, faced as they are with increased costs, are contriving to make increased profits. (This may have something to do with the ratio between the number of pages and the advertising rates. I do not know).

It is apparent that the only worker who is suffering economically is he without whose labour none of the others could exist. For it is incontestable that, no authors, no books, and no books, no publishers.

In this brief paper I do not attempt to indicate the causes which have brought about this sorry state of affairs for the writing man; nor do I offer any solution for it. I merely attempt to set forth the facts as they touch myself and hundreds of other writers who are not best sellers, but merely men sufficiently competent to live by the pen.

One positive proposal has recently been put forward by a writer, John Brophy. He suggests that the writer might be given a fairer financial deal if those who read his books paid for that privilege. His is no crack-pot scheme for state subsidies, but a matter-of-fact businesslike proposal that a person who reads an author's book should pay for it.

Let me contrast for a moment the sharp distinction between the monetary rewards of the composer

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of music and the writer of books. When a composer publishes his work he receives a royalty on every copy of sheet music sold to the public. So far the composer fares on terms of financial equality with the writer, deriving his revenue from the sale of his sheet music as the author from his printed book.

But after that the comparison ends. The composer has a further source of profit, namely, from the public performance of his work. This comes to him generally through the Performing Right Society, which efficient organization collects, in units of one-tenth of a penny, a further fee for the public performance of musical compositions.

Nobody can enjoy the public performance of music by living composers without such payment, whether the performance be by radio, a great orchestra or simple village-hall amateurs. The question that is now being asked is this: Can some analogous scheme be devised to increase the meagre returns of authorship? Mr. John Brophy, himself a successful author, in a lucid article in *The Author*, the organ of the Society of Authors, considers that it can.

In so brief a paper there is no space to set out Mr. Brophy's scheme in detail, but I will quote one paragraph from him:

"Commercial libraries are maintained by period subscriptions paid in advance, and public libraries are subsidized out of the rates—it is a misleading euphemism to call them 'free' libraries. The scheme I am putting forward would in no way alter either of these methods of defraying the cost of stocking and running libraries. The innovation would consist of a borrowing fee to be paid by the reader each time a volume is 'taken out.' The fee I suggest is one penny, and, after certain deductions, it would go wholly to the author of that volume."

As a class, writers are not particularly articulate about the economics of their work, and only within living memory have they possessed any sort of organization to afford mutual protection—the Society of Authors.

Today there are, in Great Britain, at least, many authors of established reputation who are living on the border line of want.

This is particularly true of present-day poets. It may be that the periods when a man might hope to live by poetry occur infrequently in history, and that in no period has the lot of the poet been financially rose-strewn. Today, it is certain that barring one or two men who have become fashionable, as Roger Montgomery became fashionable in the Victorian era, poets are under the necessity of turning to some secondary occupation in order to live.

One of the saddest commentaries upon our present civilization is the contemptibly mean allocation in the Civil List for pensions for men of outstanding literary talent who are unable to live by their work. The most a man may hope for, after the humiliation of making application for financial help to a state department, is a starvation pension seldom above £150 a year and more often less than £100.

The great public, knowing of authors only by their reputations, has, and can have, no idea of the economics of literature as a profession. It is true that there are writers with names known throughout the Western world who are barely above the economic level of penury. Surely, it is obvious that if the production of scholarly works and of works of literary merit is halted by adverse economic burdens, the flow of ideas and the dissenmination of thought throughout the world must be thereby impeded? A civilization that penalizes the creative elements in its people must decline and must face the danger of eventual eclipse.

Today, in Britain, the decline in standards of taste are everywhere notable, and it is significant that the slick journalist, producing worthless ephemera, can live at the economic level of the manufacturer of chocolate or the maker of munitions while scholars such as the late Sir James Frazer suffered want, and living poets, such as Herbert Palmer—to name but one—feel the inexorable pressure of business economics.

In this brief and fugitive paper I have made no personal contribution to the problem for the sufficient reason that I have none to offer. But such as I see them, and as I experience them myself, I have stated facts that are no longer in dispute. Times may be hard for the manufacturer of paper, for the publisher, for the bookseller, for the printer. But one thing is incontestable, they are hard for that seldom-considered creature, the author, upon whom paper-maker, publisher, bookseller and printer depend for their existence. Nor are there anywhere signs that conditions are likely to improve in the future. On the contrary, the craft of authorship faces a future that the writer may well approach with deep apprehension for his survival.

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Abanindranath Tagore's Art

Interview with D. P. Roy Chowdhury

The following report is taken from the *Andhra Patrika* :

I have come to see you on behalf of *Andhra Patrika* to know something about the late Dr. Tagore, the great artist. Could you throw some more light on his life and the masterpieces he created than what have already appeared in the local dailies? Of course, "I can," came the ready answer from Sri. D. P. Roy Chowdhury, Principal, School of Arts and Crafts, Madras. He continued saying:

I have been amused to read certain qualities of pictures painted by Sri Abanindra. The matter appeared in the leader of one of the leading dailies of our country. The qualities that have been dumped on the creations of the master-thinker, were confirmed as having the influence of the Japanese and Chinese Art. It is indeed a revelation. Leave alone his pupils, I do not think Tagore himself was aware of the existence of such an influence as has been referred to in the leader. The captions of the masterpieces were also announced probably with an idea to substantiate the contention. However, the fact is that there was no trace visible of Chinese or Japanese pattern, technique or the method of filling up of the space in Tagore's works. The last point concerns a vital characteristic of Chinese or Japanese school of painting, since they often use vacant space, names and description of the pictures as essential parts of the composition.

For information's sake, I would like to point out that all the assets that he had from the Japanese or Chinese were a few brushes in flat and round which were used only to give wash to soften the gradation of tone or hand lines. Merely using Japanese or Chinese brushes which are nothing else but tools, does not mean that the influence of the specific pattern or technique had come to stay on his works. The statement that appeared in the leader is not only wrong, but also an unkind reflection on a great master who lived to create and made a gift of the same to cultural cause, any civilised nation could be proud of. He was too great to borrow in the manner as he had been presented. It is a pity that such ignorance should flourish as authentic statement of facts. Let us hope for the peace of the great soul that the public will not take the appreciation very seriously even though the false statement found a place of honour in a distinguished daily.

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Proceeding on this point of influence, I may be permitted to say that if there were any, it was that of the West, the science of which was utilised in the composition for filling up of the space. Whereas, the forms that built up the pictorial theme were visualised in his dreamland where no one had any access excepting the creative mind of the artist. Slight hints of the pattern motives of the Moghul school and occasionally Rajput as well were present in the arrangement of drapery, but this little adaptation could not go further to encroach into his sphere of imagination where his individuality ruled. His colour harmony is a thing which will baffle any master artist of the West practising decorative art. The achievement of Sri. Abanindra has gone beyond the scope of a scientific analysis and assumed a stature that demands Bhakti.

Question: What was your relationship with him, I mean was he very much attached to you as a man?

Answer: I do not think such personal questions will be helpful for the purpose you have come. However, I can tell our relationship was that of Guru and Shishya. It was distinct from what is expected from a strong disciplinarian head of a modern academic institution where students are manufactured in mechanical manner to meet the needs of mass education. Our relationship had human touch, we felt for each other. I may say in this connection that higher forms of art can hardly reach the masses. It is approachable only by a few, though no pains were spared to contact the masses in our country or in the West. In support of this contention I can cite instances of the methods applied in our country as well as in the West.

In our country the masses contacted the beautiful creations with entirely a different angle of vision and that was Bhakthi, call it faith, if it suited better, since most of the works were derived from religious motifs. In the West though a very large number of citizens visit art galleries, yet the approach does not necessarily mean that the initiative was directed by a real understanding. I would rather go to the extent to say that majority of people visit such institutions merely to satisfy curiosity or to have the benefit of a social gathering in a ceremonial function of the institutions. However, there is no denying that the people of the West are more art-conscious than what we are. I do not wish to go into details in this respect for the present.

Question: What do you think is his best work?

Answer: It is a very embarrassing question, as all his successful works have different values of their own.

Question: Then, why certain pictures are picked up as special?

Answer: The choice in the circumstances depends entirely on temperamental issues of the observer but a critic has no business to be led away by sentiment or any other reason associated with personal interest excepting getting into the bottom of the intrinsic values that helped to make a good picture. This means a highly developed knowledge in comparative studies of different techniques practised by masters.

Question: What are the points of a good picture?

Answer: I appreciate your inquisitiveness, but I feel the question is irrelevant at the present moment when you are concerned with a particular person's work. You ought to know that every artist has a different approach towards the subject and also there are different methods of interpretation. In the circumstances if I were to satisfy you, I shall have to

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swerve to a different topic, which I suppose is not your objective.

At this moment there was a pause and I found Sri Chowdhury's mind was distracted from the interest I had created. I felt from his sorrowful mood that it would be better that I left him alone, because I had been told that the relationship between Abanindra and Deviprosad was tied under the bondage of affection. The affection was too deep to be disturbed by an inquisitive reporter like me.

Individual or State ?

Mankumar Sen writes in *Vigil* :

With the progress of science and scientific political organizations, State has come more and more to the forefront, and individual has receded more and more to the background, so that in Modern States, including the democratic ones, individual has practically no place except as a cog to a vast machinery. Today to talk in terms of the individual is condemned as a corrupt thinking and glorification of the State is hailed as unadulterated patriotism. The result is that even Democracies have turned into lifeless machines and ideals of human life have increasingly disappeared from the society. Individuals or groups of individuals —the idealists, poets, prophets, philosophers, reformers and thinkers—built up human civilization and political, economic and social organizations; but today a mechanised monstrosity is engaged in the all-round destruction of the individual.

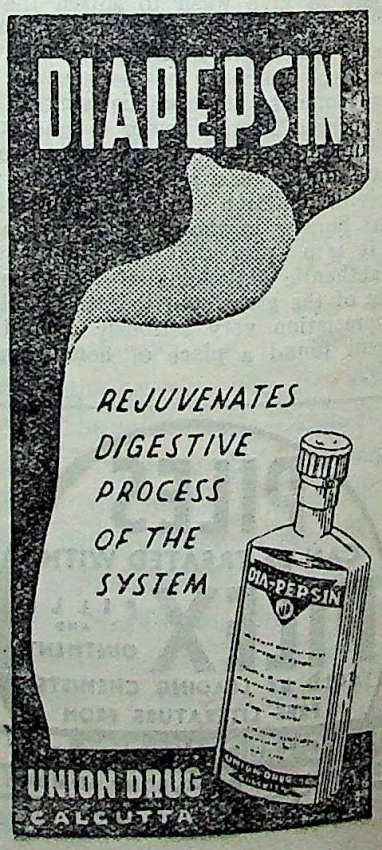
The history of civilization is nothing if it is not a chronicle of human struggle for freedom.

This basic impulse for freedom inspired human beings to conquer the wild forces of Nature, rigid social customs and the realm of diehard primitive ideals. In fact, political philosophy started from the basic truth that individual is prior to society, to State; that freedom for which individuals struggled can be enjoyed only by individuals as individuals and that the extent of freedom in a State can be measured only in terms of the real freedom enjoyed by individual constituents of the society and of the State. It was believed that once full freedom is assured to the individuals, it flowers into a dynamic spirit guiding the collective strength which we call State.

Unfortunately for human civilization, this basic principle of history has been assiduously ignored in Modern States, particularly since the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century. Revolutionary changes in economic organization, in the mode of production and distribution as a result of the scientific inventions, naturally wrought havoc on the manners and outlook of the people. Old shackles of economic slavery were wellnigh completely broken only to make way for new shackles of moral wreckage. Decentralized societies and administrations rapidly broke down and capital having been concentrated in the hands of a few, a superior class emerged with special rights and privileges of economic and political mastery. Ere long this class broke in the holy arena of culture too. An all-round internal disintegration set in with rapid centralization of economic and political power. Individual beings that made and maintained the society and the country almost disappeared from the scene and the new men of wealth with the large machines in their possession enslaved the entire nation of individuals. Thus was born what we call Capitalism today.

Democratic principles were sharply narrowed down under the new centralized system and again that dormant force of freedom-impulse began to manifest itself among the down trodden people, the factory labour in particular.

And the Marxian doctrine which more or less was a revolt against this system was propounded duly. Marx held that all that the individuals could do was to recognise the necessity and inevitability of the violent revolution, pre-determined by the march of human history. By this violent revolution he wanted to replace the capitalist order by a new social order built upon equal rights and opportunities. And his contemplation of the gradual withering away of the State is probably proof of his urge for individual freedom. Unfortunately, however, the land of Marx, the Modern Soviet Russia, has failed to achieve this ideal so far. It has not been naturally enough able to set at rest all doubts as to the prevalence in Russia of freedom of speech and expression. Even allowing a wide margin in view of the present world situation there is still a lingering doubt in us whether the Soviet State is not bureaucratic. On the other hand, we found totalitarian States, based on rigid national and race-hatred as was evident in Hitlerite Germany. Here too individualism was unceremoniously crushed out of existence under the fanaticism of 'National' or 'Racial' superiority. Thus we see that political thought has proceeded from one fallacious doctrine to another and has failed to reconcile the freedom of the individual with the social, economic and political organizations. Modern Democracies too, founded as they are on centralized economic and political power and not on



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free individuals' developed conscience and co-operative efforts, are not immune from this wasteful fallacy.

Here then, we find the emergence of a new doctrine of humanism based on completest individual freedom.

Gandhiji said: "The individual is the one supreme consideration. I look upon an increase of the power of the State with the greatest fear, because, although it apparently does good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress." Unlike the determinists and the reformers who based their doctrines on the inexorable course of history, Gandhiji believed in the fundamentals of moral law; believed that "as the individual's character can be moulded so can society's by some kind of social engineering." "A small body of determined spirits fired by an unquenchable faith in their mission can alter the course of history"—this was his conviction and, we all know, his own life is symbolic of this conviction. Gandhiji's principle of decentralization, both political and economic, based on self-sufficient village units administered by village republics, will be the only panacea in the present circumstances. The agonies of the modern world have proved beyond doubt that the concentrated might of a party or class or of the State or the devolution of power as recommended by the National Planning Commission of India cannot safeguard individual freedom and afford opportunities for the unfolding of the individual genius. Communism in Russia has no doubt bettered the lot of the people economically and socially. But what about the abridgement of personal freedom? Individual freedom and *ipso facto* the freedom of the society and the State can securely rest only on an evolution of Democracy from the lowest level—the autonomous village unit, as conceived by Gandhiji.

Sleep

Prof. Nirod Mukerji writes in *Science and Culture*:

Functions

Warren has described sleep as "a special state of the organism, due to certain as yet undetermined physiological conditions, which is characterised by relative immotility and failure of effective response to external stimuli and (generally) by absence of observable signs of consciousness." The most significant qualification of this definition is the undetermined character of which Warren has cautioned. Truly, many more observations have yet to be made before a precise conclusion could be arrived at with regard to the analysis of the exact nature of sleep. Extreme individual variations in the every aspect of sleep hinder us from definite generalizations.

From biological points of view, the broad characteristic features of sleep are, the reduction of metabolic rate, comparative physical immotility (though a sleeper moves on the average once every 9 to 12 minutes), diminished response to external stimuli (albeit, drops of water trickling on the sleeper's forehead may cause him to dream of falling rain), and the replacement of the degenerated cells by the new-born (more spoken of than proved).

Psychologically, sleep is said to cause cessation of higher mental processes (and yet Akbar's dream took its shape in the sleeping state). It has, further, been ascribed to possess the power of replenishing the energy man uses up in his waking hours, though it is difficult to ascertain with exactitude as to what extent sleep is indispensable for this particular purpose.

Essential Features

(*i*) *Duration* is a fundamental factor of sleep. A wide range of individual differences is noticed with regard to this factor. Thomas Edison is credited to have done well with 3 to 4 hours of sleep often spreading them over 3 or 4 periods of an hour each. And, Napoleon could forego sleep for days together without any visible adverse effects. Yet, children of superior mentation are said to sleep longer than those who are comparatively inferior. Terman observed in his studies of gifted children that the superior child slept 25-50 minutes more than one of intellectually medial calibre. A person of pronounced habits and accustomed to get his eight hours would in all probability feel lethargic the next day if he were deprived of his sleep even by an hour any night. He would not, however, feel it irksome to carry on his normal duties if he gradually but confidently reduces his sleeping hours. It is perhaps an act overdone to assign the hours of sleep to children or the adults; suggestion and habit play distinguishing parts in increasing or decreasing the sleeping hours without producing any striking effect.

(*ii*) *Motility* in sleep is a characteristic which is closely related to the cause of sleep as also its effect. As it is well known, one of the simplest ways of bringing about sleep is to remain in a passive and relaxed state. Lower animals like, chicks and rats, have been induced to sleep by keeping them in a forced quiescent condition for a while. (Sleep thus caused has often been misjudged as hypnosis and catalepsy in the animals.) Motility on the other hand appears to be an essential feature in sleep, since sleeping on the same side for a prolonged period would impair the vascular circulation on that side of the body. Usually motility increases during the second half of sleep when its depth appears to slacken.

(*iii*) *Depth of sleep* is generally believed to be negatively related to the duration though the most important factor in the recuperative functions of sleep. In order to measure the depth several methods have been suggested but practically all of them have proved to be rather unreliable. A prevalent procedure is to measure the intensity of the stimulus applied externally which could disturb the sleep. But, then, the relation between stimulus and reaction could not be expressed on the principles of arithmetic progression. There is no reason why Wever-Fechner law should not hold good in sleeping state as it is in the waking condition. To estimate the depth of sleep, the writer found a method, using himself as the subject, which may be further developed to determine the quantitative value of sleep. In his observations, the quality of sleep was classified into three categories according to the state of physical and mental satisfaction attained immediately after his waking up, *viz.*, most satisfactory, usual, and unsatisfactory sleep. He had to guess at the same time the exact hour of waking presuming of course that he was aware of the time he went to bed. Out of 53 such records kept by him, the difference between the estimated and the correct time in the case of the usual normal sleep was found not to be very high (the difference was between 10 and 35 minutes). Whereas, in the case of heavy or most satisfactory sleep as also in sleep not causing

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satisfaction the time was usually overestimated (80 per cent of the cases), the maximum being 2 hrs. 17 min. Correlation between estimation of time and quality of sleep was found to be 0.63, with the standard error of 0.09.

Recovery

The functions of sleep as a process, from psychological standpoint, has often been overstressed. Lack of sleep even for a night, it is alleged, is usually accompanied not only by the physical discomfiture felt during the next day, but, also, results in decreased output of work, and instances from industrial psychology are freely quoted in this connexion. But factual evidences gathered with due caution would lead one to conclude that such presumptions are rather overrated and too generalised if not hasty.

To mention one of the latest investigations, Edwards gave a large number of psychological tests, and measures of physical function to 17 students in whom insomnia was artificially induced. The tests and measures were used two days before the experiment, at regular intervals during the 100 hours of their wakefulness, and two weeks after the experiment was over. The difference in the results due to the supposed lack of sleep when compared with 10 students of controlled group proved to be statistically insignificant. 13 out of the 17 students showed definite improvement on the intelligent tests after 24 hours without sleep, and 6 did better even after 48 sleepless hours. It was on such evidence that Bills suggested that "most of the mental work of routine sort after loss of sleep or voluntary insomnia, "is performed as well or better after prolonged periods of wakefulness as after normal sleep."

An attempt was made by the writer to observe the psychological effects by cutting down his normal sleeping hours. Help was taken of benzedrine sulphate, administration of which in normal doses has been observed to result in artificial insomnia; this drug is reported to have been much in use during the last war among the night fliers. It takes about three hours for the drug to show the desirable actions. After taking 10 mg. of benzedrine sulph. natural sleep failed to appear even after sixteen hours of continued activity including a considerable amount of physical work.

The drug in increased doses was taken on two successive nights so that on no single night the subject could sleep (or, rather nap) for more than two hours, whereas he was accustomed to about seven hours of sleep every night.

Tests of fluctuation of attention, prior to the experiment had started, showed the subject's fluctuation to be about 12 per minute, with the average duration of attention being 4.8 inches.. During the second day (no sleep for 32 hours) the number of fluctuations had increased to 22, and duration reduced to 1.4 inches. The situation had considerably improved by the next day, and the day after that. Changes in fluctuation, however, did not affect adversely the continuity of his thought processes.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Americans Honour Memory of Abraham Lincoln, February 12

The birth anniversary of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth President of the United States, is celebrated throughout America on February 12.

Lincoln is regarded not only as one of the greatest American Presidents, but also as one of the very great men of all times. He has come to occupy an almost unparalleled position in the hearts of the American people and the pages of American history.

Lincoln stands out as a champion of democracy throughout the world. His image recalls personal goodness and social righteousness: he symbolizes the world's hopes and dreams of peace and freedom.

That is why Americans pay homage to the memory of Lincoln every February 12, in Lincoln Day observances, in public meetings and in visits to Springfield, Illinois, where Lincoln lived. More than 250,000 persons go to Lincoln's home town each year.

Lincoln grew up in a little log cabin in Springfield. As a boy, he studied at night after working hard all day in the fields. All alone, without the aid of teachers, he mastered the English language, until he could speak with a beauty of words seldom equalled by any other orator. Through his own efforts he made of himself a competent scholar, a lawyer and a great thinker.

The age Lincoln lived in was one of the great eras of American pioneering. During his lifetime—1809 to 1865—immigrants were coming into the new country by the thousands. New cities sprang up. New farms were laid out. It was an era of invention and industrial expansion. Lincoln was a product of his times. His jokes and delight in deflating pomposity are the very essence of frontier America. The tough frontier life taught young Lincoln to acquire self-reliance, courage and sympathy for his fellow men.

The life of Abraham Lincoln, storekeeper, soldier, lawyer, orator and President, symbolizes the right and the opportunity of the humblest citizen of a democracy to follow a path from a frontier settlement to the highest position in the land. His life exemplifies the opportunities open to all citizens of a free country, a country in which the right of every citizen to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is both recognised and championed.

The personality and character of Lincoln are well known to every student of history. He is remembered for his great tenderness and gentleness; for his love of children; his generosity (as a lawyer he never refused to serve a client who was poor); his wisdom and kindly wit; and his great strength of will.

In addition to his qualities as an individual, Lincoln is beloved by his countrymen for his emancipation of slaves, for his belief in the rightness of freedom for all men, and for his achievement in holding together the American nation during the Civil War.

The war of 1861-1865, over the issue of slavery, was important to the life and growth of the American nation. Lincoln pronounced it the first great trial of democracy, the test to determine "whether that nation, or any nation, so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure." He said: "This government cannot endure half slave and half free . . . Let us have faith that right makes might . . . and dare to do our duty as we understand it."

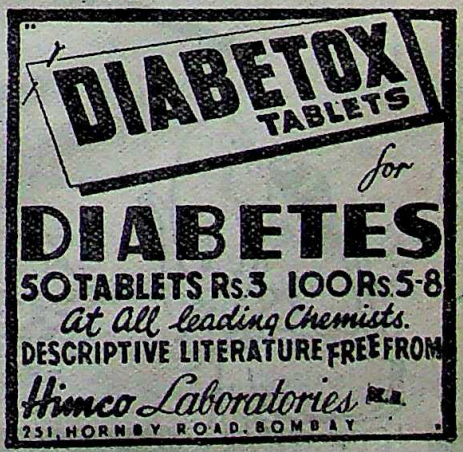
Two things were settled unequivocally by this war: slavery and state sovereignty. The United States entered the war as a confederacy with uncertain constitutional authority. It emerged as a nation.

This year, as in the past, the words of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address will be quoted at many Lincoln Day observances. President Lincoln delivered this address on November 19, 1863, at the dedication of a national cemetery for soldiers killed during the Civil War. It was a short address, but it is probably the most memorable speech in United States' history. It is famous for its forthright expression of America's ideals of democratic freedom. Its simple eloquence has inspired translations in every language of the world.

As each year passes, the Gettysburg Address takes on a new and deeper meaning—a prophetic significance in his appeal to the living for "dedication to the great task remaining before us . . . that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion."

Today, as in Lincoln's time, men all over the world are giving their lives for the cause Lincoln defended when he said:

". . . We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."—*USIS.*



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Indonesian Literature

Its Modern Development And Its Progress

Miss Sukesi Budiardjo writes in the *Indonesian Information*, July 3, 1951 :

The development of modern Indonesian literature really began after the fall of the Netherlands-Indies Government, although one cannot forget that much progress had been made during the period between the two world wars. Publications in the early part of the twentieth century were not very interesting as little attention was paid to the Malay language. In the past Malay literature consisted of chiefly novels and poetry which were traditional in character.

The old novels were mostly stories with a moral tendency and those were too dull for the new generation. But the ancient poems written in traditional form were still popular.

The best known form of these poems was the "Pantun," consisting of four lines and written in a romantic vein, with the first and third and the second and fourth lines rhyming and these classical "Pantuns" are learnt by memorising.

Under Dutch influence, some Indonesians wrote poems and biographies in the Dutch language, but when national consciousness began to develop, this attitude of apeing the Dutch was given up and the Indonesian writers turned to their own language and developed it separately from Malay, which is known as the Indonesian language. Their writings were still influenced by the West. *Pudjangga Baru* aimed at finding out new forms of expression but in vain. The year 1942 really marked the end of an epoch.

During the Japanese occupation an enormous amount of literature was accumulated, but this was, of course, 'sub rosa,' as the Japanese censored everything that did not contribute to their propaganda. Thus valuable literature was not published and the novels of this period were saturated with politics.

It was not until 1945 that Indonesian literature was able to develop on a large scale and a great number of poems and novels were published along with many modern plays that were enacted with outstanding success. Most of this literature was written during the Japanese occupation and remained unpublished because of the censor. It was at once apparent that there was a great difference between the work of the 'war generation' and that of the Editor of *Pudjangga Baru* who saw everything through the eyes of national idealism and sometimes this tended to become exaggerated and sentimental. Great emphasis was laid on rythm and rhyme, both of which were set aside by the 1945 generation.

The sorrow and distress endured during the Japanese occupation and the proximity of death, even after the Proclamation of Independence, gave a deeper meaning to life. The war generation had grown up with grief and this tended to find expression in their writings. They at once abandoned the complicated and obtrusive style of the schoolmaster and the agitator, finding it old-fashioned and clumsy, and quickly acquired a new style of their own in which their wartime experiences proved of inestimable value. Their education was focussed on foreign literature, such as the English, French, Russian and American authors, Pushkin, Dostoievsky, Tolstoy, Chekov, Ilja Ehrenburg, Andre Gide, Andre Malraux, Aldous Huxley, Hemingway, Steinbeck and others, some of whose writings have already been translated into Indonesian.

Modern Indonesian Writers: Takdir—A Great Writer: The Indonesian galaxy of literature is studded with such versatile writers as Mr. Takdir Alisjahbana, the Editor and one of the founders of *Pudjangga Baru*. He is not only a distinguished writer but also a lawyer, a poet and an essayist. His first novel—*Ta'Putus di Rundung Malang* or *Always Dogged by Ill-Luck*—was published in 1929. It is a story of two orphans—a boy and a girl—who leave their birthplace on account of ill-treatment by their uncle. After many wanderings, they meet and will have a very miserable time. The boy is jailed on a false accusation while his sister is ill and he is released after his sister's death. He then becomes a sailor and after sailing for fifteen years, he gets tired of life and longs for death. Takdir's second novel entitled *Dian Jang Tak Kundjung Padam* or *The Ever-lighted Lamp* is a love story of a poor boy and a rich girl. The boy becomes a hermit owing to disappointment in life and in the end he saves a young couple from their pursuers by giving them shelter. Takdir's one more novel *Lajar Terkembang* or *Unfurled Sails* unfolds the story of two young sisters of different characters who love one and the same man. The story ends with the death of the younger sister who requests the elder sister to marry her husband and the new couple make a pilgrimage to the deceased's grave.

Main Ideas in the Works of Takdir: To raise Indonesia to a worthy place among the nations of the world, Mr. Takdir strongly maintained in his writings the idea that if Indonesians were to play a prominent part in the affairs of the world, they must adapt themselves to the varying conditions. In his works he places at the forefront the humanistic aspect of life namely the economic contentment of the people at

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the same time laying considerable stress on the need of Western literature for Indonesians to enrich their knowledge of the world. His works, full of scenic descriptions and lively dialogues, convey the message of unity.

Another writer of the modern era Mr. Amir Hamza depicts melancholy and home sickness in his novels. In the field of "Sonnets," Mr. Sanoesi Pane's works are influenced by Western writers. His stay in India for many years made him choose India as the subject-matter of his writings in which he exemplifies his reverence for India as the country of his inspiration. He clings to the ideas of the past and does not believe in starting afresh. In contrast to Mr. Takdir, he disagrees with the idea of giving preference to the humanistic attitude in his works and believes in the notion—"Art for Art's Sake." Unlike Mr. Sanoesi Pane, his brother Mr. Armyn Pane is more divorced from the past. He is the forerunner of the 1945 school of thought. His works are vivid, natural and concise.

Pre-1945 Writers: Among the pre-1945 writers in Indonesia Mr. Abdul Muis is well-known for his literary works and as journalist and lawyer. The Balinese author Mr. I Goesti Njoman wrote about Balinese people and his country. He made his writings more attractive by adding folk tales in his novels. His contribution to the Indonesian literature is praiseworthy.

Since 1942 Mr. Chairil Anwar became famous even before the publication of his writings as the same was hindered owing to the Japanese occupation of the country. He is an architect of the Indonesian tongue and his contribution of new words and new combinations of words to the Indonesian language are noteworthy. He held a burning torch to illuminate the Indonesian literature during his short life. The other distinguished writer Mr. Rosinan Anwar's poems may be described as "Snapshots," well-known for their conciseness and clearness.

In the field of short stories Mr. Idrus has made remarkable contribution. Along with him may be ranked Mr. Asrul Sani and Mr. Pramudya Ananta, well-known for their contributions.

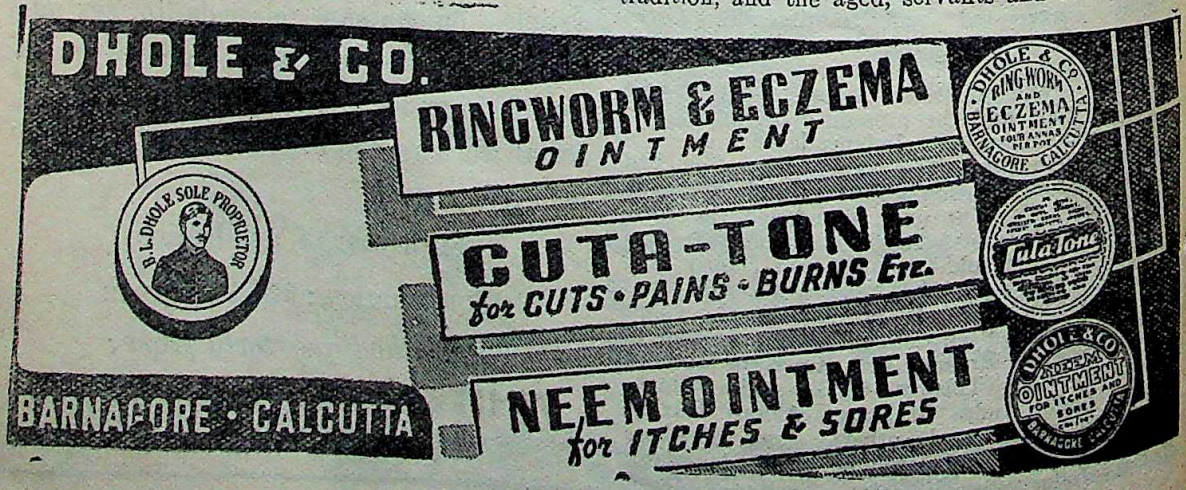
Great development is seen in the field of Modern Plays. The growth of the modern Indonesian play is the direct result of the development of the language. Indonesia is heading towards a glorious position in the field of literature and it may be said that the day is not far off when the Indonesian literature adorns the galaxy of world literatures.

Village Administration in Java

The average Javanese village has about three thousand inhabitants. It is not a genealogical unit and so the inhabitants form a territorial community. As the sphere of interest of this community lies within the village itself, the ties between its members are strong—a factor which favours the maintenance of law and order.

The system of administration in a Javanese village dates back to a period before the advent of the Hindus. But with the passage of time it has, of course, undergone many changes. The headman, in whom rests the executive power of the administration, is elected by all the adult members of the community. The election regulations are laid down by government ordinance. The chieftain is not only the head of the village but also he is a representative of the central government. In his work he is assisted by several persons who, at his proposal, are appointed by the government. They are his deputy (who is also his adviser), the clerk, the police, the priest and the water master (who controls the supply of water for the rice fields). These officials remain in office when the headman for one reason or another resigns or has to resign his post. The village headman and his assistants do not get salaries like ordinary government officials. Instead they get a piece of land on loan from the government. The grounds alloted to the headman comprises an area of about 8-35 acres. In cultivating his land he gets the assistance of some villagers, free of charge. In his capacity as tax collector, he receives eight per cent of the taxes he collects. His assistants receive a similar kind of income, but lesser in amount. The village headman also plays an important part in the administration of justice. He fixes the penalties in consultation with his assistants, especially his adviser. These penalties mostly include fines, deprivation of certain rights (for instance those relating to communal ownership), or placing at the bottom of the list of those who share the profits of some enterprise.

Among the inhabitants of a Javanese village, the following groups can be distinguished: (1) descendents of the founders of the village who possess houses and fields of their own; (2) people who have a house of their own but no rice fields; (3) those who have a house of their own which is built on a plot of land belonging to someone else and (4) those who have no house of their own and lodge with someone else, for instance newly married men who live with their fathers-in-law for a few weeks according to the tradition, and the aged, servants and the new-comers.



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Although the Javanese village is an administrative, but not an ethnic, unit the villagers regard themselves as members of one family. This can be judged, for instance, from their spontaneous co-operation when and where such co-operation can serve the interest of the community. The affairs with which the villagers are jointly concerned are: marriage, divorce, division of an estate, selling of cattle, hunting wild boars (which uproot the fields) and squirrels (which eat the coconuts), calling together the reapers during the harvesting season, organising harvest festivals, proper distribution of irrigation water, care for orphans, upkeep of roads, bridges, and irrigation canals and night watch are done by turns. For these kinds of work, they do not get payment in money; they regard them as part of their obligations to the village.

As the village forms a more or less intimate circle of persons who have many interests in common, not everybody is allowed to settle in the village without permission. This permit is to be obtained by the headman of the village only after giving references of two residents of the village who vouchsafe for the new-comer. Thus the villagers keep out the undesirables from entering and residing in the village.

When a member of the community wants to leave the village in order to settle elsewhere, he has to inform the headman of the village of his intention. If he leaves his dwelling place without informing the headman, he will be regarded as an "absconder." In the village, where everybody knows and carries out his duties, order and regularity, peace and happiness reign among the members of the community who live like brothers and sisters of one big family.—*Indonesian Information.*

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Denmark and the Dánes

Denmark! The very name brings to one's mental vision vast green pastoral fields and fine herds of cattle. It looks as if Nature had meant her to be the foremost Dairist in the world.

Well-equipped by Nature's bounteous gifts, Denmark soon became famous throughout the world for her dairy products. Not that such munificence did not bring to the fore several problems to Denmark. Numerous heads of cattle had to be milked, the huge quantity of excess milk after local consumption to be stored, their distribution arranged. Necessity is the mother of invention. Local inventive genius came upon the scene to solve these various problems. Mechanical devices for the automatic milking of cattle, cream separators for the separation of cream from milk, hygienic, sturdy and handy milk cans for the transportation of milk were the result. Demand followed growth and invention followed demand.

How are the Danes?

"What are the Danes like, how do they live, how do they differ from other peoples? They are friendly, open, hospitable and quite diversified. There are two epithets commonly used when speaking of Danes which are absolutely misleading: flaxen-haired and melancholic. Though most Danes are more or less blond with blue eyes, towheads are very rare in this most southern of the northern countries and dark eyes are by no means unusual. And though Shakespeare's melancholy Dane has become the orthodox prototype of his countrymen for most foreigners, the truth is that they are an exceptionally optimistic, cheerful people. "Take it easy," in the sense of "don't let it get you down," is a typical Danish expression; often, indeed, the very English words are used, for the majority of Danes have at least a smattering of the language.

"They are a rather material people who set great store by comfort and good living. The result is, on the one hand, that there is almost no abject poverty in the country, where even the poorest homes are usually brightened by clean curtains and a flowering plant or two at the window; and, on the other hand, that food plays an inordinate role in their lives. Danes frankly like to eat and insist on fresh, well-prepared food. But to tell the truth, Danish eating customs are far from epicurean. Practically every man, woman or child who is forced to eat his lunch away from home carries a small paper packet of sandwiches with him to work or school. The typical hot meal of the day, in well-to-do as well as smaller homes, begins with a porridge or sweet cereal soup which is inexpensive and helps to make the second dish last longer.

"A belief in cosiness, comfort and good living is one side of the Danish character; another is a sense of humour, often identical with a love of teasing that takes on the proportions of a national vice and an inquisitiveness that to a high degree is responsible for the enlightened intellectual standing of the Danes but which can be embarrassing to more reticent peoples.

"There are no deeply defined class distinctions in Denmark. Danish newspapers carry no special society columns, as society, in the usual sense of the word, does not exist. There are almost no multi-millionaires and no "high-life" nor, at the other end of the scale, are there shameful slums or an ignorant, suffering proletariat. Albeit, this nation of democratic peers is very title-conscious and whether you are addressing the Prime Minister or the little man who repairs your boots, you call him "Mr. Prime Minister" or "Mr. Shoe-Maker Hansen," as the case may be.

"The Danes are a talkative race and love to make speeches. At even a very small dinner party the hostess' table partner is expected to—and usually does—rise to his feet toward the end of the meal and thank the hostess in the name of the guests. On more solemn occasions any number of laudatory speeches may be held and if there is a rhymster present he will probably deal out printed copies of a song he has composed for the occasion which will be duly sung by all present at the appropriate moment.

"The Dane is a friendly, helpful, courteous soul, eager to welcome the stranger within his gates and proud and happy to show him why Denmark is, in his eyes, a good place to live."—Extract from *This is Denmark* by Knud Gedde.

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Soren Kierkegaard, father of "Existential" philosophy, is the topic of an interesting analysis by K. P. K. Menon in the *Bharat*, Bombay of October 21, 1951. The importance of the famous Danish writer of philosophy of religion is rapidly being recognised in many countries.—*Danish Bulletin.*

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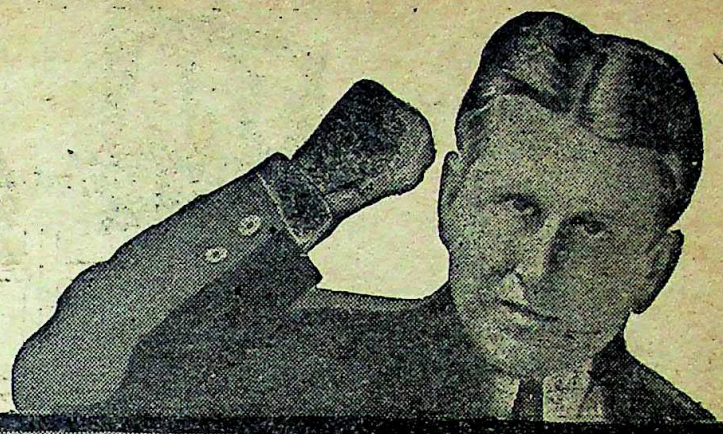

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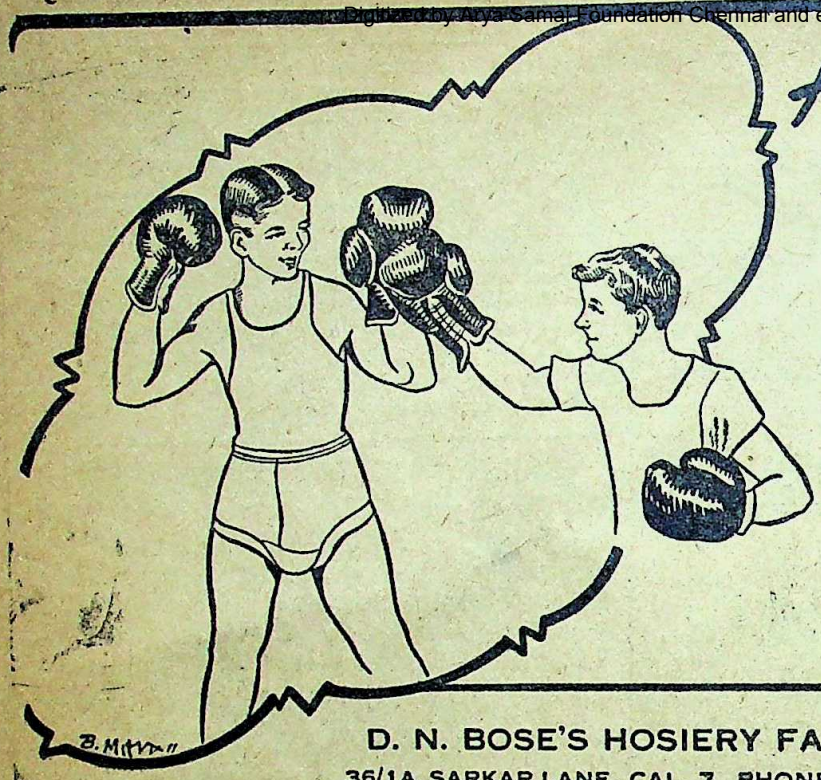

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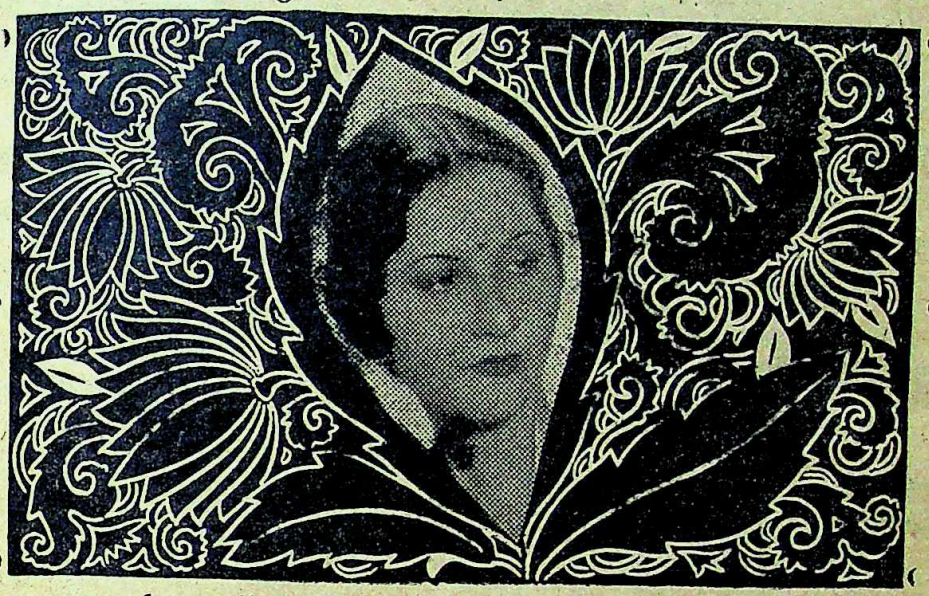

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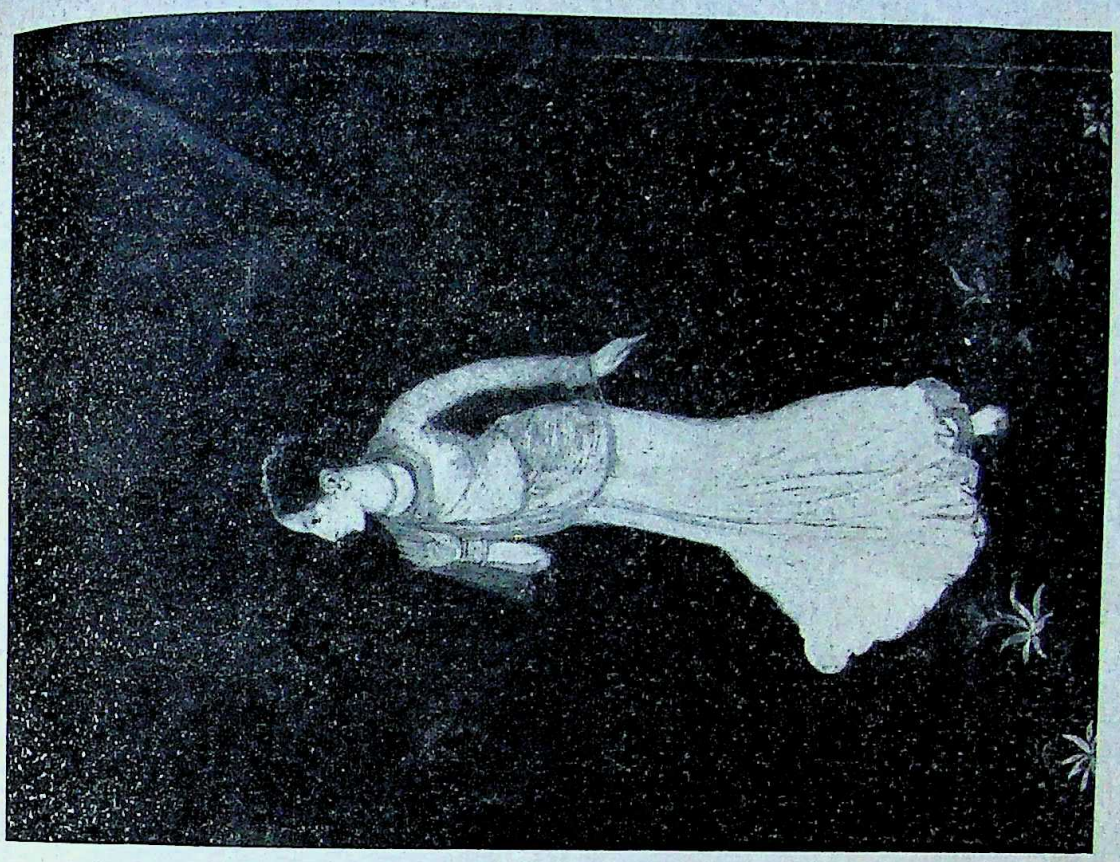

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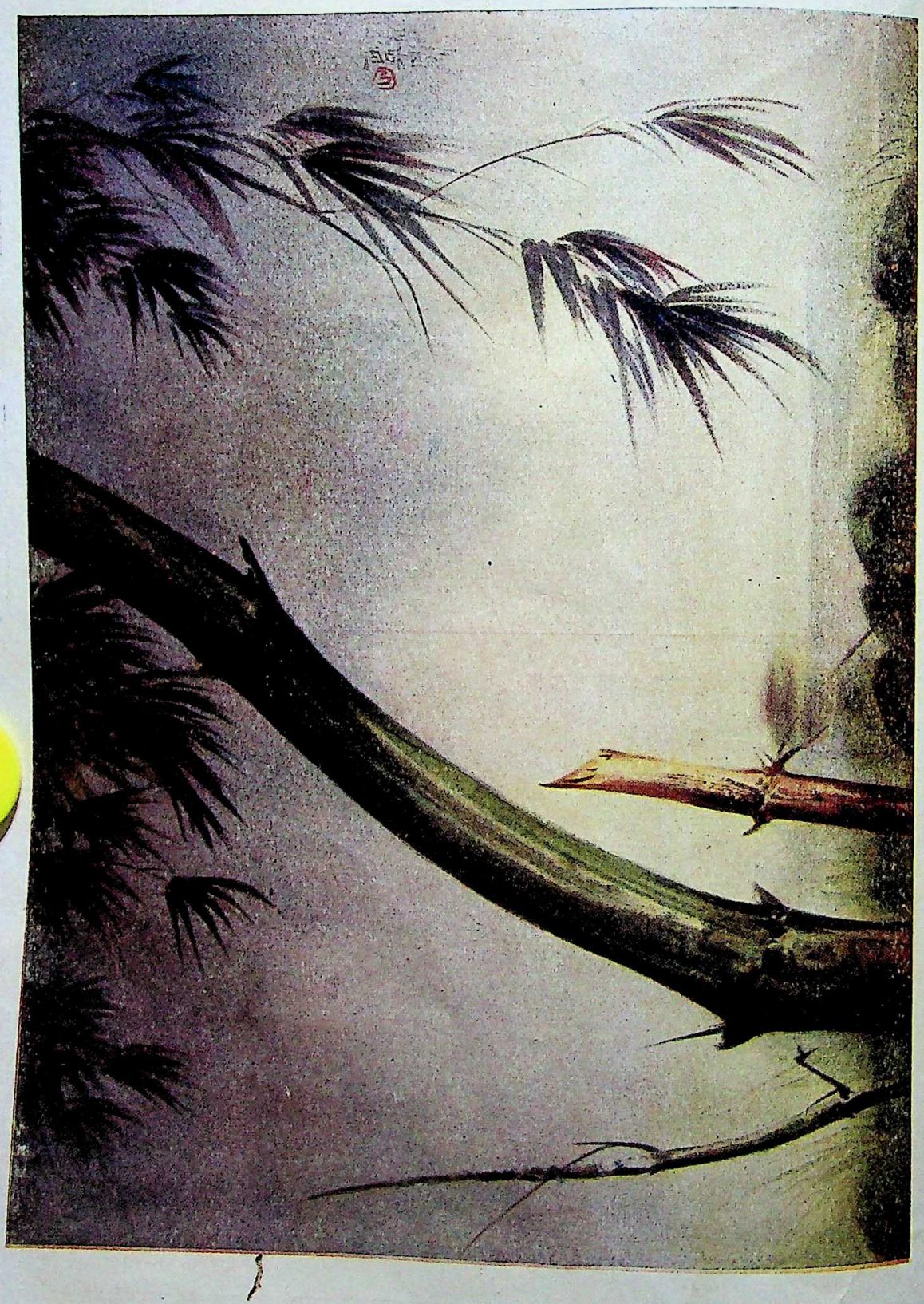

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By Devi prosad Roy Chowdhury

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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JULY 1952

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By Devi prosad Roy Chowdhury

NOTES

The Cross-Roads

The Congress is at the cross-roads, that is the Congress in power. On one direction lies Truth, Renunciation, Toil and Tears. On the other, Power, Ease and Damnation. The second path, the way to the loaves and fishes, has been indicated in the elections. Now comes a lone call, from Vinobaji :

"If the leaders of different political parties have some political sense, they would dissolve their parties and form one party of all the *sevaks* of society. There can be not only more than one point of view but 35 crore points of view. But all that I want is the acceptance of a common programme for the betterment of the people. I admire churning of thoughts (*vichar manthan*), but not conflict in action (*achar pharshan*). The latter creates fire which destroys society. Nature has made India great and we have only to strive for unity to retain it.

"Had I placed this *Bhoodan-Yajna* before a conference of intellectuals and leaders a year ago, I am sure all would have ridiculed me by saying that it is impracticable and impossible, for such a thing had never happened before in the whole of human history. I say that God has created us,—you and me, to achieve something new and unprecedented. History of the past is just clay in our hands and it is for us to give any shape to it. So I started my work and now I appeal to all to take up this revolutionary programme of mine. The programme is like an ocean where all rivers meet. If you just help in creating an atmosphere, the rest will be done by that atmosphere itself. Even wingless dry leaves rise high like birds when a powerful storm comes. Thus this programme will give life to the soulless and power to the powerless. People are but a manifestation of God, we will get this faith if we go to them."

Pandit Nehru has belatedly also realized that his party is in the morass of inertia :

The news-item given *infra* is from the *People* of June 28th :

"Unless we can produce that temper in our people which laughs at difficulties and get things done, sometimes in spite of facts, we cannot achieve anything really big," observed Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, in a foreword to the pamphlet entitled *Bharat Sevak Samaj* issued by the Planning Commission last week.

The Prime Minister says : "We have talked about planning for a long time and we have produced a draft Five-Year Plan. That Plan will presumably be finalised in the course of some weeks. Everyone recognises now the necessity for planning and tries to utilise our resources to the best advantage.

"We can, to some extent, measure our resources, or most of them. But it is very difficult to measure the biggest of these resources that we have, that is, man-power, and that psychology which makes people work for great ends. Unless we utilise this man-power and unless we can produce that temper in our people which laughs at difficulties and get things done, sometimes in spite of facts, we cannot achieve anything really big.

"Therefore we have to look to our people, go to them, talk and discuss with them and work with them. We must function as comrades in a common task, as partners in a joint undertaking. We may have to

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teach them something but we have much to learn from them also. So we should go to them not with the pride of knowledge but in humility of spirit and with the intense desire to bring about, with our common labour that joint effort which can shake and break up a mountain of inertia."

But what Pandit Nehru does not realise is that his words no longer carry the old magic.

If he can redeem his pledges and follow his own precepts, then and then only would his words carry far into the minds of the people who were once his own. Today he has no people, no friends and partners, he has only a "Party."

Indo-Kashmir Relationships

The following news-item appeared in the *People* of June 28 :

"Sheikh Abdullah at Srinagar told a Muslim prayer gathering that Indo-Kashmir relationship had reached a 'critical phase.'

The statement shows that the Delhi negotiations have not reached a successful conclusion. He had top-level discussions with his colleagues soon after their return to Srinagar from Delhi. Political circles attach great importance to these consultations as, according to them, these discussions would prepare the ground for the next step that the State Government would take regarding the solution of outstanding issues between it and the Government of India including the future of monarchy in the State.

Meanwhile, Yuvraj Karan Singh, whose political future is still uncertain, is preparing for his proposed visit to Ladakh.

Kashmir negotiations with the Indian Government regarding implementation of the State Consembly's proposal to terminate monarchy and have an elected constitutional head, are to be resumed. In this connection the Kashmir Delegation headed by Mirza Afzal Beg, Revenue Minister, is again leaving for Delhi. Sheikh Abdullah may participate in talks at a later stage if need be."

We have had very curious reports about the utterances of Sheikh Abdullah and his satellites as published in the Kashmiri press. The attitude of this autocrat is curious and reprehensible. He seems to be following the same path as the Moslem Leaguers of the British days.

The New Food Scheme for Bengal

The Government of India has decided to take upon itself the responsibility of feeding the Calcutta industrial area. This was announced by Mr. Kidwai, the Central Food Minister, at a Press Conference in Calcutta during his recent visit in West Bengal.

For the current year, said Mr. Kidwai, the Government of India would release 100,000 tons of rice which, he thought, would be sufficient for rationing purposes. An additional quantity of 100,000 tons of imported rice would be released for sale at economic prices through special shops to enable citizens to supplement their ration.

The scheme will come into effect as soon as necessary arrangements are completed. While supplies will be given by the Centre, distribution arrangements will be in the hands of the West Bengal Government. We learn, however, that the full operation of the scheme may be delayed till January, 1953.

Mr. Kidwai further announced that besides distributing 5,000 mds. of rice and 5,000 mds. of wheat as doles in distressed areas in the State, the West Bengal Government had decided to release 10,000 tons of rice and an equal amount of wheat for sale in these places.

The West Bengal Government felt that the high purchasing power of the people of Calcutta was responsible for smuggling into the city of over 6,000 mds. of rice every day and that unless this was stopped prices in rural areas would continue to rise. To check this it had been decided to open some shops in Calcutta where rice could be purchased at economic prices to supplement the ration.

This price, he thought, would be much cheaper than the present black-market prices which he understood; varied between Rs. 45 and Rs. 60 per md.

Mr. Kidwai was sure that as a result of these new measures Calcutta's requirements would be met and the prices in rural areas would go down.

From next year the Government would not procure from anyone who cultivated less than 15 acres of land. Instead it would impose a levy on cultivators possessing 15 acres or more. Under this levy system the Government expected to procure 450,000 tons of rice. The entire quantity would be kept in rural areas and utilised to allay distress wherever prices went up. When this levy system was introduced, the ban on the inter-district movement of food-grains would be removed. The only ban would be on movement across the borders of the State and into cordoned Calcutta.

A main factor in food administration in West Bengal has been the purchasing power of Calcutta and other industrial areas. These would under decontrol react like a magnet on rural food-grains and even under control would draw from the country-side by illicit means. It is now intended to divide the State into two zones. One will be the Calcutta industrial, to be supplied, through the State Government's ration shops and the new economic price shops, by the Government of India. In the rest of the State, it is hoped that with the flow to Calcutta lessened, the seven surplus districts will be able to meet the needs of the six deficit at reasonable prices.

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The information about the food requirements of the rationed area disclosed by Mr. P. C. Sen in the conference of the non-Congress members of the Assembly was that there was a difference between the estimated consumption of the people in statutory rationed area, at 12 ounces per day and in the modified rationed areas at 8 ounces per day, and the actual drawings. The figures are as follows :

(In lakh tons)

	1948	1949	1950	1951
Estimated	8.45	8.6	9.8	10.3
Actuals	6.96	7.86	8.69	8.99

In the year 1952, the Government of India would have to contribute 5 lakh and 52 thousand tons normally. Taking the responsibility of feeding Calcutta industrial area, it would have to supply 8,99,000 tons in all, that is, 3,47,000 tons in excess over the normal commitment.

The statistical information furnished by Mr. P. C. Sen gives a different picture of the food problems of West Bengal than what is usually put forward.

The number of rationed people :

(in lakhs)

	1949	1950	1951	1952
(1) Statutory	58	61	63	71
(2) Modified	8	12	20	29
	66	73	83	100

Under statutory rationing we have 71 lakhs of people. By deducting this from the total population of 2 crores and 48 lakhs, we have 1 crore and 77 lakhs outside the rationed area. For this number, 30 lakhs and 67 thousand tons of food is required annually if we calculate on the basis of half a seer per capita consumption per day without discriminating between children and adult. On the other hand, the net total amount of food crops available in 1952 has been estimated to be 32 lakhs and 25 thousand tons.

The estimate of food production for the last three years, as has been presented by Mr. P. C. Sen before the conference of the non-Congress members of the Legislative Assembly is as follows :

(in thousand tons)

	1949	1950	1951	1952 (estimated)
Aman	2882.8	3269.5	3559.0	3103.3
Aus	376	335.9	359.7	359.7
Boro	16.3	16.1	15.5	15.5
Total Rice	3275.1	3621.5	3934.2	3478.5
Other crops	74.9	74.5	104.8	104.5
Total food-stuffs	3350	3396	4039	3583
10 per cent deduction on account of seed and wastage.				
Net food	3015	3326	3635	3225

Mr. P. C. Sen says, as he was told by the Indian Statistical Institution, that in pre-war days people used to consume 15.3 ounces per day, that is, 4.25 mds. yearly. Accordingly the quantity of rice required, Mr. Sen thinks, is as follows :

('000 tons)

	1949	1950	1951	1952
Rice required	3622	3841	3872	3903
Availability of rice	3015	3326	3635	3225
Deficit	607	515	237	678

The deficit is reached by calculating on the basis of 15.3 ounces for all the population irrespective of children and adults. But the international standard of measurement of requisite food supply is to multiply the total population by decimal 8 and to multiply the number thus obtained by the amount of food consumed by a full-grown adult. Neither the Government of India nor Mr. P. C. Sen would accept this standard of measurement and would thus prove deficiency and consequently scarcity.

Mr. Sen conceives that in 1951 the population strength was 2 crores and 48 lakhs and the net amount of food available for consumption amounted to 36 lakh and 35 thousand tons or 9 crores and 81 lakh mds. Instead of 2 crores and 48 lakhs let us take it as 2½ crores of people. Measuring this figure by the international standard as stated, we require food for 2 crores. Excluding wastage and the receipt of wheat from the Centre, we have 9 crores and 81 lakh mds. of rice net at hand. Therefore the per capita share appears to be 4 mds. and 32 seers annually.

U. S. Aid for India

The announcements about the programme of aid to India under the U.S.A. Point Four programme and its subsequent development have raised a storm of protest from the Communist groups and their fellow-travellers. This we can well understand, because under the ideology of the C.P.I. any aid from any member of the Western bloc, or for that from any nation excepting the Soviets, means slavery, war-mongering, cultural degradation, and so on, to the entire gamut. The Soviets have not offered any aid, either because they are unable to give any or because it is against their doctrines to offer aid to any outside those who are completely within the orbit of Soviet domination. Even China, which is within the *penumbra* of the Soviets is only receiving partial aid. And further, if India can manage to develop its resources and establish its economy on a firm and satble basis, then she becomes a major factor in the matter of War or Peace in Asia, which might become a calamity for any nation desirous of world-domination. And therefore India's economy must be kept in a state of unstable equilibrium, either through disruption or by a thorough-going programme of obstructionism.

But, curiously enough, opposition has come from another quarter, which cannot by the widest stretch

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of imagination be accused of ulterior motives or of extra-territorial loyalty. The view-point of these critics, whose sincerity or loyalty we do not question, has been fully exposed in the *Harijan* in its issues of May 3 and May 10 last. Therein Shri Suresh Ramabhai, writing under the caption of "Agreement or Slavery Bond," argues as follows. We are quoting *in extenso* as the matter is of vital importance :

"The well-known British journal, *New Statesman and Nation,* has described 1951 as the year which 'may well be remembered in history as the first year of the American Empire.' In the opening week of 1952 were laid the foundations of American penetration in India too. On 5th January, 1952, an 'Agreement' was signed at New Delhi by Prime Minister Nehru on behalf of the Government of India and by the U.S. Ambassador in India on behalf of the Government of the United States of America. In his recent address to the Parliament, the President of India has given high praise to this Agreement. Quite a large and influential section of the Indian press has hailed it as a landmark in the history of Indo-U.S. relationship. No apology is, therefore, needed for a critical study of this historical document.

At the outset, it must be stated that this new Pact is in pursuance of the 'Point Four Aid' agreement for technical co-operation signed on behalf of the Governments of India and U.S.A. on December 28, 1950, in which an Aid of 1.2 million dollars has been provided for technical training, etc. The present Pact goes far ahead both in its objectives and contents.

OBJECTIVES

1. Promoting and accelerating the economic development of India;

2. Promoting international understanding and goodwill, maintaining world peace and undertaking such action as the two Governments may mutually agree upon to eliminate causes for international tension.

Thus it can be said without any fear of contradiction that it is a politico-economic Pact and not a purely Technical Aid Agreement.

TERMS

How the said objectives are sought to be achieved can be gathered from the terms of the Pact. The Pact consists of 10 Articles which may be summarized as follows:

1. The obligations assumed in this Agreement will be performed on behalf of the Government of India by a duly designated Ministry and on that of the U.S. Government by a Technical Co-operation Administration. The latter will be represented in India by a Director. He and his staff shall be regarded as a part of the diplomatic mission of the Government of the U.S.A. in India and shall share fully in the privileges and immunities enjoyed by that mission and its personnel.

2. The Administration shall furnish a field party of specialists to collaborate in carrying out the Technical Co-operation Programme. The party shall be under the direction of the Director. All of them shall be selected and appointed by the U.S. Government. All facilities shall be provided to the Technical Co-operation Directorate or the Administration. It will share fully in all the privileges and immunities, including immunity from suit in the courts of India which are enjoyed by the Government of the U.S.A.

3. (a) As regards finance, the U.S. Government will provide, by depositing in U.S.A. until 30th June 1952, a sum of 50 million dollars (about Rs. 24 crores) to be credited to a Special Fund, called the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund (Fund A), while the Government of India will constitute a Special Development Fund (Fund B) exceeding Rs. 25 crores for making available supplementary finance. Besides, the U.S. Government will further bear a sum of about four million dollars in meeting in U.S.A. the expenses of its experts, the tuition and other charges of Indian nationals sent abroad for training in this connection, and the costs of technical assistance provided by the U.S. Government through private agencies.

(b) The Fund B shall be strengthened by the sale proceeds of saleable goods imported under this Pact as also by repayment of the sums (belonging to the Fund A) disbursed as loans to private agencies or State Governments.

4. (a) The Fund A shall be jointly administered by an Indian Government officer and the American Director. It will be utilized only for the execution of *agreed* projects of technical co-operation.

(b) Fund B and its proceeds are, like the Fund A, to be utilized only for the projects approved by both the Governments.

5. Allocations will be made whereby agreed amounts shall be transferred from the Fund A to the consolidated funds of the Government of India or shall otherwise be authorized to be expended. Such transfers and/or authorizations to expend shall be in the forms of grants-in-aid and loans. But nowhere in the Pact has it been indicated how the loan portion is to be repaid.

6. No funds or parts thereof, allocated to or derived from any programme of assistance undertaken by the Government shall be subject to any garnishment, attachment, seizure, or other legal process by any person, firm, agency, corporation, organization or government.

7. Agreed projects of technical co-operation shall be executed by a Central Committee (of not more than seven members) to be constituted by the

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Government of India. But no recommendation of this committee involving the allocation of expenditure of funds made available by the U.S. Government can be given effect to without the concurrence of the Director.

FUNCTIONS

The Pact gives no idea how the American assistance is to be exactly utilized. Obviously its purpose is to attain the objectives mentioned above. Though reports in the Press point out that this is to be done by growing more food and establishing certain types of townships, yet as the text of the Agreement in question makes no mention of them, comments on the same would be beside the mark here.

Next, we shall examine the economic and political implications of the Pact as evident from the aforesaid terms."

Then follow Shri Suresh Ramabhai's criticisms of the Plan, under the sub-heading :

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

"1. Such a vast network of American experts and knowhow's is going to be established in India as has never been known in her long and chequered history.

2. No official or non-official body or authority in India can interfere with the activities and the programmes the Americans choose to enact.

3. Not a cent out of the American 50 million dollar fund can be spent against the wishes and tastes of the U. S. Government. It is a strange kind of generosity or *dan* in which the *dani* (donor) exercises such control over the use of his *dan* (gift) as a mortgagee in possession of a shop or factory might exercise over the mortgagor-debtor's business.

4. For the duration of the Agreement, India shall have no independent control over her own Fund B.

5. The U.S. Government is free to impose any condition or conditions it may like in connection with the repayment of the loan portion of the Fund. What repercussions they may have one cannot say.

6. The U.S. Government hereafter acquires the undisputed right to start and develop such enterprise or concerns in India as may help it to secure for itself a permanent market for its finished goods or build up a *pucca bandobast* (a solid base) to obtain the requisite raw materials for home consumption. It thus obtains a free hand to build the American economy on firm foundations and for all time. In other words, under the Agreement the agriculture of India, our handicrafts and industries, our trade and commerce, our markets and homes may be recklessly thrown at the mercy of the U.S. Government and capitalist.

7. No more shall we be allowed to remain the architects of our own destiny. Not a blade of grass will move but by the will of the American Director or his company. They will have full rights to veto down the opinion or suggestions of the Indian people or their representatives who would have to accept American dictation.

8. The American aid is in the nature of an investment on behalf of the U. S. Government to secure a firm foothold in the Indian sub-continent. It is an initial investment by which U.S.A. can make India bleed white for the American's pleasure and his way of life. It is in fact an essential advertisement in order to earn multifold profits in the not very distant future when American goods will stalk the country."

"History affords several instances of investments of this type. A conspicuous one is that of free distribution of opium by the British in China. It is virtually a common practice of every intelligent businessman."

POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

"Next, we turn to the political implications of the Pact.

1. The second objective given above makes it clear beyond doubt that the Government of India has agreed and begun to view the world political scene through the U.S. glasses. What is peace to America is peace to India and so also tension. Ostensibly neither America nor India may adopt a line of action which the other does not approve. But since India will have been placed under an obligation which may not be lightly disowned or discontinued after operations have advanced to a certain extent, it is obvious that in an extreme situation, India will have to approve what America directs her to approve.

2. The U. S. Government hopes to kill two birds with a single stone. Who does not know that on account of the continued researches in science, new models of machinery are springing up day after day rendering the old models useless and cumbersome? But where should the hoary stock of old models go to? Machine is like that monster which demands incessant work otherwise it would eat up the very master. America has developed the art of solving this riddle by doling out aids or loans (as Marshal Aid, Point-Four Aid, etc.) to one country after another. She is, therefore, able to dispose of her unusable stuff with a clean conscience and put the aided country in eternal obligation! Besides, it gives her a unique opportunity to seize the same by the neck."

"Hardly anybody is unaware of America's intentions in Asia or Europe. That she has a passion for meeting the so-called 'menace' of communism is common knowledge. It is why she is doing her best to help General Franco in Spain, the British in the Middle East, Emperor Bao-Dai and the French in Indo-China, and General Chiang Kai-shek in the

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Far East. There is no reason why she should not contribute her mite for the same in India.

In the light of the above conclusions one cannot but feel suspicious about the motives of the U.S. Government in offering this Aid. May not the so-called 'Agreement' become a slavery bond to India? Will it not enable America to overwhelm India completely?

These misgivings are confirmed on going through the reports of the speeches delivered to the American Congress at Washington on March 13 last by some of the leading officials of the U.S.A. The Secretary of State for America, Mr. Acheson is reported to have said that the '1953 Mutual Security Programme' called for the expenditure of $227,000,000 in technical assistance to Asia, Africa and Latin America, the figure for India being not yet made public. He stressed the need for Aid to India in very strong terms. But why? To quote his own words:

'The advice of all our observers on the ground is that unless the newly independent Government under Prime Minister Nehru can show substantial progress in economic development over the next five years there is the likelihood that in the next elections democratic forces will be endangered either by extremists or by communists.'

Further, Mr. Acheson went on to compliment us on the 'tremendous effort' India was putting up in 'its fight against communism.' Really, are we putting up this fight?

Again, Mr. W. Averell Harriman, supporting the Mutual Security Programme, warned the American Congress that any resolve to cut this programme would mean a reduction in the 'strength being built in the free world for our common defence against the threat of the Kremlin.' By this programme Mr. Harriman wants to secure 'well-equipped allies' in India and elsewhere for the youngmen of United States 'fighting for freedom.'

Any doubts in this regard are thoroughly cleared by the speech of the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Robert Lovett. Without mincing words he is reported to have said that the 'first criterion' in granting United State military assistance will be 'performance of the nations in raising effective forces.' He assured the American Congress that 'performance would be the test.'

It can, therefore, be safely concluded that the American Aid (and the Aids to follow) is but a means to achieve the end of drawing India into the 'cold war,' a war that has already enveloped Europe and America in its painful grip. How far will our Government succeed in its remaining 'neutral' despite the Aid only the future can say. But it is high time that the authorities in New Delhi and the Parliament ponder over where they are leading the country to."

We have been obliged to quote in full as otherwise we might be accused of distorting the context of arguments. We shall say here and now that we are not enamoured of any aid from any outside source, U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. Aid does always mean moral obligation, which, in the long-term pessimistic view, as taken by Shri Ramabhai and others of that ilk, might mean serious and untoward complications. But what are we to do then, wait for the millennium? Or wait until another Bapu comes to infuse new spirit, new ability, and a new vision into his unworthy followers who have not been able to carry forward his schemes by one-thousandth of an inch?

We should apologise here, for an exception should have been made for Vinobaji who is bearing a lone flaming torch, without verbose denunciations, illogical accusations or fanatical outbursts. All honor to him.

Have the Point Four programme objectives and terms been examined in the Gandhian Spirit? We have heard Gandhiji say more than once that he was willing to believe anyone for the first time, we have heard him say repeatedly that he was willing to credit anyone with altruistic motives until otherwise proved. Is that the spirit in which the U.S.A. has been accused of ulterior motives?

Turning to Shri Ramabhai's criticisms we would say that logic is not his strong point, else how could he have jumped to conclusions like in items (2), (5), (6), (7) and (8). The last three are real examples of fanatical extremism. If they have not been written in a spirit of frustrated *himsa*, then the word *himsa* does not exist. We repeat that we are not enamoured of outside aid, but placed as we are, thanks to five years of maladministration, muddle and corruption under the hands of a band of inefficient mediocrities whose sole sock-in-trade *was* Gandhiji's name, can we afford to look a gift horse in the mouth, specially when we have already been going the round of all nations begging for food, medicine, and implements?

Let us examine the offer then with an open mind. If there be any *lacunae*, let us suggest adequate measures to fill them, and to safeguard our freedom. The offer by U.S.A. is primarily to make us strong and to establish our economy on a sound basis. *The secondary objectives, if there be any, cannot come before that. And a strong and economically well-established nation cannot be made to follow any path willy-nilly, or else all history is false.* Where would the U.S.S.R. itself be today but for the tremendous aid it received, in every form, from the U.S.A.?

Let us also realize that the alternative, if the present economic chaos continues, is foreign domination, from another quarter, whose fifth column is active and organised.

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The Other Side

Let us now turn to the other aspect, that is, the view of the enthusiasts. We need not go further into the matter of Point Four programme, but the following extract from the *People* of May 3, is important, since it was published in the official organ of the Congress Government :

"Consultations between India and U.S. Government authorities for the implementation of the biggest aid programme hitherto extended by the United States to any country in Asia barring China, are making satisfactory headway, according to reliable information available in New Delhi. The programme, which is independent of other commitments already entered into by the United States, proposes a grant of 1,000 million dollars to India in the next four years.

The present programme which is based on a recommendation made by the U.S. Ambassador in Delhi Mr. Chester Bowles, *springs from the fact that India has been able to put to the best use the 55 million dollar aid received in January this year.* It would appear that U.S. diplomats and experts who have been anxiously watching the manner in which India developed its plans for the utilisation of the 55 million dollars, have now reported to Washington that any help provided by the U. S. Government to India would not be 'lost in the ocean.'

U.S. observers appear to accept the move from Washington for aid to India as a part of its global strategy of preparing an effective front against communism in Asia. One U.S. observer declares that 'unless the mass of voters is appreciably better off under the Nehru Government before the next elections roll around 1957 than they are now, there is every likelihood that the Congress Party will be turned out and the Reds will come in.'

But, as has been repeatedly emphasised by Indian spokesmen, the Government of India have not approached the development programmes as a 'Party Plan.' Foreign aid received for such development are accepted, therefore, without commitments or 'strings.' It has been emphasised that India subscribes to the objective behind the aid programme only to the extent that it enables the enhancement of the standard of living of the Indian citizen and the general improvement of his economic well-being. India is not fighting the Communist Party and has no anti-Communist programme 'as such.'

In so far as there is agreement, however, on the practical objective of the aid programme, namely, the economic rehabilitation of the Indian people, it has become an accepted fact on both sides.

Shrewd political observers in the capital believe that the 1,000-million dollar aid need not be regarded as 'the limit.' If the aid programmes continue to produce the desired effect as hitherto, U.S. aid to India will be measured by India's needs rather than India's willingness to accept U.S. 'dictation.' On the contrary, India cannot make a 'deal' with the United States for extended aid, if she is not able to put the aid received to good use in building up the nation to overcome poverty and squalor which breed communism. The 1,000-million dollar aid now proposed is to be extended to India in annual instalments of 250 million dollars. The first instalment is expected to be received in the next few months when plans, now being worked out, are finalised for its utilisation.

American experts calculate the new programme, which is being considered, will aim at the 'permanent improvement of the condition of 120 million peasants' and increase the country's agricultural production by 50 per cent."

Here is the other side of the medal with a vengeance. Programme announced in January and by May 3rd, "India *has been able* to put to the best use the 55 million dollar aid received in January this year." And that without the public even knowing the names of the *Indians* engaged in the task !

Much of the corruption and muddle in the Indian Union's administration is due to the secrecy with which appointments and awards are made. Nepotism and favouritism being rife nothing else could be expected. If our information is correct then some of the appointments in the Point Four programme are questionable to the extreme limit. And we have no reason to doubt our sources of information. We refer, of course, to the Indian personnel.

"Point, Counter-point"

The true picture of the Soviet Republics is difficult of visualisation by those who are on the wrong side of the curtain. Here, for example, is the picture as given in the *News and Views From the Soviet Union* of June 26 :

"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consists of 16 Union Soviet Republics. Each one of them is a sovereign state with its own Constitution, supreme organs of state power, organs of administration and its own budget.

"The sovereign rights of the Union Republics are embodied in special articles of the Constitution and in the entire state system of the USSR. Articles 13 of the Constitution of the USSR lays down that the USSR is a federal state, formed on the basis of a volunatry Union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics. The voluntary nature of the Union is expressed in article 17 of the Constitution of the USSR which reserves for every Union Republic the right freely to secede from the Union. The sovereignty of the Union Republics is also confirmed by other articles of the USSR Constitution granting the Union Republics the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states

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to conclude with them agreements and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives: the right to have their own Republican military formations. According to the USSR Constitution, the territories of the Union Republics cannot be altered without their consent.

"The great principle of the equal and voluntary Union of the sovereign peoples was proclaimed by Lenin and Stalin, the founders of genius of the Soviet multi-national state, the authors of its Constitution. The sovereignty of the Soviet Union and the sovereignty of the Union Republics are harmoniously combined on the basis of the ideology of equality and friendship of the peoples. The sovereignty of the USSR and the sovereignty of the Union Republics are complementary and mutually reinforce one another. On entering the Soviet Union, the national Union Republics voluntarily renounced certain of their rights in favour of the Union. This, however, by no means detracted their state sovereignty. On the contrary, this resulted in the strengthening of their national independence and sovereignty, because the USSR assumed the protection and defence of the sovereign rights of the Union Republics. The Union of the Soviet Republics into one federal state, the principle of mutual assistance and fraternal cooperation among the peoples of the Soviet State have ensured the rapid political, economic and cultural development of the formerly downtrodden and backward peoples."

"A striking example of what inexhaustible strength the Union Republics acquire as a result of their Union into one federal state is afforded by the magnificent construction works of Communism which have been launched in the USSR. The building of the Main Turkmen Canal opens up colossal opportunities for the development of agriculture in Turkmenia, Uzbekistan and other Central Asian Republics. Building of the gigantic Kuibyshev and Stalingrad Hydro-Electric Stations, the Main Turkmen Canal, the Kakhovka hydro-power project, the South-Ukrainian, North-Crimean and the Volga-Don canals entails construction on a scale unprecedented in the world. The completion of these projects will make it possible to irrigate and bring water to 25.5 million hectares. The great construction works of Communism became possible only because the Soviet system exists in the country and all the peoples of the Soviet Union take part in their building."

The following extract is from the *New York Times* of June 12. It shows the reverse of the medal:

"It is a tribute to the effectiveness of Soviet propaganda that so well-informed and learned a man as Prime Minister Nehru of India has apparently swallowed the Kremlin-inspired stereo-types about Soviet minority policy. In a recent speech he praised the Soviet Union as the 'only country' that had adopted a 'wise and successful' policy in winning over the people living in outlying areas. With respect to language policy among India's aboriginal hill people, he urged Indian experts to study and emulate Soviet policy.

The essence of the Soviet-inspired stereotype is the notion that in the Soviet Union minority peoples have been allowed to develop their cultures freely, are not discriminated against, and have equal rights with the single largest group, the Great Russians. Any study of recent trends in Soviet minority policy shows this stereotype to be quite false. What has actually been going on in the Soviet Union in recent years has been a policy of forced Russification, with the Russian language made an obligatory study in all schools and with Russian culture constantly exalted as the most 'advanced,' the one which all minorities must revere and seek to imitate. Since 1935 many minority peoples have been compelled to revamp their written languages so as to drop the Latin or Arabic scripts formerly employed and to substitute the Cyrillic alphabet of the Russian language, as well as to employ Russian words for many political, technical, scientific and economic concepts.

During the past year this Russification policy has been at its peak. Communist party leaders and leading intellectuals in the Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Baltic States and Central Asia have frequently been purged for 'bourgeois nationalism.' The history of many minority peoples is being rewritten so as to make it seem that Russian conquest of those peoples was a blessing and so as to make villains out of those historic leaders of the minority peoples who fought Russian conquest. The facts on recent Soviet cultural and political Russification of its minorities have been available for years. Surely Prime Minister Nehru would have been well advised to study those facts before bestowing his blessings upon a policy which is the antithesis of the democratic tolerance which Nehru himself has championed so effectively in so many fields."

And here is another picture, taken from the *New Leader* of May 19, which shows another aspect of the Soviets' policy regarding the conquered peoples.

"On the eve of his recent visit to America, Chancellor Leopold Figl declared that the U.S.S.R. could prove the sincerity of its concern for a German and European peace settlement by concluding the long-delayed Austrian peace treaty. Thus far, however, thanks to Moscow's sabotage, the 258 meetings of the 'Big Four' deputies have resulted in complete futility. What is the explanation of the tenacity of Russia's delaying tactics?

"Prominent among the reasons why Austria remains under occupation is the existence of USIA. These four letters are the initials of the Russian words meaning 'Administration of Soviet Property in Austria.' Ask an Austrian what USIA is, and you will get a variety of uncomplimentary descriptions. It will be called a cancer destroying the economic life of the country, a conspiratorial state

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within a state—operating by means of bribery, sabotage and terror. All this is true. But the quality which makes it the greatest of all obstacles to the conclusion of a treaty is that USIA has proved to be an inexhaustible gold mine to the Soviet Union.

"Imagine a foreign consortium in control, let us say, of an area of the Port of London, within which Britain is deprived of the power to levy duty on goods from abroad for sale in the home market. Imagine, further, that the laws of the land, including those of taxation, are unenforceable within this area. Assume that some 300 British concerns of note are administered by this consortium, and that wages, bills and other overhead expenses are met out of the enormous profits secured by disregarding all state charges and excise duties. Then envisage a situation where this consortium, without a shadow of legal justification, sets up a chain of retail stores, dealing in 'outlaw goods'—shops ignoring trading-license and closing-hour regulations, taxes, social insurance and other obligations. Then picture the arrest and kidnaping of any who oppose these developments, or appear to know too much. Even this effort of the imagination will not give a complete picture of the wealth that Stalin is drawing from the USIA gold mine, or of the consequent impoverishment of the Austrian economy. In addition, there are the staggering profits taken from Austria's rich oilfields, which are exploited on USIA lines by a separate Russian concern, the Soviet Mineral Oil Administration. There are the profitable operations of such Soviet auxiliaries as *Yuzhneftrans*, which transports USIA's plunder, and the Danube Shipping Company, whose seizure by the Russians has, for the past seven years, closed down the use of one of the great international waterways.

"USIA was one of the bridal gifts so rashly bestowed on the glamour-shrouded Soviet Union by Western statesmen during the Potsdam honeymoon. During those rapturous days, nobody seems to have bothered to work out the extent to which the loosely-worded Potsdam Declaration could be distorted by an unscrupulous beneficiary. On the face of things, it seem appeared to be only fair to allow the Russians to appropriate any German property in Austria as part compensation for the over-running of their country by Hitler's barbarians. Today, one can only wonder at the naivete of the Western failure to stipulate participation in the decision of what was genuinely German property, as well as in its administration and final disposal. As a result, any property on which the Nazis ever laid hands, however briefly, was classified by the Russians as 'German' property. Although they were forced to disgorge some of what they seized, most of this property remained in Russian hands. The Potsdam clauses were cynically used as a justification for plunder.

"Russian abuse of her economic acquisitions for political purpose has gone on ever since. The Red Army immediately set in motion all the forces at its disposal with the aim of establishing USIA concerns in the political as well as the economic field. The Trattnerhof, an imposing block of offices just off the Graben in the heart of Vienna, is the requisitioned headquarters of USIA. It is easily recognizable by the imposing parade outside of USIA-owned high-powered American cars with Russian registration numbers, bought in Switzerland with dollars acquired on the Vienna black market from the schilling yield of products smuggled in by USIA without paying Austrian dues. Inside are housed the ten main departments of USIA—the controls of its heavy and light industry, electrical, metallurgical, coal-mining, food-producing and chemical industries, agriculture, forests and so forth. Although, in prewar days, one could walk through its corridors freely, today sentries wearing the Soviet star challenge everyone at the entrance to the building. Facts and figures, which comparable trusts elsewhere actually spend money on publicizing, are put on a security level enjoyed only by the latest atomic-warfare developments. To get an insight into these unnecessarily secret statistics puts quite a subsidiary burden on the Western taxpayer. Many of what USIA pretends are top secrets are concentrated in its so-called 'Commercial Bureau,' which is chiefly concerned with providing a flow of imported raw materials and disposing of USIA products abroad. Take, for instance, the notorious piratical 'scrap deal' of a couple of years ago. Methodically, USIA's Trattnerhof secret service registered, and the Red Army secured, the vast quantities of war scrap in Vienna and Eastern Austria. Operating through Austrians, some of whom, after making gigantic paper profits, suddenly vanished eastwards when the deal was concluded, the Russians sold 200,000 tons of plundered scrap alone to Czechoslovakia's war industries. Switzerland took 85,000 tons, paying with American cars, chocolate, cigarettes and other goods subsequently sold by USIA at enormous profits on the black market. A few thousand tons went to Britain, smelted down, as duraluminum bars."

Soviet Scientists Re-making Their Earth

Professor Victor Kovda, Vice-Chairman of the Committee of Assistance to the Construction Works of Hydro-Electric Stations, Canals, and Irrigation Systems under the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, writes the following article that appeared in the *Soviet and Views*, dated May 7, 1952 :

"Huge stretches of world deserts and arid steppes lie on the territories of the Soviet Union, China, India, Afghanistan, Persia and Iraq. The great mountain ranges Hindukush, the Himalaya, and the Caucasus give rise to the mighty rivers Amu-Darya, Sir-Darya, Indus, Ganges,

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Brahmaputra, Kura and Kuban. The boundless Russian plains feed the Volga, Don, and Dnieper rivers. These rivers flow through the steppes and deserts, and men have been struggling for centuries to utilize their waters for irrigation. India, China and the Soviet Union possess huge areas of irrigated land and occupy the first place in the world as regards irrigated farming.

Exceptionally great work to transform the nature of the arid steppes and deserts has been undertaken in the Soviet Union. Shelter-belts are being planted and the waters of the Volga, Kura, Ural, Dnieper, Don, Kuban, Amu-Darya and Sir-Darya rivers as well as the subsoil waters are being used for this purpose. Within the next 5-7 years the total area of irrigated lands in the USSR will be increased from 6.5 million hectares to 13-14 million hectares; besides, 22 million hectares of pastures will be supplied with water to advance the development of animal breeding.

The Soviet Government and the people are rapidly building the hydro-technical systems in the South and the South-East of the European part of the USSR, in the Transcaucasus, and particularly in Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Kirghizia.

The Academy of Sciences of the USSR together with the Academies of Sciences of the Tajik and Uzbek Union Republices have organized a big combined scientific expedition which is conducting its work on the area of the Main Turkmenian Canal.

Another combined expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR headed by Academician V. N. Sukachev is conducting extensive researches in the zone of the Volga-Don canal and the Stalingrad hydro-technical system, and in the districts of the State shelter-belt afforestation. This expedition is studying the geological conditions, the soil and the geobotany of the districts where the new irrigation systems are being created, but it is particularly concerned with the elaboration of scientific methods of growing forests in the steppes and combatting soil erosion.

The dense wind-breaks that are being created in the USSR around the fields, at the water-sheds, and on the ravine slopes will help retain the snow, in the winter, decrease the out-flow of water and the washing down of the soil in the spring, and protect the fields against dry winds and excessive evaporation in the summer.

The Committee of Assistance, headed by the President of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, A. N. Nesmeyanov, has been organized under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR to direct all the scientific research conducted to help the great construction works.

The age-old dreams of progressive science about gaining control over the elemental forces of nature to lighten man's labour and create an abundance of material goods are being realized in the great works undertaken in the USSR."

We would like to hear of similar co-operation between the Scientists of India and the men who are planning, supervising and constructing the great river valley projects of our own country. Perhaps that will come when the present generation of bureaucrats have passed from the scene.

An Open Letter to Joliot-Curie

The following open letter appeared in the *New Leader* of U.S.A. in its May 12 issue :

"Dear M. Joliot-Curie,—We are gravely concerned over a message which was recently released under your signature from Prague. In this message you appear to give credence to reports from Communist China accusing the UN forces in Korea of waging germ war-fare.

We, too, have seen such reports in the daily press. These reports, all of them from Communist sources, embody charges of the gravest and most disturbing character : grave, because such charges cannot and must not be made lightly; and disturbing, because, if untrue, they mark another attempt by the Communists to infuse fear and hatred into a world that so desperately needs brotherhood and peace.

Thus, we must ask ourselves—how true are these reports ? As a scientist and Nobel Prize-winner yourself, you will agree that it is our duty—not only as scientists but as moral men—to ask this question. As scientists, we share the tradition of perpetual and uncompromising search for truth. We are trained to doubt what is unproven and to submit every claim—factual or theoretical—to the most rigorous of tests. Finally, as moral men—as human beings—it is our duty to confront the results of such tests—whatever they may be—with courage and honour, and to give the truths that result from such tests the widest possible currency.

But, as you well know, it has been most difficult so far, if indeed not impossible, to obtain information regarding the germ warfare charges which would permit a careful weighing of the evidence. Such evidence, we submit, is of crucial importance in reaching a conclusion on a matter that cannot but affect the deepest emotions of peoples throughout the world. And because of this, we are unable to understand why the Chinese Communist authorities, if they really believed in the truth of their charges, did not immediately respond to an offer of the International Red Cross to carry out a careful investigation on the scene of the reported epidemics.

Our misgivings were further increased by the fact that official Communist radio stations have alternated between reports of serious epidemics and denials that such epidemics exist. Equally suspicious was the allegation of the Soviet Union's spokesman at the United Nations, Mr. Joseph Malik, that the International Red Cross is not qualified to investigate the truth of the germ warfare charges. And, as if to compound our suspicions, Mr. Malik then asked us to believe that an

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obscure and highly partisan body of jurists incapable of conducting scientific investigations, and of reporting objectively on matters of fact. This—either as scientists or as moral men—we are unable to accept.

In the light of this, we believe it imperative that the Peiping authorities permit the entry of International Red Cross inspection teams into China and adjacent Korea—and also that they permit the entry of epidemic-contorl teams offered by the World Health Organization—if such epidemics do in fact exist. This special agency of the United Nations has established a notable record of successful emergency operations in distress areas. By first refusing to permit entry to the International Red Cross, and then by rejecting the aid offered by the World Health Organization, the Communist authorities, in Peiping and Moscow, have only confirmed existing skepticism of the germ warfare charges. Many of us have inevitably asked : What are the real motives for this seemingly well-coordinated propaganda campaign ?

You, Joliot-Curie, have now given the use of your name—or permitted it to be used—in support of these unverified charges. In so doing, you have incurred a grave responsibility, a responsibility to your fellow scientists throughout the world; and beyond that—to science itself and the truth which science must serve.

And so we ask you to accept your responsibilities. We ask you to withdraw your signature from the message recently issued at Prague. We ask you to raise your voice with ours in demanding that the germ warfare charges be put to the acid test by investigation teams of the International Red Cross or any other recognized impartial body.

In all good faith, we say : Associate yourself with us in this vitally important task, so that, together, we may establish the truth and make it known to all men.

Carl F. Cori, Nobel Prize in Medicine and Psysiology, 1947 ; Gerty T. Cori, Nobel Prize in Medicine and Physiology, 1947 ; C. J. Davisson, Nobel Prize in Physics, 1937 ; Joseph Erlanger, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1944 ; Philip S. Hench, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1950 ; H. J. Muller, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1946 ; William P. Murphy, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1934 ; Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize in Chemistry, 1934 ; George H. Whipple, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1934 ; Edward C. Kendall, Nobel Prize in Medicine, 1950."

The Chinese declaration that the U.S.A. was conducting germ-warfare behind the fighting lines in Korea and China has caused a world-wide sensation. American denial has been equally vehement. Here in India, most people are puzzled by this propaganda and counter-propaganda. A good few well-meaning gentlemen, without even a rudimentary knowledge of what the term "Germ-Warfare" implies have waxed eloquent—and sometimes exceedingly wroth—over this inhuman affair. The name of Joliot-Curie, the Nobel Prizeman, has been used a lot by the Communist and fellow-travellers' press, here and abroad, the common idea being that Nobel laureates—like kings—can do no wrong, nor utter untruths. Here is the counter-challenge from Nobel laureates of another denomination.

Tibet or "Bod"

The New York *World Interpreter* had the following in its November 10 issue on Tibet :

"To you it's Tibet, but the natives call it Bod. Estimates of its population vary all the way from one to four million, though the smaller figure is more nearly correct. In size it is over three times as large as California, but precise statistics or boundary delimitations are wanting.

"*Whose Is It ?* By origin, the people are not Chinese; They are closer to the Indians, the earliest known settlers having gone northward, apparently, from Nepal, the independent kingdom on India's northern frontier. Yet for generations, the Chinese have called it theirs, and gazetteers back them up. Except under duress, the Tibetans have never agreed to Chinese rule. In 1907, however, a treaty between Britain and Russia recognized Chinese control. In 1910, Chinese armed forces marched in and took over, while the Tibetan government fled to India. Next year came the Chinese Revolution and dissension among the Chinese troops, which made withdrawal necessary. Again in 1917, the Chinese attacked, but were beaten off by Tibetan soldiers supplied by the British.

"From the view-point of Chinese Communism, an invasion of Tibet is logical. Communist regimes cling to the privileges claimed by their royal and capitalist predecessors. No one can deny the need of reform and modernization for the Tibetans, who are kept in ignorance under a predatory system of rigid social classes : the priesthood, the nobles, the tradesmen, the peasants, the herders. On paper, the Chinese Communists have promised moderation. Last August, General Liu Po-cheng, head of the South-west Military and Administrative Committee, pledged regional self-government, freedom of worship, respect for monasteries and the people's traditions.

"*World Politics Involved*: Primary reason for the invasion just now is the need of face-saving; having failed to rescue the North Koreans, Mao Tse-tung's Communist Government must try to bolster up its renown. The Kremlin, likewise, requires something to advertise after its Korean debacle. It is standard procedure for Totalitarian regimes, when they are blocked in more important directions, to conquer weak neighbors in order to feed the legend of undiminished power.

"*Economic Factors* : Economic considerations played a part in the decision of the Chinese Communists. After Mao Tse-tung achieved power, Tibet tightened its frontiers. Trade, always mainly with India but to some extent carried on also with China, was cut down with the Red regime at Peiping. There is for China the lure of gold; not only has one mine in West Tibet been worked for 75 years; gold particles are found in the river beds, indicat-

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ing rich deposits in the mountains. Western-educated young Chinese in Mao's government have been urging geologic exploration on a scale surpassing that by the British, who have done more than anyone so far although the land has never been fully searched."

Six months after, the position remains as obscure as ever.

Communists Kill and Plunder

The Madras Tamil daily *Bharat Devi* writes :

"It is funny that a Bombay contemporary, a critic of the Congress Party and Prime Minister Nehru in season and out of season should claim to know the mind of the Congress High Command."

"In the Madras Assembly recently, Rajaji told Communists that they should consider him their Enemy No. 1. The paper says that this attitude of Rajaji does not appeal to top-ranking leaders like Pandit Nehru!"

"None will look into Opposition papers to know the views of Congress leaders. Our Readers will note carefully the speech of the Hyderabad Congress leader, Swami Ramanand Tirth, in the House of the People, during the debate on the President's Address."

"The Communists had set fire to the house of a person who had offered him food, he said."

"In many of the villages, innocent villagers were massacred, not Zamindars. Thousands of cattle were made to roam from one place to another simply to dislocate the economic life of the people. More than 250 Congress workers and sympathisers have been "liquidated" by the Communists in Telangana."

"If that is the picture when the Communists are not in office, what will be the fate of the people if they are in office ? Members of the House of the People and the public well know that fate."

"As the Hyderabad leader has stressed, the armed struggle waged by the Communist Party in Telangana was not an agrarian struggle. The Communist aim was to terrorise the people and overthrow the Nehru Government by violent means. So, the villagers who had, even in the remotest degree, anything to do with his visit, were harassed by the Communists."

"The Swami has further revealed in his speech that even now the Communists in Telangana were armed. During the elections armed Communist squads wandered about the villages terrorising the people. Women were threatened that their 'kunkum' would be removed and their 'mangalyasatram,' says the Swami."

"Threse are the tactics of Communists all over India. Wherever the situation is favourable to them there they carry out their policy of destruction. The people very well know the atrocities of Communists in Andhra Desa. Imbued with the philosophy of Rakshasas they adopt the tactics of Rakshasas."

"In the House of the People, Swami Ramanad Tirth has also exposed the triple role the Communists wear. The first is the United Democratic Fronts in Legislatures with non-Congress parties, the bait being the Communists' minimum programme."

"But this is their second role—they exploit the poor workers and attempt to spread confusion and disaffection in the country. Then it is the armed guerilla squads of Communists who enter helpless villages, loot and plunder and destroy rural societies—their third role."

"Communism and Democracy are poles asunder. The policy of Indian Communists is to destory Indian democracy and instal in its place a dictatorship."

"Hence it is our first duty to preserve our hard-won freedom and save our people from the Communist tentacles."

"By their violent tactics the Indian Communists have become the enemies of the country. Knowing this only too well, Rajai told them that he is their Enemy No. 1. For our part, we do not find anything wrong in Rajaji's attitude."

Since then, Shree Satyanarain Sinha has joined issue, in the Central Assembly, with the Communists.

Dr. Satyanarain Sinha (Congress—Bihar) repeating his allegations against the Communist Party said that the general line of Shrimati Renu Chakravarty's speech yesterday was from an ariticle written by one Levin.

Shrimati Chakravarty challenged the member to produce the article and demanded a parliamentary commission to enquire into the matter.

The Speaker said Parliament's main business was not to enquire which member was right and which member wrong. "It has to deliberate very seriously on the problems before it ignoring all passion, parties and personalities."

He also told Dr. Sinha that it was not for him to say that a member repeated another person's argument. Then the issue before the House was entirely clouded. He asked him to take care that he did not make any personal allegation.

Dr. Sinha continuing said that Shrimati Chakravarty's argument that "our defence policy is a part of the Anglo-American imperialist policy is not the voice of the party sitting before us but the voice of somebody on the other side of the hills."

He said he himself was a cadet in an army school in Europe where Indians were taught how to weaken "our defence and criticise our Government."

Dr. Sinha, who was repeatedly challenged during his speech, accused the Communists of trying to distract the attention of the people "through a mock fire" on one side while they silently penetrated from the other into the Indian defence system.

He also alleged that at a meeting in Berlin in July August 1950 certain Indian Communist leaders had promised that "the interests of the Cimmunist fatherland will be the first and the interests of India will come next."

Shri Harin Chattopadhyaya—I challenge him to prove that, it is absolutely wrong.

Dr. Sinha quoted from a document a resolution, which he said, had been adopted in Berlin on August 5,

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1950 at 11-30 at night. The resolution said: "The members of the Communist Party must convince the general public that in case of a general war the duty of the people is to help the Communist army in establishing peace."

Describing the Berlin meeting as "the origin of the Communist peace movement," Dr. Sinha asked the House not to be "carried away by Communist manoeuvres and deficit but face realities."

Dr. Sinha said the Cominform was sending the trained Indians back to India for the purpose of helping it "liberate" India from the Anglo-American imperialists. Accordingly, they had prepared a plan and in that plan he alleged Kashmir was shown as British territory.

Prof. Hirendra Mookerjee: Can the member repeatedly refer to certain documents of mysterious character which he has not got the guts to submit before the House?

The Deputy Speaker ruled that any member, if he referred to any document, must place it before the House.

After the passage-at-arms in the Parliament the whole matter has been referred to a Committee of Privileges.

There is nothing original in Communist activities. Every independent State has to maintain its secret service for uses against internal and external enemces.. What is original, perhaps, was invented by Franco when he talked loudly of the "Fifth Column". Stalin has borrowed it and bettered in the borrowing.

We for ourselves have a queer feeling that perhaps the tactics now employed by that fifth column in India, are the same as was employed—time and environments considered—by Umichand and his fellow-travellers a hundred and fifty years ago, when John Company was disrupting the Moghul Empire for its own, absolutely own, benefit. The British came into India for the "liberation" of Indians and they kept up that mockery to the end. And we Indians got 150 years of abject slavery, destitution and degradation as a result. Now we have the Neo-Umichands advocating "liberation of the people" under a foreign banner!

South Africa's Apartheid

It has been reported that a Civil Disobedience campaign on a country-wide scale is on the move in South Africa. Meagre details have come out in the daily press as yet. At this juncture it is of great importance as to how the press abroad views it. We append below a comprehensive extract from the *New Leader* of U.S.A. It appeared in an article entitled "Behind the Crisis in South Africa" in its May issue:

"It is ironical that at the very time when white South Africa has proclaimed a political truce in order to unite in celebration of the 300th anniversary of its birth, a more profound disunity has rent it than any experienced since the Boer War ended fifty years ago. The first week in April saw the climax of the ter-centenary celebration of the landing of Jan van Riebeeck on the shores of Table Bay—an event which marked the establishment of the first white man's settlement in the southern half of the great African continent. At the beginning of the year, Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan had issued an appeal for a truce on all differences during the period of the celebration, and it was generally agreed among all white political factions that this was a time to observe unity. The truce was, in fact, observed, but with the very thinnest veneer of sincerity.

On the actual day of the commemoration of Van Riebeeck's landing, the "Unity of the Nation," which was its theme, was so little apparent that the castle which Van Riebeeck had built a few hundred yards from the foreshore was filled with armored cars standing by to take action against expected disturbances. That is perhaps characteristic of South African life, for the disturbances were expected from the non-Europeans. What was much less characteristic was that, when the actor impersonating Van Riebeeck landed from the model ship, he presented a casket theoreitcally containing the law to the Chief Justice, who had to hand it to the Prime Minister for preservation. It was this same Chief Justice, Centlivres, who a fortnight previously had declared the unanimous verdict of his Supreme Court that one of Dr. Malan's most cherished Acts was unconstitutional, eliciting from Dr. Malan the retort that the courts were meddling in politics and that he would pass another act to prevent such verdicts in the future. If South Africans have the least sense of humor, they must surely have burst into ripe laughter on seeing the Prime Minister being entrusted with the law by the Chief Justice whom he had publicly abused.

The constitutional issue which has provoked the present crisis is certainly complex, and distinguished lawyers have expressed contrary opinions on it. The issue originated from the manner in which the South African Parliament itself was first constituted. After the Boer War, the British Liberal Government considered that it was implementing Liberal principles in its international policy, first, by returning responsible self-government to the two defeated Boer republics and then by offering self-government to the whole country. To draw up a constitution, representatives of the four South African provinces were called together in a National Convention where they discussed the form which the government should take. On two issues they were deeply divided. The first was the equality of the English and Afrikans languages, the second was the preservation of the liberal franchise laws of the Cape Province—which at that time did not discriminate in politics on grounds of color. It was finally decided that, to safeguard these two most significant rights, each would be "entrenched" in the South Africa Act in such a way that they could only be

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altered by a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Parliament at a joint sitting. The South Africa Act passed by the British Houses of Parliament in 1909, and brought into effect in 1910, thus contained these two "entrenched" clauses.

The liberal elements in South Africa believed that they had thus safeguarded for all time the right of the non-European to vote in the Cape Province and hoped that the recognition of this right would subsequently spread to the other provinces. They were utterly wrong. The Afrikaners, who had lost the military Boer War, had won the war of ideology, and by the 1920s the agitation to remove all Africans from the common elcetoral register had secured widespread adherence. Even the grant of the vote to white women and then the abolition of all franchise qualifications for white people, which drastically curtailed the power of the non-European vote, failed to satisfy those who had become frightened that the European voters would eventually be swamped.

Meanwhile, the Statute of Westminster had been passed in 1931 and this established the complete sovereignty and independence of each of the Dominions and abolished all forms of control by Britain. It was argued that the passing of the Statute of Westminster would abrogate the entrenched clauses of the South Africa Act, which was an act of the British Parliament. To avoid this danger, the South African Parliament, which included many members of today's Nationalist Government, unanimously passed an amendment declaring that the entrenched clauses were in no way affected.

So when Parliament came in 1936 to remove the African voters from the common electoral roll and to offer them, as compensation, three white members elected separately, Parliament without protest used the method laid down in the entrenched clauses.

In 1948, however, the year Dr. Malan came to power, his Nationalist party had demanded in its election manifesto the removal from the common electoral roll of the last of the non-Europeans—the Cape Coloreds (South Africans of mixed descent). But the new government had only a bare majority—it had, in fact, been elected by a minority vote—and knew that, if only because the Cape Coloreds always voted against the Nationalists, it could never expect the support of the Opposition. The Nationalists therefore set out immediately to prove that the entrenched clauses were no longer valid. They quoted a comment of the Supreme Court in 1937 in support of their claims, and asserted that if Parliament was sovereign it had the right to enact what legislation it thought fit and could not be bound by an act of the parliament of another country. The Government therefore introduced, debated and passed in 1951, by a simple majority, the Separate Representation of Voters Act, which removed the 50,000 Colored voters from the common roll and offered them four separately elected European members in compensation. The Act was fought by the Opposition and stimulated particularly the ex-servicemen, who had seen the Nationalists' Fascist sympathies during the war, to set up the Torch Commando and inaugurate mass demonstrations of protest. Four Colored voters took the case to the courts, and on March 20 of this year the Supreme Court unanimously declared that the Act was invalid as Parliament had contravened the South Africa Act.

The constitutional issue presents a number of interesting points. In a unitary constitutoin on the British model, parliament is almost, if not completely, unchecked in its power. A British government could, for instance, extend its term of office indefinitely; but the voluntary checks and balances of a mature and homogeneous political society prevent this danger from becoming real. South Africa, however, is not politically mature or homogeneous, so that the danger of absolutism and arbitrary action by one section is always present. Then again, it may be asked if the Government does not recognize the validity of the South Africa Act, from which the South African Parliament itself derives its authority. This is a very relevant question in a country in which the white community, one quarter of the total population, maintains a monopoly of political power.

But if there are complexities in the constitutional issue, the moral and political issues are straightforward. The same Nationalists who today are, for expediency's sake, claiming that the Constitution is invalid and that the Cape Colored voters endanger white civilization, were themselves during the 1930s publicly declaring that the entrenched clauses would never be touched and assuring the Colored voters that they need never fear any alteration of their franchise rights. Moreover, in their desire to whip up emotionalism in support of their attack upon the courts, members of the Government are now appealing to anti-British and anti-imperialist feelings which are quite irrelevant to the issue. They are claimnig, for instance, that South Africa cannot consider itself to be a sovereign state if its Parliament is bound by the provisions of a British Act of Parliament. This is a completely irrelevant polemic. As Americans will immediately recognize, national sovereignty and parliamentary sovereignty are not necessarily synonymous. But, in any case, the South Africa Act was drafted by the South African National Convention and passed by the British Parliament without amendment, in accordance with the wishes of the South Africans themselves. Again, the courts have not challenged the sovereign authority of Parliament but have declared, rather, that no individual government is entitled to break the parliamentary rules.

This constitutional crisis is very seriously affecting the political situation in the Union. Among the

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Nationalists, it is producing increased support for the Republican extremists led by J. G. Strydom. They would break the connection with the Commonwealth, set up an Afrikaner Republic on a basis of authoritarianism, puritanical rigidity and fanatical color consciousnses and destroy all vestiges of Western democratic forms. On the Opposition side, there is a rapidly growing realization that theirs may well be a last-ditch stand to prevent the establishment of a totalitarian regime. This has led to an alliance of the United party, Labour party and Torch Commando.

The days are long since past when the rest of the world can simply sit back with indifference and watch such a struggle develop. Americans, in particular, have a personal interest in the affairs of South Africa. To start at the lowest level, they have a stake in the mining of minerals and the development of industry, and if the Point Four program means anything this will progressively develop. Strategically, too, the importance of the South African ports is increasingly significant as the Mediterranean becomes indefensible, while the ideological invitation to Communism in that unhappy country is obvious. Then again, the relations between whites and non-whites in South Africa have a tremendous emotional influence upon race relations throughout the world and cannot but have an important impact upon the American racial scene. Finally, in the Atlantic Charter, the United Nations Charter and the Charter of Human Rights, fundamental rights have been guaranteed to all human beings, no matter what the color of their skins or racial origin. America has taken a leading role in the march toward the establishment of the essential unity of the human race, and it is this principle of life which is directly challenged by South African society."

"How Europe Curbs Inflation ?"

Under the above caption the *News Week* of New York gives a review, in its June 9 issue, of an address by Per Jacobson, the economic advisor of the Bank for International Settlements at Basle:

"At the end of the first World War most countries were eager to return quickly to stable currencies and to the gold standard. But after the second World War, under the influence of Lord Keynes, they preferred cheap money and deficit spending. This, they supposed, was the secret of perpetual 'full employment.'

"Keynes' influence, however, was never as great on the continent of Europe as in England and America. As such they have been faced more immediately with the evils of inflation. They have learned to dislike controls. For the imposition of controls has been very closely connected with the Nazi, and Fascist regimes. 'Europe, therefore, has shown itself to be more liberal in this respect indicating adherence to a free economy'."

It is interesting to note how different countries of the Continent curbed inflation in their country through the monetary and fiscal policies.

"Switzerland led the departure from cheap money and the free market quotation of the Swiss franc was for several years above the corresponding quotation of the dollar. Belgium followed sound policy and soon achieved monetary stability. It was criticised in England for permitting unemployment; but Belgian workers supported the policy as holding down prices and helping them to achieve higher real wages.

"In Italy, by 1949, prices has risen to 55 times the pre-war level. But the Central Bank of the country then raised interest rates, imposed severe credit restrictions, and cut off all food subsidies. These seemed harsh measures but they stopped the price rise

"Following a crisis in Germany in October, 1950, the discount rate of the Bank Deutscher Lander was increased from 4 per cent to 6 per cent. Ordinary bank accommodation could be obtained only at rates between 8 and 12 per cent. It was soon found that the programme adopted in Germany was working wonders. It has shown that a country as burdened with difficulties as Western Germany can, through a resolute credit policy, suddenly reverse its position.

"Similar changes were made in Holland and Austria. Policies in the same direction have been adopted in France and Britain. On March 11, for example, the Bank of England increased its discount rate from 2½ to 4 per cent."

We in India have adopted certain restrictive measures in credit and trade transactions following the announcement in England. But England herself was the last one to follow suit to other continental countries of Europe. Since 1949 most of the countries of the West, as we see, faced with the problem of inflation and high price level, and higher cost of living, adopted various restrictive measures to arrest the upward movement of the prices. After they had definitely proved successful then only did Great Britain adopted their policy. The Government of India copied what was considered by the Britisher as best.

But one thing in this connection is worth mentioning that for an Asiatic undeveloped country like India with unorganised banking system, how far the credit policy will be successful remains to be seen. For, here the bank rate can hardly influence the money market which is substantially contorlled by the indigenous bankers.

Business or Blackmail ?—Tea Industry

"A Common Man" wrote the following in the *Madras Weekly* of June 1 last. Our readers' attention is drawn to what he said about the Tea Industry, with its elaborate paraphernalia of a Tea Control Board with representatives generally of the Tea Garden ; those of Labour and the Consumers are in a perpetual minority.

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"If big business in India is to be believed, it is ever in the throes of crisis after crisis."

"Its leading spokesman, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, has now invited the government's attention, we are told, to the serious position of the tea industry."

"Before I consider the justice or otherwise of this demand, let me point out the vicious circle in which the Federation finds itself."

"It was reported recently that a deputation consisting of leading industrialists, who met the Planning Commission on behalf of the Federation, had impressed on the Government that while the need for increasing production and raising the standard of living was realised, difficulties had risen on account of fall in consumption by the community."

"To what cause should we attribute the fall in demand for consumer goods in India?"

"Plainly to the lack of purchasing power of the people, and not to the saturation of production. Even the industrialists admit that it is not a case of satisfied needs but of absence of purchasing power."

"Has it ever occurred to our industrialists that the non-consumption is due to the excessive cost of the goods."

"Again, has it ever occurred to them that the real solution of the problem lies in the reduction of production costs and not in lowering production?"

"After having reaped a rich harvest on account of wartime shortages, the industrialists now threaten to close down the factories at the first sign of accumulation of stocks, in other words, of reduced profits."

"This tendency is deplorable and govevrnment must curb it with a strong hand in the interests of the consumer."

"But the industrialists' ready reply is that production costs cannot be lowered as raw materials cost more and government's labour legislation makes a heavy commitment for the industry."

"As these are the reasons trotted out for the new demand for the abolition of the export duty on tea, we shall now consider its case."

"The tea industry has been demanding relief on the ground that the competitive capacity of the industry in the world market has been crippled by the high cost of production."

"A *prima faci* case for relief was sought to be made out early this month by Mr. B. C. Ghose, chairman of the Indian Tea Planters' Association at the annual meeting of the association. The total world production this year, according to him, was estimated to be 50 million lbs. in excess of world consumption, and countries like Indonesia, East Africa, Formosa, Indo-China, Iran and Malaya had sharply increased production."

"The prospect for 1952 seems to be gloomy and immediate steps should be taken to abolish the export and excise duties on tea if the industry is to be protected against loss, said Mr. Ghose."

'This thesis of Mr. Ghose is however contradicted in an article in the April issue of the Lloyds Bank Review by Sir P. J. Griffiths, a former Chairman of the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board."

"He quoted the following figures:"

Year	World Tea Production
1937 ..	1,000 million lbs.
1941	1,100 million lbs.
1951	1,200 million lbs.

"In spite of all the difficulties of labour, personnel, 'phoney' auctions and finance, the leaders of the industry are able to look forward with reasonable confidence, says Sir Percival."

"In the case of India, in particular, Sir Percival says that the scope for increased consumption is almost unlimited."

"Lest I should be told that foreigner's opinion is not valid, let me quote the *Indian Finance:*

"But even with the setbacks in demand in certain countries, it has to be noted that the international demand for Indian tea is slightly on the upward trend. The shrinkage of the overseas market is thus not a fact of the present but only an uncertain prospect for the future. If in the near future total world production were to exceed consumption demand as at the present levels, it is only then that the Indian producer will be called upon to examine the problem of a competitive price. . . . Nothing has yet happened in India or elsewhere to justify an alarmist view of the prospects for the tea industry."

"With its usual unerring instinct to put its finger on the real sore spot, the*Indian Finance* says:

"For a time the Government of India were sitting tight over the appeals for reduction in export duties. Their attitude was also justifiable, but circumstances have since then become more compelling and substantial and drastic reductions have been conceded for jute goods. More commodities have queued up for the same kind of consideration. Tea can put up a good case, though we are afraid, not a very pressing one."

It is this periodical queue up of one industry after another that I strongly condemn. The tendency has been, "If the jute industry gets the benefit of lower export duty, why not tea".

"The case, then, for such revision of excise and export duties must be carefully investigated."

"For instance, everyone would have noticed the striking contrast between the poverty and misery of tea garden workers and the obvious prosperity of the planters on their isolated hill stations."

What is needed, therefore, is a thorough investigation of all the items that make up production costs and the possible effects on internal prices which may result from lower export duty, before any relief is to be thought of.

Preoccupied as the Nehru Government are in meeting the poor crisis, other aspects of our economy are apt to be lost sight of. The frequent alarms of industrialists force them into tight corners from which the only escape

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would seem to be to placate the industries concerned. The time has, however, come to cry a halt to this kind of economic blackmail by Big Business in India and to direct it into truly business channels.

This Control Board has thus become a nest of Big Capital. Their concern for Labour Welfare was shown by the way they "suppressed" a film on conditions in Tea Gardens and suggestions for their improvement. We demand that the consumer, the ultimate sufferer be given a majority representation.

Freedom of Expression

This subject has become the staple of discussion in our papers. University students in their training for journalism are told the story how in the West they secured this valued right and how their people had fought and wrought for it. But there is a tendency even amongst full-blooded upholders of freedom, editors of papers, to deny that luxury to the writers who in their own name write something that jars on the sensitive conception of a religion's excellence. These have become part of everyday experience, and writers develop in themselves a spirit of cynicism that smiles on the pompious talk of honesty and freedom.

In the United States they do things in a grand way. They held a "Defence of Cultural Freedom" Conference in March 29 last. About 600 "intellectuals" attended it, and had "a gruelling day of intense discussion." Daniel James writing in the *New Leader* of April 7 last says that this Conference continued the work of the "World Congress for Cultural Freedom," held in June, 1950. The question was asked, "Who threatens Cultural Freedom in America?"

The schools or "states of mind" are said to have emerged. One, the 19th century libertarian; the third was the other extreme—"the ultra sophisticated school of anti-Communism"; in between are a middle party who only understand "the Soviet threat and the need to combat it." . . . "They see the mass of ordinary people . . . as so much plasticine to be molded into a harder form through constant indoctrination. These so-called 'experts' have carried with them into the democratic camp the emergency-mentality of totalitarianism, like a germ in its dormant phase that has incubated in the cold atmosphere of the world crisis."

As opposed to this there was the position of Sidney Hook, Chairman of the Conference and of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, who believes that a distinction can be made between Communism as an ideological heresy and Communism as a politico-military conspiracy. As Hook writes in his new pamphlet, *Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No*:

"A heresy does not shrink from publicity. It welcomes it. Not so a conspiracy. The signs of a conspiracy are secrecy, anonymity; the use of false names and fronts, the calculated lie. It does not offer its wares openly but by systematic infiltration into all organizations of cultural life. . . . .

"Communist *ideas* are heresies and liberals need have no fear of them where they are freely and openly expressed. . . . . No one should be punished because he holds them. The Communist *movement*, however, is something quite different from a mere heresy. . . . . " (Italics in original.)

Can you prosecute Communists without banning their ideas?

This is the dilemma that faces India's Prime Minister. He feels unable to say as the Madras Premier has said that he is Communism's "Enemy No. I."

Potato Muddle

The grievance voiced by the Opposition members of the Bombay Legislative Assembly over the inordinate delay the Minister for Agriculture took to inform the House of the loss incurred in the Potato scheme is to a great extent justifiable. The loss of nearly Rs. 5 lakhs was incurred because the potato seeds from the Simla Hills were held up due to a transport bottle-neck caused by the Punjab disturbances and hence could not be distributed to the cultivators in time. Though this took place as late as August, 1947, the fact was not brought to the notice of the Assembly till the other day; actually the intimation of the loss formed part of the demands in the Supplementary Statement of expenditure. The query raised by members regarding this time-lag was pertinent. Unfortunately, Mr. M. P. Patil's reply that the Government took five years to decide the procedure for accounting the loss was not very happy. There was nothing to prevent the Ministry from informing the members of the events and later deciding about such a routine matter as accounting. The episode has another aspect. The cultivators for whom the seeds are meant are bound by an agreement they have signed with the Government pledging themselves to bear any loss that is incurred by the Government in arranging the distribution of seeds. It is good that the Government shared the loss in this particular case, but the provision to force the cultivators to share losses for incurring which they were not responsible is much too rigid.

This experience of Bombay has been repeated in West Bengal. And in spite of Shree Gopalaswamy Iyengar's tenure of office for about four years, the bottle-necks are as plenty as ever.

Regrettable Negligence

The following extract from the *Harijan* of June 7 shows how slack and unconscionably irresponsible our officialdom has become. The Indian Constitution makers in their infantile simplicity forgot that the clauses that they were inserting in the Charter of Liberties were weapons in the hands of the Reckless, the Lawless and the Slacker:

"About eight or nine months ago a public-spirited merchant of the West Khandesh District (Bombay) brought to my notice that so far back as November 1950 orders had been passed to establish a Civil Court at Taloda (West Khandesh), a building had been

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occupied and excepting the Judge all the clerical and other staff had been appointed and maintained at a cost of about Rs. 1,000|- per month. I was told that since then all the litigation falling within the jurisdiction of the new Court was being nominally transferred to that Court and all new litigation had to be filed in that Court. But, curiously, although more than half a year had then already elapsed no Judge had taken charge of that Court, and all cases triable by that Court remained suspended. He desired me to take public notice of this delay, waste of public money and inconvenience to the public.

"I regret that for a long time I did not believe his story and neglected him. I thought that this was hardly possible, and that he was either exaggerating or misinformed. As he would not rest or allow me to do so, I demanded more substantial evidence. He thereupon sent me copies of a resolution of the Bhil Seva Mandal, West Khandesh, pertaining to that subject, and of some correspondence between that body and the Government of Bombay, and asked me to publish his complaint on his personal responsibility. From the correspondence I found that the Government of Bombay had referred the Bhil Seva Mandal to the High Court of Bombay, as that Department was responsible for the appointment of Judges. But the Mandal did not seem to have pursued the matter with the High Court, and the matter had stopped there. I decided that before taking notice in *Harijan*, I should personally enquire into the matter."

"The net result is that there was a wasteful expenditure of Rs. 1,000 per month for 15 or 16 months, and even now there is not sufficient work for the Judge, and necessarily, therefore, for the staff. For the same period, the public was left without any judicial authority to attend to their even urgent grievances. The absence of State-established judiciary is not in itself an undesirable thing, but it would have been welcome if it had been brought about by the people. In this case it has been due to gross negligence on the part of the Judicial and|or Executive authorities of the State.

"The High Court and the Government shift the blame on each other. In what manner shall I apportion the blame ?

"The Government have been frank enough to write to me expressing regret 'for the waste of public money involved in this,' and 'for the state of things in which such a thing happened.' They also add, 'We are trying our utmost to minimize such incidents.'

"I did not pursue the matter further with the High Court as there was no more occasion left for it. But I believe that if I had, the Chief Justice and the Judges would also have expressed their regret for what had happened and promised to try to improve the administration from their side.

"If a case of such negligence of trust funds had come to the notice of the High Court in the course of a legal proceeding before it, I can imagine what strictures the High Court would have passed against the Trustees. Perhaps they would have been held unworthy of holding positions of responsibility.

"But who am I to pass strictures on either the Government or the High Court when I feel myself guilty of contributory negligence on my part also? If I had believed my correspondent, and written to the High Court, when the matter was first brought to my notice eight or nine months ago, perhaps the matters would have been set right much earlier than they have been. But it did not strike me.

"The tragedy of the situation is that there is none either in the Judiciary or in the Executive who attends to these matters. The Bar Room of the District concerned should have pursued this matter. It too did not. And there is no public institution—not even the Congress Committee—keenly watchful of public interest. It was left to a poor village shopkeeper who is also a public worker to pursue it. When he failed to interest the officers, legislators, and public bodies of the district, he turned to me. Unfortunately, I too turned a deaf ear to him for long. But for his perseverance, the waste might have still gone on."

Earth, The Mother of Everyone

The following is a fairly close English rendering of a poem by one of the best known Hindi poets, Shri Maithili Saran Gupta, inspired by Vinoba's pilgrimage :

Fickle is Lakshmi, unstable for ever, wayward as lightning flickering gone.
Constant is Earth the Mother, whom never may any man take for himself alone.
How many sons of Man, your brethren, are cheated of bliss.
They have no part in the land, who then shall answer for this ?
Now is the God-given moment, now will the gift avail.
Give for their sakes, of your riches, let justice and mercy prevail.
Glory is yours for the gathering now, like ripe fruit fallen before you strown.
Constant is Earth the Mother, whom never may any man take for himself alone.
A prophet, a leader is with us, the pathway of right to make straight.
Could there be greater good fortune than this which is now our fate ?
Behold the merit you sought for hath come of itself—Oh heed !
For the call of Life, unheeded, of death may be the seed.
Yes, where the sap of Truth springs not, there is the blight of poison thrown.

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Constant is Earth the Mother, whom never may any man take for himself alone.

We quote the above from the *Harijan* of March 8, 1952.

Ram Mohun Roy Library

This cultural institution in North-east Calcutta has a record of work of more than 25 years. Its report for 1951 continues the previous history, and its financial position is as good as can be expected under present conditions. Its Library is one of the best in Calcutta, containing books that are rare. The Government has not been doing its duty by it. Its gift of books worth Rs. 1,300 is not enough; neither is the Corporation's Rs. 500 considering the requirements of the public of North-east Calcutta, the grants from these should be continuous and considerable, so that the Library may have a distinct plan to carry out with assurance.

An aspect of the Library's work is the study circle that sits every Thursday at 7 p.m., where literature, science, history, sociology, politics, economics, philosophy, religion and kindred subjects are discussed by men who can speak with authority.

"Nations Now in Distress"

Under this title *The Brethren Missionary Herald* published on May 3 last a letter which needs no comments from us :

"The Lord Jesus was often asked for signs. Upon one occasion He said to His disciples : 'There shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars, and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth."—(Luke 21: 25-26).

"These words will help one understand why the editor of the *Fort Wayne* (*Ind.*) *News-Sentinel* (April 24, 1952) wrote these words :

'How's this for sheer governmental nonsense? We co-operate with Soviet Russia in dismantling Berlin industries, most of the equipment going to Russia, where it is destined to bolster the Red threat against the freedom and that of the rest of the world.

'Then we spend 400 million dollars since 1949, to rebuild these Berlin industries to what they were before we gave the Russians the 'go' sign to tear them down and cart them behind the Iron Curtain.'

'Besides that we gave the Russians a lot of Marshall Plan money to help set them up in business as they are today.

'It certainly is ironical that money raised by our free American economy should first be spent to build up Russia and tear down Germany, and then be spent to build up Germany with the idea that she may help to tear down Russia. Can't we make up our minds?'

"Indeed, the nations of this old world are in a state of distress and perplexity and in need of the Prince of Peace who alone can bring about order and peace."

This contradiction of policies on the part of the victorious powers has been one of the causes of the present tension between the Soviet Bloc and the Anglo-American Powers. The two world wars have demonstrated that reparations do ultimately fall on the victors. Because, the defeated peoples have to be kept alive, have to be given work, the capital is being supplied by the victors. This ought to make wars an economically impossible proposition. But human history says otherwise. We are unteachable.

Post-Graduate Studies at German Universities and Technical Institutions

The following has been sent us by the Director of Publicity, West Bengal :

"Under the Indo-German Industrial Co-operation Scheme, the Government of India have accepted 50 scholarships for Post-graduate studies at German Universities and Technical Institutions for Arts, Science and Medical subjects and 100 places for training in Industries. The minimum qualification is a good degree. For training in Industries candidates are required to possess not less than two years' practical experience. The age limit is between 20 and 35 years, but for Medical subjects up to 40 years. Out of 100 places for training in Industries, 10 are reserved for teachers employed in Technical Institutions and 30 for the Scientific Man-Power Committee Stipendiaries. Candidates or their sponsors will have to meet half the cost of training. For full particulars of subjects, qualifications and other matters please write to the Ministry of Education, Scholarships Division, Government of India, New Delhi. The last date for receipt of applications in the Ministry of Education *is 5th July, 1952*. All applications should be made on the prescribed forms to be obtained from the Ministry of Education Scholarships Division, on requisition.

"The candidates in Government Service or employed anywhere else must submit their application through proper channel. Applications received direct from such candidates will not be considered. In case of any expected delay in sending applications through proper channel, an advance copy may be sent but it will be considered only if the application through proper channel is received in due course.

"Candidates are required to attach to their applications two copies of their passport size photograph, copies of University Degree/Diplomas attested by a Gazetted Officer or a Professor in a University/Degree College in support of statements made regarding educational qualifications and a medical certificate from a registered medical practitioner to the effect that they are physically fit to undergo training in West Germany. The candidates should have a working knowledge of German."

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Poet of the People

Max Eastman in the *Readers' Digest* of 1946, wrote an article on Robert Burns, the poet of Scotland under the above title. As we, most of us, claim to speak on behalf of the people, Eastman's estimate is of inestimable value. First, he refers to the "travail" of spirit, of the intellect. "Euclid's Elements of Geometry," he somehow managed to "unravel" by his father's fire-side, during "the winter evenings of the first season he held the plough."

In youth he founded a debating society whose bylaws decreed that "every man proper for a member . . . must be a professed lover of *one or more* of the female sex." And to that bylaw he adhered throughout life, maintaining "from both bachelor and wedlock experience" that love is "the first of human joys."

The Kirk an' State may join, and tell
To do sic things I maunna ;
The Kirk an' State may gae to Hell,
And I'll gae to my Anna.

However, Burns strictly obeyed the Kirk and state till 23, and aside from a calf-love song or two, his real career as a poet began in a spirit of humorous play. He would make up funny and affectionate rhymes about the farm animals, or derisive rhymes about the squabblings of neighboring preachers over the dogmas of John Calvin.

While rhyming for fun, Burns exercised a moral and political influence equalled by few men of his century. Calvin's rigid theology of damnation was dry, dark and cruel in the Scotland of those days but it was lightened by the stream of hilarious laughter and unanswerable logic that poured from the poems of Robert Burns. Burns is as much the teacher of Scotland as Homer was of Greece.

How many of India's modern poets have attained this popularity ? Except Rabindranath's songs, we cannot recall any.

John Dewey

By the death of John Dewey on June 1, 1952, the civilized world loses one of the foremost educators and philosophers of all time. John Dewey influenced educational practices in the United States and many other countries for more than two generations. He achieved world-wide fame for his influence on contemporary thought and as a champion of progressive causes.

After the death of William James, Dewey was regarded in the United States as the leader of the pragmatic movement in philosophy. Often referred to as the philosopher of the plain man, it was said of him : "There is hardly a phase of American thought to which he has not made some contribution, hardly an aspect of American life which he has left uninterpreted. His influence has extended to the schools, the courts, the labour movement and the politics of the nation."

According to Max Eastman, noted author, "John Dewey . . . is the man who saved our children from dying of boredom as we almost did in school." It was largely due to his teaching, said the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, that "the centre of gravity shifted from the subject-matter of instruction to the child to be taught. As a consequence, the school began to change from a place where children prepare for life to a place where children live."

John Dewey was born on October 20, 1859, in Burlington, Vermont, where his father kept a general store. He finished high school and entered the University of Vermont at 15. He graduated at 19 with the highest marks on record in philosophy.

For a while he was a school-teacher, but after his first article was published by the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, he decided to be a philosopher. So he borrowed $500 from an aunt and entered the graduate school of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland. The next year he won a scholarship and also got a job teaching the history of philosophy to the undergraduates. Later, he got a job as instructor of philosophy at the University of Michigan, where he fell in love with Alice Chipman, one of his pupils, whom he married in 1886. Except for one year at the University of Minnesota, Dewey spent 10 years at the University of Michigan, becoming head of the department of philosophy in 1888.

In 1894, he was invited to head the combined departments of philosophy, psychology and education of Chicago University. There he founded the famous Dewey Laboratory School, where he put into practice his theory of "learning by doing."

In 1904, he became professor of philosophy at New York's Columbia University. Following his retirement in the early 1930's Dewey continued to receive his $12,000 salary as professor emeritus in residence until 1938. In 1932, he was appointed honorary president of Henry George School of Social Science in New York.

Dewey also was for some time president of the American Psychological Association and the American Association of University Professors as well as honorary president of the American Philosophical Association, the National Education Association and the Progressive Education Association.

In June, 1948, Dewey was awarded one of the first honorary degrees conferred by the New School for Social Research in New York—Doctor of Humane Letters. In conferring the degree, the school described him as the "greatest of living American philosophers." Dewey has been similarly honoured by several other institutions both in America and abroad.

He was the typical professor in that he was absent-minded and careless about his appearance. He never bothered much about exercise for he thought brain work was just as good, if there was enough of it.

The Deweys had six children and one of his biographers has said it was the children, clambering over him while he worked "who kept the problems of philosophy thoroughly mixed up in his mind with the problems of education."

Froebel, Montessori and others in the West had pioneered the movement which Dewey made a success in the U.S.A. In India, Rabindranath and Gandhiji are outstanding figures whose language we repeat and whose precepts we ignore.

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AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN WEST BENGAL

By J. N. CHAKRAVARTY, B.A., Dip-in-Agri, M.S.A. (Cornell, U.S.A.), I.A.S. (Retired),
Retired Director of Agriculture, Assam

The first session of the Indian agricultural educational committee held recently at Hyderabad, has focussed public attention at least of the section who take an interest in agricultural problems—on a subject hitherto neglected. It is difficult to believe but none the less true that the intellectual but agricultural province of Bengal never possessed a first class agricultural college, including the days when Bihar, Orissa had not yet been separated. The higher agricultural class, which ordinarily admitted only graduates was started as an adjunct of Sibpur Engineering College towards the end of the last century. It possessed only one professor of agriculture.

The successful students were mainly employed as Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors. There was no room for their absorption in the then agriculture department. The Sabour College established in 1908 started with a three-year diploma course (after Matriculation) which was soon reduced to a two-year certificate course. The Dacca Agricultural Institute, established in 1941, did not develop into a first class institution before it was cut off from India.

The record of the oldest and largest University of India, the Calcutta University, was still better. It had no connection with agricultural education till 1949 when the Jhargram Science and Agricultural College was affiliated to it to the intermediate standard. It came into existence through the encouragement of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. P. N. Banerjee and the generosity of Raja Narasinha Malladeb of Jhargram who donated Rs. 1 lakh and made a grant of about three hundred acres of land. The certificate course instituted at Barrackpore in 1939, was almost still-born, the military having requisitioned the farm land in 1942-43. The staff and equipment were transferred to the Jhargram Agricultural College in 1949. Long before this, each of the major Indian provinces, Bombay, Madras, C.P., U.P. and the Punjab had each established an agricultural college, affiliated to their own universities up to the Degree course. It is understood that the Government of West Bengal have decided to come into line by establishing a full agricultural college and the Jhargram College will soon be affiliated to the degree standard.

The past history of agricultural education in Bengal is not very happy and a short *resume* may help the authorities as well as the public to avoid their mistakes. As early as 1876-84, about a dozen student students of the Calcutta University, many of them holding the master's degree were sent to England to study agriculture at the Cirencester College. On return most of them were appointed as Deputy Magistrates, one or two fortunates as statutary civilians and only two were employed in real agricultural work. The celebrated lawyer and politician Byomkesh Chakravarty and the educationist and founder of the Bangabasi College, G. C. Bose, refused any appointment and attained eminence in their chosen spheres. The celebrated poet D. L. Roy was one of these and spent his official life in the Excise Department. Apparently no previous thought had been given to their employment after studying agriculture. During 1905-7, eight more students from the higher agricultural class at Sibpore were sent in three batches to the Cornell University, U.S.A., for the same purpose. They were more fortunate than their predecessors in being employed in different capacities in the reorganised department of agriculture. It is clear from the above, that the government had no other objective than training up some recruits for different grades of the agricultural department, nor had the students any other view. They mostly came from families who had always adopted government service or one of the learned professions as their vocation. The facilities required to enable such young men to earn an income comparable to that in government service or learned profession did not exist.

Land and capital, the two essential pre-requisites for farming were lacking, a short course in college did not adequately equip the young urbanite immediately for practical farming. He could not without further experience compete with the cultivator who had agriculture bred in his bones. Conditions in the rural areas in most parts of Bengal were such as could hold few attractions for educated young men to go and settle there. Insanitary, decadent villages without medical and educational facilities could not attract them.

The stock argument that agricultural education is a failure because past students did not take to private farming is misconceived.

In the last half century almost the whole attention of the government, the capitalist, and the public was concentrated on industrialisation. This provided a more secure and comfortable means of gainful occupation than could be secured from cultivation. The middle classes, particularly the energetic and enterprising among them, migrated almost wholesale to towns. The country-side was almost denuded of the more skilled manual workers who obtained more

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remunerative employment in the industrial centres. The result was a further stagnation and deterioration of agriculture culminating in the present food crisis, and the almost complete break-down of India's economic balance. The accumulated result of the neglect of half a century cannot be remedied in a day or even a year; but an organised and all-out effort must be made to restore this balance if India is to survive. Conditions must be created to bring at least a section of the middle class back to the countryside. Many of the numerous plans launched recently by the government are aimed towards this end. The first need, however, is to train a large band of skilled workers who will understand rural needs and conditions. There must be also a constant flow to replace casualties. It stands to reason that the best way of doing this is by training skilled workers in the agricultural colleges. There is hardly a department of government now, which is not concerned with agricultural improvement in some shape or other. A knowledge of agriculture will be much more useful to an officer than of pure sciences. There will thus be scope for employment not only in the agriculture department but in all spheres of rural activities.

The agricultural educational committee has made two valuable recommendations, *viz.*, the agricultural colleges should be located as far as possible in rural areas and that the students should be required to work at least one month every year in the villages. The period of training for the degree course should be extended or, if necessary, even some of the lectures should be cut down, to provide for this. It is only by working in the villages among the cultivators that the students can gain a first-hand knowledge of the defects of our ordinary farm practice, the difficulties of the cultivators and the conditions under which they work. It is only by gaining such direct experience that they can later win the confidence of the cultivators and help and advise them. This is not possible in the college farm where conditions are bound to be somewhat artificial and different from actual conditions of the village.

Work does not however mean *watch*.

During his training at Sibpur, the writer had to spend one month every year studying and learning rural farm practice and conditions, which was a part of the course. During his stay in U.S.A., he used to spend one month every year during his vacation working as an ordinary farm hand. This was possible in the U.S.A. where many students paid a part of their way by such work. He has to admit that the experience gained during these few months had helped him very substantially in his work among Indian cultivators. Some of the lessons, even after the lapse of nearly half a century are still vivid in his memory while many of the class-lessons have been forgotten.

A few general suggestions on the curriculum will not be irrelevant. The period of training for the degree course may be divided into two stages. During the first stage the student should learn the fundamentals of science, and if necessary, a little mathematics and languages. The second stage should be devoted largely to the study of agriculture proper. Agriculture includes a vast array of subjects, and a wide range of electives should be offered, as the student progresses higher and higher, the final year being devoted mainly to the subjects in which the student wishes to specialise before he enters into active life. Throughout this period, he should be kept close to the earth and made to do some practical farm-work. He should never lose touch with rural life. It cannot be over-stressed that agriculture is not only a science but also an art, which must be practised. Success in professional life will depend more on the skill acquired in the practice than on a knowledge of science. This knowledge can very substantially be increased but cannot replace efficiency or practical skill. It is true that a technician cannot be a master of his profession by the skill he acquires during the training period, but he must be equipped with a sound foundation on which he can build on further experience. This foundation must be built on the rock of actual practice and not on the sand of mere book-learning.

It is understood that the departmental college will only admit I.Sc. students and give them a three-year training culminating in a degree or its equivalent. The Calcutta University, on the other hand, is providing a four-year course after Matriculation, divided into two stages, the Intermediate and the Degree. It is rather doubtful whether the training envisaged above can be compressed into four years' course unless a considerable portion of the vacation is utilised for practical and rural training. It is hoped that the experts of the university and of the department of agriculture will devise a satisfactory course. While the time has come when every sphere of education should be permeated with an agricultural bias and officers of all departments of administration connected with rural life should have an agricultural knowledge, every care should be taken that an agricultural degree stamps the recipient with the hall-mark of efficiency. He must be able to hold his own with his counterparts in the sister departments of medicine and engineering. He must be able to command the respect of the cultivators when he goes out to teach them, and must not give the impression of being a college-trained amateur. It is unfortunate but none the less true that in the past our agricultural graduates have not been always able to inspire this confidence. Nothing should be done to aggravate this.

A further suggestion may be ventured. The Calcutta University has already waited too long before taking up the question of agricultural education. If it is

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seriously desired that agricultural education should come to its proper place in the scheme of our national education, a faculty of agriculture should be constituted immediately. This single step will raise it to its proper dignity in the public eye. Till then a strong committee which should include some agricultural scientists and trained agriculturists should actively function. It should advise on the formulation and execution of its agricultural policy. The responsibility is too great for any single person, however qualified, to bear. Similarly the department of agriculture should constitute a committee which should include some non-officials acquainted with rural life to advise it on its educational policy and programme. It is only by a close co-operation between the Calcutta University and the department of agriculture, Education department and the public, that agricultural education can be efficiently organised and made to occupy its proper place in the national life of West Bengal, or for the matter of that, the Indian Union. Let us hope that agricultural education will soon be recognised as a major national issue.

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THE GARDEN OF AMERICA

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I

When one attempts to generalize from the American experience, he is confronted by bewildering contradictions, apparent paradoxes, and a vast array of facts which defy analysis. He is fairly certain that the American society is predominantly a competitive business society which places high value on money as the symbol of success. He is much less certain that the generic, composite American is wholly immersed in material ends. In fact, if he were guided by what Americans, past and present, have thought of themselves, he would be impressed by their basic idealism, however misplaced.

For more than three centuries Americans have been re-enacting, literally and symbolically, consciously or unconsciously, the Christian myth of the Garden of Eden, in which they have conceived themselves in the role of God's chosen people with a special mission or destiny to fulfill. It is the central myth of America, one which best explains the distinctive quality of the American experience and which provides the key to the American character. It is the American's high sense of a mission, his fervent belief in his own uniqueness, which, in the words of George Santayana,

> "stamps the immigrant, almost before he can speak English, with an unmistakable muscular tension, cheery self-confidence and habitual challenge in the voice and eyes . . ."—*Character and Opinion in the United States.*

His patriotism, supra-national in its Messianic zeal, has given repeated offense to the peoples of other countries who have taken their own patriotism more for granted. De Tocqueville, a French visitor to America in 1831, noted that Americans spoke almost as if they belonged to a distinct race of mankind. American writers, early and late, have been obsessed with the fact of having been born in America. It has frequently been pointed out that the English do not self-consciously write novels called *The Englishman* or the French entitle their novels *Le Francais,* whereas Americans have produced many variations upon *The American.* American expatriates—notably Henry James, Gertrude Stein and T. S. Eliot—have seldom been able to stop writing about America and Americans, perhaps because their compatriots would not let them forget. "An Englishman or other European who settled in America," complained one American expatriate,

> "incurs no kind of moral blame either in the land he has deserted or in his new-adopted home. But to desert America is somehow regarded as a kind of treachery, as if America were more than a country, were a sort of cause, and its Stars and Stripes the banner of a crusading army which it is dishonorable to desert."—Logan Pearsall Smith : *Unforgotten Years.*

The assumption of moral superiority by Americans was not something bred of the Revolutionary struggle in 1776 or born with the new Republic of 1789 ; rather, it was something already in existence from the early days of settlement, swelling and intensifying the tide of nationalism. During colonial days it masqueraded as an inferiority complex, as the colonists attempted to ape the ways of their mother country. But in their secret hearts they never doubted their moral superiority over the English ; they felt inferior only in respect to their dress, their manners, their culture. The contrast between simple, virtuous American democrats, uncouth in their manners and dress, and suave but unprincipled European aristocrats, which dominated much of the 19th century American writing, thus had its roots in the colonial experience. The contrast—in which Americans always come off the moral victors—not only answered contemporary criticism of American manners by foreign travellers, but also made amends for a long "race" memory of

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colonial bondage. In the slaying of the European father America had at last dared to speak its authentic tongue.

The myth framework on which that tongue would hang its tale was established almost at the foundation of the world, when men first hungered for a Golden Age in a land of milk and honey. The "pagan dream" of a Golden Age became fused with and was superseded in Western Europe by the Christian myth of the Garden of Eden. Medieval legend, according to Hoxie Fairchild, located the promised land on some lost Atlantis far in the unknown western seas. Thus, when Columbus discovered a new continent in the western seas in 1492, man's long-starved imagination at once identified it as the fabulous promised land of the Christian myth. "I am convinced," wrote the discoverer of America, "that there is the terrestrial paradise." From that moment the direction of the future millennium became fixed in men's minds as westward, and that conviction was to spur the new Americans to the shores of the Pacific in one of the most rapid westward exoduses in history. Bishop Berkeley's famous line written in 1726, "Westward the course of empire takes its way," merely told the American colonists what they already believed and were acting upon.

The discovery of America not only pledged a race of men yet unborn to the "orgiastic future," but it also began the long process of what Carl Becker has called dismantling the celestial heaven in favor of an earthly one. For a hundred and ten years before the first permanent settlement imaginations feverishly peopled the new heaven on earth with a new Adam and Eve. In a large measure the release of energy known as the Renasissance was stimulated by the discovery of America. A net effect of the Protestant Reformation was to adjust collective dreams to the realm of the practical in religion and to produce a group of people sufficiently dedicated to endure the first hardships of colonization. Such an opportunity to live a better, more abundant life under more ideal conditions had not presented itself to mankind in centuries. It is understandable, therefore, why the attention of the Western world was focused on America and why the early settlers assumed so exalted a role for themselves. The wonder is that "the land of plenty," as it has been known ever since, did not develop a more materialistic culture than it has.

Though the Southern settlers of America, recruited largely from adventurers, fortune hunters, and cavaliers, were quite frankly interested in material gain, they were not altogether oblivious to the spiritual drama. The English poet, Michael Drayton, speeded their voyage with the reminder that Virginia was "Earth's only Paradise,"

> Where Nature hath in store
> Fowle, Venison, and Fish,

while George Alsop told his fellow inhabitants of Maryland that "they need not look for any other terrestrial paradise." John Smith, the intrepid leader at Jamestown who discovered Eve in the tribe of Powhatan, admitted that "heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation . . . we chanced in a lande, even as God made it." The ship which succoured the starving inhabitants of Jamestown with a year's provisions was likened to the "arme of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people pass the Red Sea and Wilderness, and then to possess the land of Canaan." A third-generation Virginian, William Byrd, boasted that old people in Virginia felt "as if they were wholly born anew," and he half-humorously subtitled his *Natural History of Virginia* "The Newly Discovered Eden," after Governor Eden.

Southerners, as a whole, never took their religion as seriously as their brethren of New England. The dominant moral tone for three centuries was given to Americans by the New England Puritans, the most zealous sect of the Protestant faith. The Puritans were also the most literal-minded in applying their Bible reading to the conduct of their daily lives and the most insistent upon a literal interpretation of the myth of the Garden of Eden. They spoke of their flight from Europe as a "Voluntary Banishment," and unlike the Southern settlers they brought their royal charters with them, symbolizing their complete break with the past.

To the Puritans England and Europe represented man's estate *after* his expulsion from the Garden of Eden, a corrupt society in which individuals were oppressed by nobles, priests and kings. America, by contrast, was yet untainted by European civilization. There man could slough off his old skin and recapture his pristine state of innocence. The Puritans believed literally that God's "Second Coming" to his chosen people, prophesied in the New Testament, would occur in New England. In their theological dialectic Europe thus became a "type" of the Past, America the "antitype" of the Future. God encouraged their uniqueness and anticipated their moral purity, moreover, by throwing a "cordon sanitaire" of Atlantic and Pacific Oceans about their promised land. The American's sense of a mission originated, then, in the Puritan's thirst for moral perfection and was nurtured in conditions peculiar to the American environment. The recurrent American theme, the contrast between East and West, between American virtue and European decadence, received its fullest meaning, as well as its classic form of expression, in the Puritan version of the myth of the Garden of Eden. The contrast was to receive its most artistic treatment in the novels of Henry James.

Though the Puritans had accounted for the Past and Future to their satisfaction, they were still living

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in a harrowing Present, confined by a "howling wilderness," beset by murdering savages, visited periodically by famine and disease. This was the waiting period, they assured themselves, like that experienced by the Israelites wandering in the desert before God permitted them to enter the land of Canaan. But the Puritans were betrayed by the eternal Present. Increasingly, as the millennium came to be postponed and God had controversy with New England, the time factor in their celestial accounts became merged with the spatial dimension of their new country. The stewards of the Lord began to calculate their future in terms of the western land. It was no historical accident that New Englanders led the orderly colonization westward, for they still sought the New Jerusalem which somehow had eluded them in New England. Undoubtedly, the slogan "Manifest Destiny," employed to justify westward expansion in the 1840's and 50's, covered many sins, but for the descendants of the Puritans it nevertheless continued to express their sincere sense of a divinely appointed mission.

An essential attraction of the new world was its "newness." To the God-seekers it still retained the fresh dew of the Creation, and they named their dwelling places *New* York, *New* Haven, *New* Jersey, *New* Canaan. Here corrupt man was to be born anew, morally regenerate.

> All hail, thou western world! by heaven design'd
> Th' example bright, to renovate mankind,

rhapsodized the New Englander, Timothy Dwight in 1794. "Races, reborn, refresh'd . . ." carolled America's uninhabited democratic bard, Walt Whitman, as he pictured the numerous off-spring of Adam and Eve moving westward around the globe. "A land that man has newly trod," observed Josquin Miller as late as 1881; a land where

> Yet perfect blossoms bless the sod
> And perfect birds illume the trees.

"The world's best hope," said President Jefferson -which President Lincoln rephrased sixty-five years later as "the last best hope of earth." By the time the 19th century was well along, God's "Second Coming" had been forgotten, except by a fanatic fringe which led periodic revivals and founded new evangelical sects in the wilderness. Mere contact with the virgin soil was by them deemed sufficient for regeneration. The cult of the "Noble Savage" and the self-made man which flourished in the 19th century had its earliest setting in the Garden myth. The original expectation of spiritual rebirth translated itself into cultural primitivism.

But the new Americans could not be "reborn," because, as D. H. Lawrence pointed out, they were "race-old." They brought with them many of the institutions, manners, and prejudices of their motherland. As a result, the settlements on the eastern seaboard of America began to repeat, with minor variations, the pattern of European society. An aristocracy of wealth based on commerce and land speculation began to blossom in the larger seaport towns. Boston thirsted after London as much as London aspired to be Paris. The corruption which the Garden myth attached to European society came to be duplicated in American towns. The dreamers therefore located their New Jerusalems farther west on the unsettled frontiers. Though Europe would continue to play the villain in the Garden myth ("The old and moth-eaten systems of Europe have had their day," bluntly asserted Whitman during the height of westward expansionist sentiment), a secondary villain arose. The decadent eastern parts of America often replaced Europe in the minds of the new-new Western men.

Each successive wave of pioneers and settlers cultivated the image of the woods or the farm as a refuge from the crass civilization they had left behind them. The contrast between innocence and corruption had merely shifted its locale, not its import for the American dream.

> "The eloquence of the East is sober, passionless, condensed metaphysical;" boasted a Kentuckian orator from his Eden fastness, "that of the West is free, lofty, agitating, grand, impassioned . . . the West defies and transcends criticism."

The Garden myth, coupled with the proximity of vast, unsettled regions, was responsible for the oversimplification which located good in the country and evil in the city, present in the bulk of American literature written since 1820. The Garden myth, as Henry Nash Smith has shown, created the mirage which effaced the western deserts and caused thousands of settlers to stake their claims in areas of insufficient rainfall.

The reality which the western pioneers uncovered never quite measured up to the heroic proportions of their dreams, but they disguised their disappointment by celebrating the size of their country. Their preoccupation with size and quantity concealed a longing for spiritual grandeur. As each successive generation failed in its appointed mission, it concentrated its hopes for futurity on the next generation. When the physical frontiers of America disappeared, they sought their lost innocence in their children, as had the aging James Fenimore Cooper years before, returning from Europe to create the youthful *Deerslayer*. The youths of America, accordingly, became at once the most-glorified and the most-lectured youth in the world. Three great American writers who saw their Garden turning into a Wasteland placed their hope for America's ultimate salvation in her youth. In *Huckleberry Finn*, Mark Twain relived his own boyhood on the Mississippi; Sherwood Anderson bequeathed the task of socializing the modern machine to the "unborn

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Hugh McVey" of his novel *Poor White*; Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt* told his son to do what he himself had never dared to do. Though the major American writers of the 20th century have, almost without exception, severely criticized their society, the Garden of Eden myth survives in the moral indignation underlying their bitterness. They sought to raise a new Garden out of the ashes of a "Wasteland."

II

One effect of the westward movement on the Garden myth was to replace Europe with the eastern seaboard of America in the contrast of innocence and corruption. Yet the feudal hierarchy of nobles, priests, and kings from which the Puritans had revolted had not been transplanted in America. In the first place, the Garden myth insisted that any over-ripe state of society was rotted with artificiality and convention and that the only antidote was a return to the simplicity of a state of nature. Secondly, changes were taking place in Europe even as the colonists were building their towns. Under the banner of the new science and led by a rising entrepreneurial middle-class, of which the Puritans had been members, a commercial business society was rapidly undermining the old feudal structure. By the beginning of the 18th century the English vocabulary on both sides of the Atlantic was saturated with counting-house usages. The pivotal words of the 18th century were "undertaking," "interest," "accounts," "project," "design," "trade," etc. In 1701, Increase Mather, the leading New England Puritan of the second generation, saw the same absorption in material ends which was beginning to characterize European society: "It was purely on a Religious account," he lamented,

> "that they (the first colonists) ventured themselves and little ones over the vast Ocean into this which was then a vast and *howling wilderness*. Although of later Times we have too much changed that which was our Glory, not *Seeking the Kingdom of God in the First Place*, not making Religion, but Trade and Land, and Earthly accommodations our *Interest* . . . In this we are degenerated from the Piety of our Ancestors."

The association of the Eastern seaboard society with the evils of Europe was not completed, however, until the effects of the Industrial Revolution began to be felt on this side of the Atlantic. The application of scientific method to business enterprise had introduced new horrors to French and English society. Thomas Jefferson, who visited Europe toward the end of the 18th century, viewed with alarm the social dislocations and misery caused by the new factory system. In revulsion he invoked his agrarian ideal, based primarily on the myth of the Garden of Eden.

> "Those who labor in the earth," he wrote in his *Notes on Virginia* in 1782, "are the chosen people of God, if ever He had a chosen people, whose breasts He has made His peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue . . . While we have land to labor then, let us never wish to see our citizens occupied at a workbench, or twirling a distaff . . . for the general operations of manufacture, let our workshops remain in Europe."

His first inaugural address of 1801, containing the seeds of modern isolationism, reveals that he counted on God's "cordon sanitaire" to keep morally antiseptic His chosen people, "kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe." But unknown to him, enterprising New England merchants had already imported the English technicians who were to launch the Industrial Revolution in America. Jefferson's own Embargo of 1808 actually encouraged the development and consumption of home manufactures. Jefferson finally had to bow to a *fait accompli*. His efforts to stave off the inevitable nevertheless resulted in the opening to settlement of vast new western territories where the myth of the Garden of Eden might yet be realized.

As Henry Nash Smith has shown in his excellent book, *Virgin Land* (Harvard University Press, 1950), the literature indigenous to the American South never applied the Garden myth to the internal conflict of East and West. The reason for this is that the Southern ethos was based largely on a plantation slave economy, relatively untouched by industrialism. There was no East-West conflict in the sense of an agrarian West as opposed to an urban, industrial East. Industrialism was, in the main, Northern. Consequently, the Garden myth in the South—and Southerners were almost narcissistic in identifying their plantation ideal with the Garden myth—became orientated, as the slave controversy hardened, about the North-South conflict. Southerners opposed the serpent of Negro slavery in their Garden to the serpent of *wage* slavery in the northern Garden. Though it would be a gross oversimplification to attribute the Civil War to a clash between an agricultural and industrial economy, it could be argued that the Garden myth contributed the dynamism to the Southern cause. The agrarian South has, to this day, remained the most provincial, the most vehement defender of its "way of life," of any region in America. The writing of its most gifted—and most tortured—novelist, William Faulkner, is replete with Garden symbolism. It must be added, however, that the Garden myth has also acted as a powerful catalyst for reform within the framework of an agrarian order. Southern traditionalists have bitterly fought the advances of industrialism in their midst even while urging improvement for the lot of the Negro. The Negro remains for them one of the last symbols of their "Golden Age."

The North in its advance westward has moulded the dominant temper of the American society. One of the earliest American writers to apply the contrast of corruption and innocence to the internal contrast

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between East and West was James Fenimore Cooper. Disillusioned by the pushing, vulgar democracy of the Jacksonian era (1829-1837), he located his ideal American democrat, Natty Bumpo, the hero of *The Deerslayer*, in a forest Eden by a lovely lake which gave a "placid view of heaven." He created a moral being who could find "the impress of the Deity in all the works of nature, without any of the blots produced by the expedients, and passion, and mistakes of man." Though Cooper, living in a more secular day, had forgotten his source, the pattern of the Christian myth is unmistakable. The evil of the settlements is represented by three characters: Hurry Harry, the ex-pirate Tom Hutter, and Tom's illegitimate daughter who likes to flirt with the British soldiers, the dark, exotic, sensuous Judith. The rewards for virtue go to the children of nature: the fair Hetty and the simple, plain-spoken Natty Bumpo. The interesting thing about Cooper's version of the myth is his basic understanding of the duality of good and evil in his characters and his reservations about the efficacy of Nature as a regenerating agent. Because he knew something of the hard, brutish life of the true frontier, he endowed his hero with "white man's gifts" to prevent his utter absorption by the forest. Unlike more "romantic" devotees to the cult of the noble savage, Cooper sought an ideal compromise between man living in a state of nature and man living in corrupt civilization.

The presence of the American Indians in their midst flattered the Garden-worshippers' sense of moral self-righteousness. They thought that the Indians were an inferior race, either to be destroyed or be ennobled by conversion to Anglo-Saxon, white Christianity. The mission of America to make over the rest of the world in its image was first conceived in missionary activities along the frontier. The influx of European immigrants also fostered the desire of the Chosen People to regenerate mankind. The successful assimilation of aliens, as the writings of Walt Whitman testify, gave birth to the illusion of America as a microcosm of the world. James Fenimore Cooper's sense of moral discrimination was too highly developed, however, to endorse fully the concept of "white man's gifts." He could not reconcile the killing of Indians, for instance, with the Christian Commandment. "Thou shalt not kill." Though his *Deerslayer* ended in wholesome slaughter of the Hurons, he sacrificed the innocent Hetty in symbolic atonement. Prophetically, the aging Leatherstocking of Cooper's tales made his last stand against an ever-encroaching civilization on the mid-west prairies, the final burying ground of the myth of the Garden of Eden in the 19th century.

A contemporary of Cooper's, Nathaniel Hawthorne, was no more successful in finding a middle ground, an Oasis in the "moral sand-waste of the world," between corrupt civilization and the savage frontier. By locating his Garden on a farm west of Boston he proposed in his *Blithedale Romance* to show "mankind the example of a life governed by other than the false and cruel principles on which human society has all along been based," to lead a life "true, strong, natural, and sweet . . . something that shall have the notes of wild birds twittering through it." He invested his Garden with the same Polarity of light and dark to represent innocence and evil that had characterized Cooper. He personified the evil of the settlements in the dark, voluptuous Zenobia and in the scientist Westerfelt—scientist because Hawthorne associated much of the evils of modern society with the scientific, technical advances which most of his fellow Americans confused with moral progress. Instead of a new heaven on earth to be realized in the future, Hawthorne's book re-enacted ironically the story of man's Fall.

Thus, the tragic Zenobia represented not the new Eve, but the original Eve. In the sexual appeal which betrayed her—the moral purity of Americans ruled out considerations of sex—she "brought" up a picture of that fine, perfectly developed figure, in Eve's earliest garment.

> "We seldom meet with women nowadays, and in this country, who impress us as being women at all," wrote Hawthorne, "their sex fades away, and goes for nothing, in ordinary intercourse. Not so with Zenobia. One felt an influence breathing out of her such as we might suppose to come from Eve, when she was just made, and her Creator brought her to Adam, saying, 'Behold! here is a woman'."

America's besetting sin, according to Hawthorne, lay in moral self-righteousness, in not recognizing the common bond of sin and suffering which unites all mankind. Though convention demanded that he condemn Zenobia, he pitied her and he loved her. The major reason which he assigned for the failure of his social experiment in brotherhood was the moral self-righteousness of its leader, Hollingsworth. The moral obliquity with which Hollingsworth treated human beings merely as means to an end had its roots, however, in the supreme faith of Americans in their role as a chosen people appointed to a divine mission.

Hawthorne's friend, Herman Melville, was also critical. His great epic *Moby Dick* concerned itself primarily with the sin of moral self-righteousness in a mad idealist who brought his ship, a microcosm of the world, to its destruction. The book may well have expressed Melville's understanding of American "Manifest Destiny," presented in quite another light by the popular orators and politicians of the day. Cried Justice George Robertson of Kentucky at one Fourth of July celebration:

> "Christianity, rational philosophy, and constitutional liberty, like an ocean of light are rolling their resistless tide over the earth . . . Doubtless

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there may be partial revulsions. But the great movement will . . . be progressive, till the millennial sun shall rise in all the effulgence of universal day."

One is reminded of Santayana's criticism of President Woodrow Wilson in 1920, that he sought, alone and unaided, to "legislate for the universe." But unlike Hawthorne, Melville had partly succumbed to the American myth of the Garden of Eden. He too thirsted after moral perfection. His book *Pierre* recorded the destruction of an innocent. Like *The Deerslayer* and the *Blithedale Romance,* it presented the polarity of light and dark, of virtue and vice, associated with the contrast of country and city. The first thirteen chapters find its hero established at the family seat, Saddle Meadows, a veritable paradise. The last thirteen chapters register the fall from innocence in the city, where the "most practically Calvinistical view of humanity" is realized. The anomaly in the book is that Pierre is *both* morally self-righteous and morally pure.

The greater stress in America on nature as a refuge from crass civilization during this period was due largely to the proximity in America of a vast wilderness. Ralph Waldo Emerson's romantic naturalism was as much influenced by the westward movement as Cooper's Leatherstocking tales. Moreover, Emerson's transcendentalism was a philosophical justification of American individualism in much the same sense that Natty Bumpo was a fictionalized embodiment of American individualism. Both Emerson and Deerslayer found nature the source of their self-reliance; both "saw God in the forest." Emerson's primary ethical concern was to gird his people morally for their rendezvous with Manifest Destiny in their march westward. His writings constituted a grand Te Deum announcing the New Jerusalem :

> "The vast rapidity with which the deserts and forests of the interior of this country are peopled," he noted in an early journal, "have led patriots to fear lest the nation grow *too fast* for its virtue and its peace . . . Good men desire, and the great cause of human nature demands, that this abundant and overflowing richness wherewith God has blessed this country be not misapplied and made a curse of . . . How to effect the check proposed is an object of momentous importance."

Unfortunately, the Emersonian will to virtue was lost to the generation of rugged individualists after the Civil War. In fact, it was lost as soon as men of goodwill, such as Emerson and Whitman, made the mistake of identifying material with moral progress.

In an age of self-appointed Messiahs Henry David Thoreau's greatest virtue lay in the fact that "instead of engineering for all America," as Emerson put it, "he was the captain of a huckleberry party." Both Hawthorne and Thoreau agreed upon the delusion of material progress without spiritual regeneration. Neither sought to impose his solution upon his fellowmen. Where Hawthorne conducted his social experiment among a community of likeminded refugees from the city, Thoreau conducted his private one in the splendid isolation of Walden Pond. Walden Pond, "earth's eye," like Cooper's Lake Glimmerglass, gave a placid view of heaven.

> "Perhaps on that spring morning when Adam and Eve were driven out of Eden," wrote Thoreau in his masterpiece, "Walden pond was already in existence . . . Even then it had commenced to rise and fall, and had clarified its waters and colored them of the hue they now wear, and obtained a patent of Heaven to be the only Walden Pond in the world and distiller of celestial dews. Who knows . . . what nymphs presided over it in the Golden Age ?"

Thoreau's spiritual voyage into the pure depths of Walden, symbol of his soul, recalled another voyage which first planted the myth of the Garden of Eden in America :

> ". . . be a Columbus to whole new continents and worlds within you, opening new channels, not of trade, but of thought."

Columbus did more than open channels of trade; he inspired a dream that has nourished all of Western civilization.

The tension in Thoreau's *Walden* comes from the opposition set up in Thoreau's mind between solitude and society. The shrill whistle of the railroad in the distance constantly invades the privacy of his sanctuary. More hard-headed than his friend Emerson, Thoreau is nevertheless guilty of the same oversimplification which locates good in the country and evil in the city, a conception central to so much American writing and thinking then and now. This invidious contrast is partially responsible for the virtuous American's fear of soiling his soul in corrupt city politics. It underlies the return of Silas Lapham in Howell's novel (1885) to his Vermont farm after an unfortunate experience with the Boston aristocracy and his involvement in shady business practices. Henry James' generic American, Christopher Newman, who proves his moral superiority over the decadent European aristocrats, won his moral victory in the American West before he ever saw the Bellegardes. Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1900) is an innocent victim of civilization. Frank Norris' *McTeague* (1899) escapes from civilization to find his boyhood dream at the Big Dipper Mine. The denouement of Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (1925) reveals

> "that this has been a story of the West, after all—Tom and Gatsby, Daisy and Jordan and I were all Westerners, and perhaps we possessed some deficiency in common which made us subtly unadaptable to Eastern life."

That deficiency was Innocence—and a belief, bred of the West, in an "orgiastic future" which had at last

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closed in. The contrast of East and West, of vice and virtue, finds its classic utterance in the myth of the Garden of Eden, the central myth of America.

It is significant that many of the foremost critics of American society in recent American literature derived from the Middle-west. The most hallowed ground in America from its association with the myth of the Garden of Eden, the Mississippi Valley became, in their hands, a Wasteland. Rob Rodemaker of Hamlin Garland's story "Among the Corn-Rows" confessed that he had come West, "just like a thousand other fellers, to get a start where the cursed European aristocracy hadn't got a holt on the people." Instead, he found a hopeless battle with land speculators, money-lenders and the railroads. They were all heart-sick, these American writers, born to promises and nourished on lies.

Ed Howe, Edgar Lee Masters, Zone Gale, Sherwood Anderson, and Sinclair Lewis led the revolt against the mid-Western village. Sinclair Lewis, born in Sauk Center, Minnesota, located the Main Street of bourgeois America in the mid-West, later selected as the site of the Lynds' sociological study, *Middletown*. T. S. Eliot, whose *Wasteland* condemned the moral and spiritual sterility of modern society, was born in St. Louis, Missouri. Ezra Pound, who thought that American Christianity had become a kind of Prussianism, was raised in Idaho and taught school for a few months in Indiana, the birthplace of Theodore Dreiser. Chicago produced James T. Farrell and John Dos Passos, author of *U.S.A.* Ernest Hemingway was born in Illinois, Ring Lardner in Michigan. Scott Fitzgerald was first exposed to the shoddy values of safe society in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Perhaps the most disillusioned of American writers, Hart Crane, came from Ohio. In his poem "The Bridge" he tried unsuccessfully to reconcile the seeming industrial reality of America with the promise of America :

O Sleepless on the river under thee,
Vaulting the sea, the Prairies dreaming sod,
Unto us lowliest sometimes sweep, descend
And of the curveship lend a myth to God.

* * * *

This was the Promised Land, and still it is
To the persuasive suburban land agent
In bootleg roadhouses where the gin fizz
Bubbles in time to Hollywood's new lovenest
pageant.

Hart Crane committed suicide, as did another mid-Westerner who began his life as an idealist in "the region of hope," Vachel Lindsay. A native of Pittsburgh, educated in Europe, Robinson Jeffers followed the Western Star to the edge of the Pacific, where he developed a protecting layer of stoic indifference :

Now I, the latest, in this solitude
Invoke thee from the verge extreme, and shoal
Of sand that ends the west, O long-pursued.

Of the major American writers from the mid-West only Carl Sandburg has continued the tradition of Walt Whitman, and he has lately turned to celebrating a heroic past.

III

"What then is the American, this new man ?" asked the Frenchman Hector St. Jean De Crevecoeur in 1782 after he had lived in America for fifteen years. He phrased his answer in terms of the, by then, familiar contrast, between America and Europe: "*He* is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced . . ." That mode of life derived its virtue from the soil of Jefferson's agrarian paradise. According to Crevecoeur, the American became more uniquely American as he receded farther from the sea and the older settlements. Like Cooper, however, Crevecoeur was realistic enough to recognize that life on the "cutting-edge" of the frontier became brutish, and he sought an ideal compromise between sophistication and savagery. Gradually, American literature has evolved a picture based on the Garden myth of a composite, generic American which has remained remarkably consistent, in spite of changes in the American society and differences in the temperaments and value judgments of the writers, down to the present day. The American demi-god was created primarily in answer to the challenge of Europe, and it was early established that he came from the American West.

America's earliest national literature symbolically refought and rewon the Revolutionary War. The first comedy, Royal Tyler's *The Contrast*, (1787), contrasted the fop, Dimple, who had "read Chesterfield and received the polish of Europe," with Colonel Manley, "an unpolished, untravelled American." The morally superior Manley, grinding the same axe ground by Jefferson and Crevecoeur, warned Americans to "stick to the axe and saw and common virtues." Patriotically aroused, the audience sang *Yankee Doodle* during the play's intermission. In a more muted manner and with a wistful regard for the aesthetic sensitivity of Europeans the maturest novels of Henry James sang *Yankee Doodle* a hundred years later.

After the Civil War, America turned the practical energy which had subdued a wilderness to industrial pioneering. Consequently, Christopher Newman, the composite American who braved James' European lion-den, combined the materialism of Benjamin Franklin with the simple virtues of Natty Bumpo :

"If he did not, like Dr. Franklin in Philadelphia, march along the street munching a penny-loaf, it was only because he had not the penny-loaf necessary to the performance . . . It must be admitted, rather nakedly, that Christopher

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Newman's sole aim in life had been to make money."

But contact with the virgin soil of the West imbued him with more spiritual aspirations. "Newman had sat with Western Humorists in knots" around the campfires; . . . "a more completely healthy mortal had never trod the elastic soil of the West." He was named "Christopher" after the discoverer of the new Western world, "Newman" after the new Adam who was to inhabit it, one of Walt Whitman's athletic race of reborn men and women.

> "You are the great Western Barbarian," said his Parisian confidante Mrs. Tristram, "stepping forth in his innocence and might, gazing a while at this poor effete Old World, and then swooping down on it."
>
> "Oh, come," said Newman, "I am not a barbarian, by a good deal. I am very much the reverse. I have seen barbarians; I know what they are."

He meant that he was really a product of old world culture and did not fit the European stereotype of the American Indian with head feathers and tomahawk. Nevertheless, as Henry James subconsciously knew, the Americans' own estimate of themselves in their Messianic role as God's chosen people was responsible for the European stereotype. Since the spiritual drama was enacted against a backdrop of forest symbolizing the Garden of Eden, there was psychological truth in the European stereotype. Speaking of Natty Bumpo, D. H. Lawrence once wrote that he was "neither spiritual nor sensual. He is a moralizer . . ., a hard, stoic-killer,"—a philistine, therefore a barbarian.

Only occasionally in his many Pageants of the invasion of Europe by morally superior American men and women endowed with limitless freedom of will did Henry James investigate the validity of their claim to moral superiority. Maggie Verver, in *The Golden Bowl* was one of the few Americans whose innocence did not blind her to the duplicity of Europeans, and she stooped to subterfuge to bring the culture of Europe to her native land. But the "villains" of the piece, Charlotte Stante and Prince Amerigo, became morally regenerate in their "banishment" to America, the earthly paradise. The end seemed to justify the means. *The Ambassadors* contained a veiled attack upon provincial self-righteousness, but the basic moral integrity of Lambert Strethers survived his betrayal of his mission to Paris. In *The Ivory Tower*, one of his last novels, James began to question the source of the wealth which had seemed to him so essential a condition to America's redemption of the world. Christopher Newman had made his money in copper, railroads, bathtubs, soap, etc. (Americans live by their saying that "cleanliness is next to Godliness"). The compulsive effect of the myth of the Garden of Eden was causing other Americans than Henry James to confuse material with moral progress.

Both Whitman and Emerson had hymned the praises of the captains of industry; both had seen the railroad, the telegraph, the steamboat as the standard bearers of Christian democracy to the shores of the Pacific. "There is more true poetry in the rush of a single railroad train across the continent," wrote a 20th century disciple of Whitman, "than in all the gory story of burning Troy." Again, the myth of a Golden Age. The influence of science changed the basic outlines of the myth very little. The Garden, protected by two oceans, turned into "the great *laboratory* of the world" in which to perfect in peace and isolation "a grand, noble experiment." The harnessing of nature by machinery merely confirmed the majority of Americans in their sense of a mission. The multiplication of inventions gave rise to the feeling that the nation was entering upon a new era of progress. A treatise written in 1842 was called *The Paradise within the Reach of all Men . . . by Powers of Nature and Machinery.*

Among the first during the Gilded Age to detect the fallacy of material progress without spiritual advance were mid-Westerners. Mark Twain, whose love of luxury and conspicuous consumption was as great as that of any industrial tycoon, took his composite American Yankee to King Arthur's Court to bring modern progress to medieval England. Hank Morgan's lineage went back to Benjamin Franklin and Natty Bumpo. In his practical bent, in his concern for washtubs and soap, in his generosity, etc., he was much like Henry James' Christopher Newman. But the new American type was an industrial pioneer from the state which had coined the phrase "Yankee ingenuity," the state of Connecticut on the Eastern seaboard. In the contrast of America and Europe the West was overshadowed by the pattern of Eastern society which was beginning to stamp itself on all America. The days of the frontier were nearly over.

In a sense, Mark Twain could not have contrasted industrial America with modern industrial England, for he would have found too many resemblances which would have destroyed the myth of American moral superiority. Three-quarters through his book, *A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court*, Mark Twain belatedly discovered, as he later explained to his friend Dan Beard, that

> ". . . this Yankee of mine has neither the refinement nor the weakness of a college education; he is a perfect ignoramus; he is boss of a machine shop; he can build a locomotive or a Colt's revolver, he can put up and run a telegraph line, but he's an ignoramus, nevertheless."

If Mark Twain's savage attack on the feudal institutions and barbaric customs of medieval England was intended as a veiled thrust at the aristocratic, slave-holding mentality of the post-Civil-War American South, he suddenly learned that a business

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culture was not less morally reprehensible for its neglect of human values. The benevolent dictatorship of "Sir Boss" Hank Morgan, which ended in the mass slaughter of 30,000 of the flower of English knighthood and in Hank's subsequent defeat and death, anticipated a critique of American capitalism by W. H. Ghent called *Benevolent Feudalism*. Mark Twain experienced a traumatic shock which led eventually to profound despair. He had been nursed in the "Garden of the World" and brought up in the expectations of inheriting the Kingdom of Heaven.

Natty Bumpo saw God in the forest, but Silas Lapham, William Dean Howells' composite American, found the impress of the Deity in mineral paint. Silas Lapham, like his creator, was a "back-trailer to a more sophisticated society." Where Natty Bumpo had conquered the wilderness, Silas Lapham came from his Vermont farm to conquer new industrial empires in Boston. Mrs. Lapham perceived "that his paint was something more than a business to him; it was a sentiment, almost a passion." Lapham's entrance into Boston society at the unfortunate Corey dinner party paralleled Christopher Newman's reception at the Bellegardes in France. In both cases the innocence of the crude, untutored *nouveaux-riches* established their moral superiority. The real test of Lapham's moral purity, however, came in his business relationships; was it possible to compete successfully without adopting the law of the jungle? Howells, familiar with the unethical practices of the Jay Goulds, the Jim Fiskes, the Jay Cooks and other robber barons, apparently decided that it was not. Silas Lapham retired from business to his Garden of Eden in Vermont.

In 1890, five years after the publication of Howells' *Rise of Silas Lapham*, came the Government's announcement that the frontier was officially at an end. In the same year the editor of the Atlanta, Georgia *Constitution* told his readers that "After all, business is the biggest thing in this country." In the 1920's the President of the United States was to remind his constituency that "the business of America is business." In the interval the American myth of the Garden of Eden, based originally on the existence of vast, unsettled lands, was converted into an apologetic for big business. The self-reliant pioneer and farmer, driven ever westward in quest of the New Jerusalem, had lost his momentum, had become bogged down in the mid-West, weighted with mortgages and surrounded by skyscrapers. The myth of the Garden became a narcissistic symbol, ransacked for its yield in emotional fealty to the image of the new pioneer, the Darwinian superman, the "rugged individualist" of industry. A principal, if unwitting, agent in the symbol transference was Frederick Jackson Turner, who read his famous paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," to the American Historical Association in 1893.

His main thesis was that "the frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization," an observation made by Crevecoeur more than a hundred years before. Business men gathered that they need only to liken themselves to the pioneer to prove their Americanism and to avoid any obstruction from a democratic government. Some, like Herbert Hoover in his *American Individualism*, (1922) sincerely believed that business was but a continuation of spiritual pioneering :

> "Individualism has been the primary force of American civilization for three centuries. It is our sort of individualism that has supplied the motivation of America's political, economic and spiritual institutions in all these years . . .
>
> "The American pioneer is the epic expression of that individualism, and the pioneer spirit is the response to the challenge of opportunity, to the challenge of nature, to the challenge of life, to the call of the frontier."

The old contrast of America and Europe was still evident in his thinking. Pioneer individualism, unassisted by government, constituted the only answer to the new complex of forces resulting from an era of industrial development; anything else was un-American and *ipso facto* evil :

> "Socialism of different varieties may have some thing to recommend it as an intellectual stop-look-and-listen sign, more especially for Old World societies. But it contains only destruction to the forces that make progress in our social system."

For the conservative the Garden of Eden had become static, a symbol of the past.

It took a major depression to convince the majority of Americans that the *laissez-faire* variety of individualism had become an anachronism in a complex, highly interdependent industrial society. Henry Wallace, President Roosevelt's Secretary of Agriculture and product of the mid-West corn belt, restated the myth of the Garden of Eden in his *New Frontiers*, (1934), to fit the New Deal philosophy. His appeal once again was futuristic, an emphasis badly needed to bolster the morale of millions of disillusioned and self-doubting Americans, who had seen their image in Sinclair Lewis' *Babbitt*. Once again the American sense of a mission breathed vigor.

> "To enter the kingdom of heaven brought to earth and expressed in terms of rich material life," wrote Henry Wallace, "it will be necessary to have a reformation even greater than that of Luther and Calvin . . . Today we again have a situation like that in Europe three or four hundred years ago. In some ways I believe it is far more significant. We have millions of people with good minds and bodies who can't get jobs. They are just as good people as those who left Europe for America three hundred years ago. They are looking for another new world.
>
> "Physically there is none. No more free land worth having is to be had for the taking. But we

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can work over what we have of the earth's surface, and what we have of human potentialities for achieving true civilization, stability, and peace. We can have our new world, if we have it in us, and if we are willing to pay the price."

The relative success of the New Deal established a new dynamism in the American character that had been lacking since the days of the Woodrow Wilson administration. It is no accident that the American people have turned again to the redemption of the world, for their original sense of a mission has revived. Those for whom the myth of the Garden of Eden lingers only as the symbol of a Golden Age now past have tendel to remain isolationists. Both the isolationists and the internationalists, however, cling to their illusion of America's moral superiority. The isolationists would retreat to their hermetically-sealed paradise in the Mississippi valley, protected from foreign contamination by the "cordon sanitaire" of two oceans and eastern and western buffer states. As Frederick Jackson Turner had written, the frontier was

> "free from the influence of European ideas and institutions. The men of the 'Western World' turned their backs upon the Atlantic Oceans, and with a grim energy and self-reliance began to build up a society free from the dominance of ancient forms."*

Or as a writer to the *New York Times* put it (January 2, 1951) :

> "The international do-gooders have had a field day at our expense for many years. They have extended our frontiers to a point where we now are told that we must fight aggression wherever it occurs . . . Must America be crucified for ever on the cross of internationalism ?
>
> "Many years ago Professor Sumner of Yale pointed out the marvellous opportunity our American ancestors had to develop on this continent a civilization which would avoid the mistakes made in Europe. Why have we had to depart from this wonderful idea?"

The internationalists are not less self-righteous, but they would make over the world in their own image—though they would prefer persuasion to force in doing it.

Impressed with the need for maintaining a united front against Communism and disturbed by the mounting criticism of America by non-Communist Western Europeans, Americans have increasingly sought to correct what they call "the distorted European stereotype of America." But when one compares what influential Americans think of themselves with what Europeans think of them, he is struck by the astonishing coincidence in their views. The main, and crucial, difference is that Americans regard as true moral superiority what Europeans regard as arrogant and unwarranted moral self-righteousness—or worse, downright moral hypocrisy. European socialists, for instance, resent being put in the same category with Communists by pharisaical American capitalists. Potential friends of America, proud peoples everywhere, resent being told, "All over the world there is an immediate demand for enormous quantities of pure Americanism," as Clarence Manyion recently wrote. Europeans tend to distrust Marshall Plan aid, not so much because of Communists' attacks upon it, but because they resent feeling that Americans may be buying their friendship just as Henry James' characters "bought" European nobility. Resentment of the American superiority complex underlies much resistance to America's so-oft-insisted-upon moral leadership in the United Nations.

American travellers returning from Europe frequently report, depending upon what circles of European society they visited, that Americans today are mistrusted. One goes so far as to say that he was told by many Europeans, "If there was to be another war Americans would have to do the fighting. Europeans were through." A recent distinguished French visitor to America, Raymond Aron, was more kind.

> "The first thing I want to say is this," he told an interviewer from the *New York Times*, "I think Americans are too sensitive to their critics. They must get used to criticism. It is impossible for a leading world power not to be criticized. People are unable to accept the fact that the richest and strongest country in the world is also the most virtuous. Everybody would get an inferiority complex; criticism of the U.S. is part of a psychological compensation."

If Raymond Aron detected an uneasy conscience, the uncanny British political cartoonist David Low, put his finger on the source of the American assumption of moral superiority. He depicted England as having to choose between an American in Indian headdress haranguing a microphone with a tomahawk, and Stalin coyly enticing the Britisher into his bag. The American is proud of his enormous wealth and industrial efficiency, but he is still prouder of his pioneer heritage with its promise of a new heaven on earth for God's Chosen People.

His uneasy conscience may very well harbor a suspicion that Coronado's *Seven Golden Cities*, Hendrick Hudson's *Northwest Passage* and Ponce de Leon's *Fountain of Youth* are not located quite where he thought. As he loses his aim, to use Santayana's words, he redoubles his efforts. Morality, with the American, has too often been a substitute for thought. His revived interests in the works of Hawthorne, Melville, and Thoreau may indicate that he is beginning to think.

* Quoted in Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land*, p. 260.

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LONDON LETTER

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By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Several times recently, as I have walked through St. James's Park on the way to my office, I have noticed an aged tattered beggar sitting on one of the public benches. The Park is at its best in early summer. Every day new groups of flowers, lakes of lovely colour, assert their pre-eminence in the scene. One enters the place with a feeling of expectancy and it is like nothing so much as attending a ballet. Motor lorries are not allowed in nor may newspaper sellers cry their wares (or woes). All is gay and transitory and for a short time one is free from the cares of the modern world. But the presence of the beggar was disturbing and I decided, if he were there again, I would investigate. Next day sure enough he was there and this time stretched the length of the bench. I hurried up, wondering if he were ill—only to find him contentedly and comfortably engaged in doing a *Times* cross-word puzzle.

This set me wondering about the ups and downs of fortune and the ideal, or the idiocy, of the quest for equality. There is a great clamour for equality in England to-day. The wealth of the country had come prosaically to be regarded as a cake to be cut up in as nearly equal portions as possible. No one must have too big a slice lest someone should go without. The fallacy here of course is that there need be a limit to the size of the cake. (Also, and far more important, the cake-makers lose interest.)

For the present we seem to be tied to this outlook. Thus it is that the Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot do away with the Excess Profits Levy. Were he to attempt it, the watch-dogs of the 'workers' would soon be at his throat. Indeed, I suppose on the principle of throwing a sop, the levy was included in the election programme of the Conservative Party. But what a relief it would be if the watch-dogs would take their noses off the ground for a bit and sniff a more spacious air! To be obsessed with the relationship between wages and profits—to think of life in terms of money and benefits—is an impoverishing thing. It may lead one to cut off one's nose to spite one's face.

The nose I am thinking of at the moment is part of our heritage. Nearly four years ago Sir Stafford Cripps appointed a Commission to enquire into what might be done to save our beautiful and historic country houses. No owners now can afford to keep them up. Some houses have passed into the care of the National Trust. Others—and even Hatfield, home of the long-headed Cecils—make a virtue of necessity and receive chars-a-banc of tourists who come to visit them and (at Hatfield) take tea in the Great Hall where the earlier-Queen Elizabeth held her first council. But revenue from tourists does not bring in enough. For one thing, it is inevitably a summer trade. For another such things as old stone-work, paintings and tapestries, require constant and highly-skilled and therefore costly attention. One of the recommendations of the Commission was that taxpayers owning such houses 'should be granted certain reliefs from income tax (including surtax) and death duties.' These houses, they pointed out, mirror some six centuries of our social history and domestic life; are the greatest contribution made by England to the visual arts; and represent an association of beauty, of art and of nature.. seldom, if ever, equalled in the history of civilisation.' Yet the Chancellor has decided that he cannot grant their owners this remission of tax. To do so would be to legislate for a 'class'. And so, since the National Trust is not possessed of the widow's cruise, we can expect many a lovely house, such as Blatherwycke Hall, to be sold to a contractor and demolished for the sake of its materials; or taken over perhaps as a Training College and, like Wentworth Woodhouse, spoiled in the conversion. Worst of all, it may meet the fate of Coleshill and be left empty for the damp and the rats to take over. (Blatherwycke Hall, I can only add, seems to be a good name for a Parliament that will not exert itself in such a cause.)

A lot of nonsense has been talked about the new Elizabethan Age on which we are entering. Indeed the only valid comparison that I can see is that we may embark upon space travel just as the former Elizabethans embarked on their voyages of exploration round the world. I think the great Eliza, if she were alive to-day, would feel more at home in America than down amongst the tourists at Hatfield. One of the greatest living authorities on her age, Mr. A. L. Rowse, was addressing the English Association last week. He made an all-out attack on the 'monotonous sameness' to which life in England is being reduced. But all the prominent features of that earlier age which he instanced are still characteristic of the American scene. Careers he said were open to talents and there was freedom to move up—or down. (Query: *can* there be freedom on any other terms?). He scarcely touched on the political background to the two ages. But I think that just as in the sixteenth century England took on the Spanish colossus, so to-day are the Americans taking on the colossus of Communism. And there is a family likeness surely between the proud boastfulness of Shakespeare's John of Gaunt and Henry V—not forgetting several of the lesser fry scattered through the plays—and the contemporary American addiction to boosting themselves. May their boosts prove as well-founded as were the Elizabethans' boasts!

But of course it is for the arts of peace that we chiefly remember the former Elizabethan Age—for its beautiful houses and gardens and above all for its music and poetry. Can our present age recall those days? Will such arts bloom in the contemporary climate with its pursuit for social equality? Mr. Rowse does not think so. He dislikes the whole conception of social equality because he feels it must create an environment which is inimical to the arts. 'The arts', he said, 'need

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for subject-matter and inspiration variety, colour, richness, social diversity, movement, ease, standards of culture.' Rather over-doing the gloom he continued: 'What sort of literature or art do we think we are going to get out of a more or less one-class society, levelled down to the standards of the trivial, insignificant average?' I do not know what the average is and I am not competent to pursue this matter. But I don't believe the insignificant, average man has such to say, for instance, about modern architecture. I think he is at the mercy of a dreary, utilitarian outlook called functionalism. It is building him blocks of flats with ugly stone balconies looking like solid baths stuck on to their sides. And at the new Lansbury village, in the East end of London, judging from a recent photograph, it has built a clock tower which looks as if it could be folded up like a steel jack-in-the-box.

Functionalism. What a word! There never was a time when so many things were *functioning*. Rationing, national insurance, currency control, import permits, exports, building licences, housing lists, and so on without end. Never in our history was society so hedged about by controls and never it should be noted, save in times of civil war, were there so many enemies of society at loose in our midst. There must be some underlying connection. We used to think of Chicago as the home of gangster criminals. Now I am afraid we do not need to look so far from home. The latest statistics, from the Chief Constables' Annual Reports for 1951, show that last year, in most of our towns and cities, all records for crime were broken. A great deal of the increase is due to crimes by juveniles. This may be due in part to the number of gangster films shown in the cinemas. But many of the older criminals have been trained in commando units in time of war and turn their experience to house-breaking in times of peace. The most spectacular crime to date is the looting of £300,000 in notes from a Post Office van. But would the prospect of a fortune, obtained by violence, prove so strong a temptation if there were any prospect of making a fortune by legitimate means? In our egalitarian, super-tax society no one can become rich. For some people this certainly appears to put a sparkle on loot—or foot-ball pools. I do not know which is the greater evil.

In former days idle people, whose time hung heavy on their hands, used to take refuge in invalidism. It was a well-worn joke that Baden or Vichy, or some other attractive spa, was frequented by people who 'enjoyed poor health.' To-day, is the Welfare State offering similar escape from the taedium vitae?. And does a nation-wide health service tend to make us disease-minded? The thought is suggested by the tremendous sums of money, beyond all expert calculation, which are now being expended. Instead of keeping the people healthy it seems as if we were encouraging them to think that they may require the services of a doctor, dentist or occultist.

In 1942 it was officially estimated that the cost of a comprehensive health service would amount to about £170,000,000 a year. In actual fact it is costing about £400,000,000 a year. The Government in a White Paper issued in 1944 estimated that it would be 'several years' before the expenditure on the dental service reached £10,000,000.' But in the first year these services cost no less than £28,000,000—nearly treble the Government's expert estimate. It is the same with the ophthalmic services. Expenditure was not expected to reach £1,000,000 a year for several years, but actually in the first year of their working the cost was £20,000,000. No wonder the present Government is making a complete overhaul to see where waste can be eliminated and, by making a small charge for prescriptions and so on, to cut down this tremendous expenditure.

The present Government has announced its intention of staying out its full term. It claims that the measures which it is taking to put the country on its feet require time to show results. And it is neither perturbed nor intimidated by the fact that, judging on the results of the recent municipal elections, it now has a minority of supporters in the country. Time, it says, will tell. But whatever may be the outcome of the next General Election many people are deeply disturbed at what seems to them to be a dilemma which threatens our democratic government. The dilemma in which we find ourselves is that parties here are so evenly balanced that we seem doomed to a stretch of ding-dong government. Tories one time; Labour the next; but touch and go as to which and no ascertainable future for any given piece of legislation. Thus it is that the Tories are returning to private ownership the road transport which Labour nationalised and Labour is already promising to repeal the Tories' repeal! This is no way in which to conduct the affairs of the nation. As a writer to the *Times* justly comments, such frequent changes in the law would 'be bound to create contempt for our legal system among the general public since certainty is, after all, the essence of any legal system.'

This same writer puts forward a most ingenious solution. It is the declared intention of the present Government, as he points out, to undertake in the lifetime of the present Parliament a reform of the House of Lords. And 'the main value of a second chamber has always been found in the continuity which it gives to the political life of a country.' So a reformed House of Lords is to come to our rescue. Reformed in such an intelligent way! He suggests that the House of Lords should be a body elected on the principle of proportional representation—the House of Commons to continue as before on the basis of single-member constituencies. 'This would mean that the Commons....could, 'as at present, provide us with a stable single-party Government, while the reconstituted Lords would prevent, or at least delay, the introduction of any measure which is based more on party political doctrine than on the will of the majority of the electorate.' What a breath of fresh air would blow across Westminster if such a reform were adopted. There would I think be a come-back for Liberal ideas. (Not for the Liberal Party. That would depend upon the

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Liberals in the Commons; and Liberal M.Ps. cannot make up a united mind about anything). I have always disliked the idea of proportional representation as the method of electing a government. It leads to a proliferation of parties (and much consequent trimming of sails on the part of politicians). But these evils would not arise in a second chamber. Indeed I would like all sorts and conditions of men to seek election there. And I think, amongst other things—since we are sure to be in for a spate of scientists—the spiritual content could be weighted by a Rabbi and a Roman Catholic Archbishop and the leaders of any other religious community which could find a sufficient number of people to vote for them.

The Labour Party may be breathing out fire and slaughter against present Tory measures which it intends to repeal. But when the time comes for the next General Election, will there be one Labour Party or will there be two? The rift between Mr. Bevan and Mr. Attlee has reached a stage at which neither any longer wishes for concealment. Mr. Attlee parades his sentiments in the House of Commons, Mr. Bevan in the countryside. 'When Mr. Bevan gets up', says the Parliamentary correspondent of this week's *Spectator*, 'or is about to do so, Mr. Attlee goes out.' He adds that this is 'one of the nicest Westminster comedies one has savoured.' And as for Mr. Bevan, he blows off steam in the constituencies and has been proclaiming in South Wales that the next six months will see the majority of the Labour Party behind him.

The Labour Party evidently is splitting into a Right and a Left movement. And just as Mr. Bevan thinks he will soon have most of the Labour Party behind him, so extremism seems to be triumphing in the Trade Unions. There is a very clamorous element in the Unions which is bent on pressing for higher wages. Declining markets, adverse trade balances, the writing on the wall of incipient unemployment—they never speak of these things. They remain in the airy spaces of the theoretical. The Electrical Trades Union, one of the most aggressive, was told by its president at its recent conference: 'the trade unions should fight with all their industrial might against any attempt by any political party to introduce a wage freeze, particularly during a period of rising prices.' (The answer to the first part of that piece of rhetoric is: even when foreign competition is putting you out of business? The second part of this rhetoric is a piece of pious irrelevancy. He knows or should know that many prices are rising.)

The Chairman of the Trades Union Congress is Mr. Arthur Deakin. He is a realist, if I dare use that word. Realists are anathema to extremists : nothing will persuade them that realism can be an honest state of mind. Mr. Deakin is also the leader of the Transport and General Workers Union. It is the biggest trade union in the country but even though Mr. Deakin may be able to influence his own members it looks as if he were already despairing of the T.U.C. 'Whatever the T.U.C. do,' he remarked the other day, 'the policy I shall advocate in my own organization is that we act with the moderation that will enable this country to balance its payments and to continue the export trade that is so essential for its survival.'

Well this issue will be decided in September when the Trades Union Congress holds its annual conference at Margate. But in the political sphere no one can tell how long it will be before the Bevanites come up for judgment before the electorate. In the meantime they are playing the Communist game by blowing tepid in the matter of rearmament and thereby encouraging defeatism on the continent. They imperil the whole fabric of security which we are trying to build up. They also be-devil our relationships with America.

Three months ago Mr. Bevan made an anti-American speech at Jarrow. It was quoted with effect the other day in the American House of Representatives when the vote on the amount of defence aid to Europe came up for decision (and was cut by about £219,700,000). Mr. Bevan was quoted as saying that the world was making a very great mistake in letting moral leadership fall into the hands of the United States:

> "I do not believe," he said, "that America has the experience, sagacity, or self-restraint necessary for world leadership at this time." And as a final pat to the theme he added: "I say to my American friends: Your economic and fiscal policies are doing more damage to Western Europe than Stalin could ever do."

(When that speech came over the tape, the smile on Stalin's face must have rivalled that of the Cheshire Cat.....)

At the moment of writing Mr. Eden has just returned from signing the Contractual Agreement with Germany at Bonn and the European Defence Community Treaty in Paris. Western Germany is no longer an enemy and her Ambassador will come to London. There is to be a European Army and in it there will be twelve German divisions. The signing of these two Treaties—hailed by some as the greatest step towards European unity since the days of Charlemagne—has been greeted by the Communists in France with rioting so serious as to look like a rehearsal for revolution. And in Eastern Germany the Communists are putting up barricades and creating a no man's land as if they expected war to begin at any moment.

The *Times* on 26th May published a long article on the 'Prospects of War or Peace.' Its military correspondent thinks that this year may be the most critical, and, if not, then the next year. It seems a great pity that there is so much talk and writing about a possible war. If only we could get statesmen everywhere to realise the power of thought they would know that what they ought to talk and write about is Peace and not war. Thoughts have a very potent effect on actions and the power of thought, if guided in the direction of the paths of peace, would be of inestimable help to a troubled world.

Westminster, London, June 4, 1952.

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DR. TARAKNATH DAS IN FREE INDIA

By GOBIND BEHARI LAL

One of the leading champions of the closest possible friendship between the republics of India and of the United States of America—and one of the grand, old fighters for Indian independence, prestige and cultural reputation—will be in India this summer.

He is the 68-year-old, white-haired, but still sturdy, unbowed, fiery and eminently learned Hindu-American—Dr. Taraknath Das, member of the teaching faculties of Columbia University and New York University in New York City. His name, I assume, must be quite familiar to educated Indians in all the states of the Union, especially in Bengal. For nearly half a century he has been a legendary figure for his fellow Indians. During this long span of years he had to remain away from the land of his birth, Mother India, because of his revolutionary activities against British imperialism in India.

He has been awarded a travelling fellowship by the Watumull Foundation, of which I happen to be the current "chairman of the advisory committee", in order to make a circuit-around-the world for promotion of educational and cultural relationships demanded by new world conditions. He will visit some countries he has not seen before, but most countries he already knows well by previous sojourns, including Japan.

However, it is India that is the most important of all his destinations now. Dr. Das is an outstanding Indian, an invincible, cultural-spiritual Hindu and a devoted naturalized American citizen. If he sounds as though he were a man of multiple paradoxes, that is only because he is a man of the 20th century, a period of many unsolved contradictions in the affairs of mankind.

From the Indian viewpoint his great paradox is that he was barred from India by the passionate urge he had for Indian independence. Indian revolutionary fighters for the political freedom of their country—a small group to which I also have belonged for more than four decades—remained "outsiders" as long as the British flag flew over the government buildings, fortresses and ramparts of India. They rejoiced more than any other type of Indians when, at long last, the British rulers departed from their native land. One by one they revisit Free India now as the pilgrim goes to the shrine of shrines. It is a feeling almost profoundly religious that is at the heart of a returning old rebel like Taraknath Das.

Taraknath Das was born on June 15, 1884 in Calcutta; his parents were Bengali Kayasthas. From childhood he was brought up in the intellectual atmosphere of Kayasthas and Brahmans, who gave to India such men as Vivekananda, Tagore, Aurobindo Ghose, J. C. Bose, P. C. Ray, and Sarojini Naidu. He was 16, attending the first year of college, when a romantic, militant nationalism began to smoulder among the students, professors, editors and reformers of Calcutta, then India's premier nerve-center.

In 1905 he was already an active revolutionist, a wandering "sanyasin", pledged to work for the overthrow of British rule in India. One night a police officer, with nationalist sympathy, whispered to him that a warrant for his arrest was being prepared. Das had better leave the country, the officer advised. Somehow he obtained the money for a ship fare, left India—and he has never been back since that day.

He was in several Far Eastern countries. Eventually he arrived in Japan and began studies at the University of Tokyo. But he was also preaching the cause of Indian freedom, converting his own countrymen in Japan, influencing the Japanese. The inevitable result was that the British ambassador asked the Japanese Government for his extradition. The Japanese themselves told him, "There is only one country where you will receive asylum—U.S.A."

It was in 1906 that 22-year-old Das landed at Seattle, an American port, on the Pacific Coast. He had come imbued with the pride of an upper-class Hindu intellectual. But American circumstances encountering him were unexpectedly rigorous. He was not backed by money, as were the young Indians whose rich families sent them to England to become barristers, stock-brokers, I.C.S. officials. He had to start life at the level of a workman—an unskilled workman.

Thus started a life of living by the sweat of his brow: Das attended to linen in a San Francisco hospital, or plucked fruits in California orchards or planted celery in sun-drenched fields by the side of Sikh and Pathan farm-laborers. In his spare time he read books. Eventually his good, honest work, abstemious living and ceasless reading attracted the attention of a professor of medicine at the college where he had employment.

"What are you up to Das?" the doctor asked. And Das told him that he was a political exile from India, and wanted to get some university education so that he may learn about the mysteries of history, politics, economics. The professor, himself an American of British parentage, liked the young Hindu and helped him to obtain a job in the chemical laboratories of the University of California, Berkeley. So Das earned enough to live on and to pay tution, while attending the university.

There was a competitive examination going on for a U.S. Government job, the position of a "translator" or "interpreter" for the U.S. Immigration Service which had to deal with Indians, Chinese and other immigrants who were flocking to the Pacific Coast States. Das sat for the

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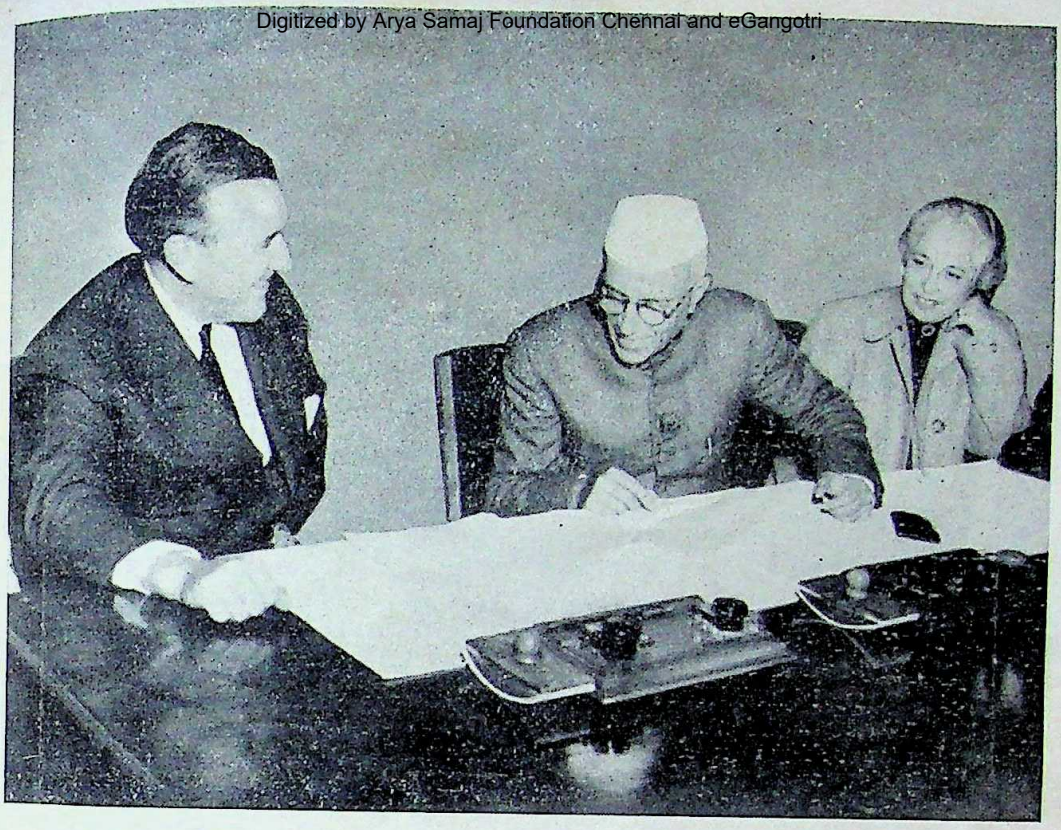
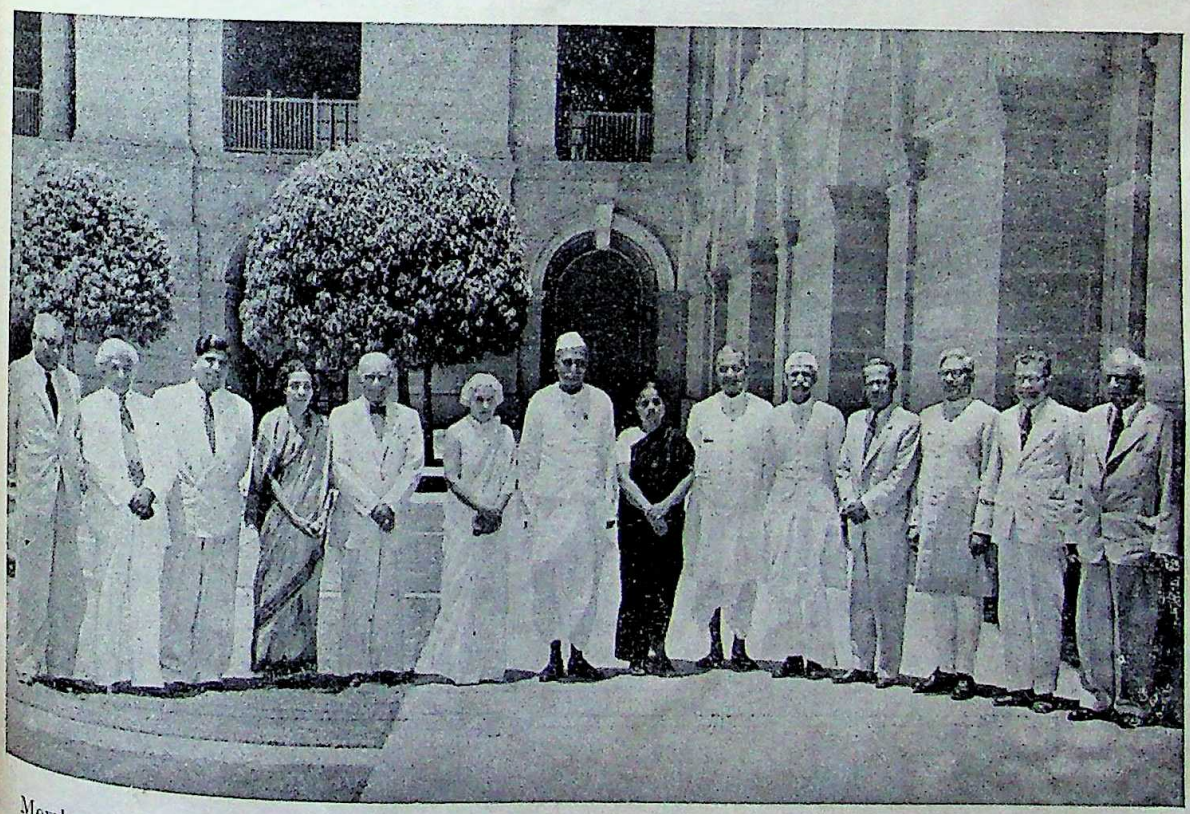


Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru signs the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement (January 5, 1952)



Members of the Indian Cultural Delegation to China called on the President, at Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi, on June 7. Headed by Srimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, the Delegation remained in China for five weeks and visited a number of places of historical and cultural interest

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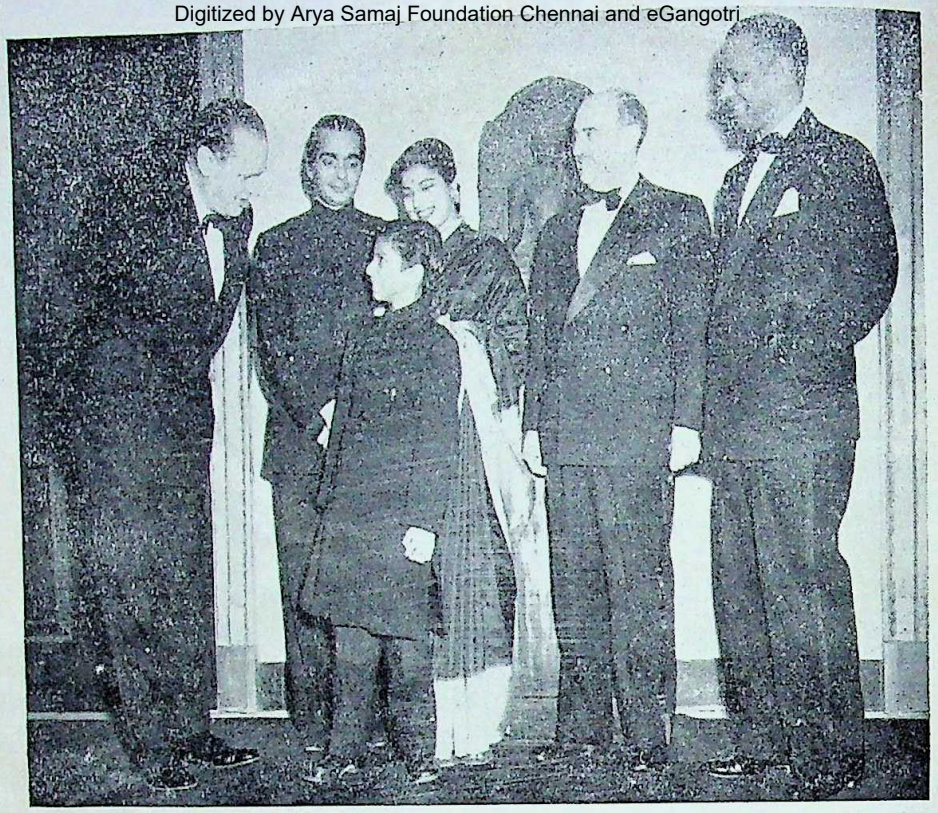

Members of Uday Shankar's ballet troupe in Washington were greeted by guests at a supper given in honour of the visiting dancers by B. R. Sen, the then Indian Ambassador to the U. S. A.

Members of the Turkish Press Delegation visited the Jamia Milia Islamia in Delhi on February 6, 1952. Dr. Zakir Hussain, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh University, explained the work of the Institution to the members

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examination and stood first. He was given the job—an interpreter at the Vancouver U.S. Immigration Station. He earned enough money to start regular studies at the University of Washington at Seattle, where he received his B.A. in 1910 and M.A. in 1911, in political science and economics.

Then he succeeded in getting a fellowship at the University of California, where he began studies for a Ph.D. degree in political science and related subjects. And in 1914 he became a naturalized American citizen. But it was not until ten years later—1924—that he received a Ph.D. degree, in the field of "international relations", from the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University at Washington, D.C.

These ten years or more were the period of stormy political and educational activity which had a single concentrated objective—achievement of Indian independence. Taraknath Das became one of the leading Indian revolutionists who tried to take advantage of the period of the First World War to weaken, if not completely overthrow, the British Indian Raj.

The history of Indian revolutionary enterprises, during 1912 to 1919, from radiating centres in America and Europe, is long and exciting. But it can not be told here even briefly. All that need be said is that a number of us Indian revolutionists and patriots abroad, especially in the United States and in Central Europe, carried on various projects designed to dissolve British rule in India and to establish a National Indian State, preferably a federal republic—The United States of India. Among us Taraknath Das was always prominent.

Ever since his arrival in the United States, Das launched his one-man campaign against British imperialism of the time. He managed to publish each month a magazine of sorts which he called *Free Hindustan*. He had it printed in and distributed from New York, with the warm collaboration of a leading Irish-American publisher who worked for the independence of Ireland and sympathized with Indian independence. For nearly three years Das's publication flourished. Such world figures as Count Leo Tolstoy and Hyndman the British socialist, took interest in its writings. When Das appeared to condone the militant action of an Indian youth in London, involving loss of life, the British had an opportunity to get *Free Hindustan* stopped by the American authorities.

By becoming an American citizen (1914), however, Das had gotten out of the reach of the British. Now began a new life of a free man for him. He could well have forgotten all about the problems of India, especially of Indian nationalism. A brilliant opportunity was open before him. Particularly tempting was a life of peaceful activity in a lush country as America was then, at a time when Indian nationalism in India had fallen to the lowest depths.

But men like Taraknath Das and Har Dayal—the founder of the Gadar (Revolution) Movement in San Francisco, in 1912—were made of unusual psychological stuff. They answered the challenge of 1914 by action—action for Indian freedom.

Har Dayal's organ, the Gadar newspaper, published an article by him, just when the war broke out in August, 1914, in which this statement was made: "Indians.....the enemy of our enemy (Britain) is our friend." Leaving San Francisco, Har Dayal went to Switzerland and then to Berlin. Shortly afterwards Taraknath Das left the University of California and betook himself to Germany, where he entered the University of Berlin. Meanwhile Har Dayal's successors at the Gadar headquarters in San Francisco kept the revolutionary projects going. The British charged that all Indian revolutionary nationalists were being supported by Germany. All I know is that the Gadar publishing work was being sustained by voluntary contributions by Indians themselves, especially of Sikhs, Hindus and Moslems in the States of California, Oregon and Washington. At the Gadar, let it be said, Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs worked together in the best unity conceivable. Such complete national solidarity was made possible by Har Dayal's teaching and personality. Toward such unity Taraknath Das had always contributed, although he never joined the Gadar Movement formally.

While the Indians in India and in England did not know or pretended not to know anything about the efforts of their patriots in America and in Europe and in the Far East, the British became intensely alarmed. The British Consulate General in San Francisco and the Gadar headquarters there were like two opposite camps.

But the American people were growing more and more sympathetic toward the Indian aspirations for independence. Countless Americans of Irish and Teutonic and other non-British European lineage listened to Indian demands. Indian independence was fast becoming an American-British policy issue. When, at last, the United States entered the war against the Kaiser, the British demanded the American Government take punitive measures against the Indian rebels of the British Raj who were political refugees in America.

Many years later an eminent American professor of English literature, Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, of the University of Chicago, wrote in his Autobiography published in 1948:

> "On the day after our (American) declaration of war (1917) a number of these Indian refugees had been arrested and held for trial in San Francisco on the charge of conspiring to ship arms for India (to fight the British) . . . Among them was Taraknath Das, an American citizen.. . . . The trial in 1917 had abounded in dramatic incidents. . . . The trial had ended with the conviction of Dr. Das and others. . . "

The British won only a battle. They had actually lost the whole war. That trial in San Francisco, lasting some eight months, stirred up the whole of America. Americans became aware of the existence of an Indian revolt against British rule in India which was important enough to have thoroughly alarmed the British, so that they went to all the trouble involved in getting the biggest State trial of modern history staged in San Francisco. Everybody knew now that British officials were actually handling the trial, and the Indian defendants

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were only asking for Indian independence—similar to the independence the Americans wanted in 1776.

Not content with getting Dr. Das and the rest of us put behind prison bars, the British wanted all of us to be turned over to them—no doubt to face firing squads. By this time, however, the war had stopped. There was such strong revulsion of American feeling against such British methods that a moral victory for Indian independence was practically won.

Prof. Lovett, recalling all this in later years wrote :

"I have been more deeply irritated by the treatment of the Indians in the United States by British agents than by any other instance of foreign interference in our affairs....."

Many were the effects, all favoring the cause of Indian independence, that followed that 1912-1920 Indian revolutionary enterprise, in which Dr. Das and I were involved. One effect was obviously this—that a large, pretty well-informed and sympathetic American public existed when the Indian Revolution returned home—that is, when a great genius, who had developed his technic abroad, in South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi, took charge of it in India.

Lajpat Rai, who had come to the United States in 1915 or so, and was too cautious to play a fully revolutionary game, but talked of "dominion status" (home rule) for India, and my friend Syud Hossain, were benefited by all that had been done by more vehement workers.

It was Hossain, I am sure, who first brought the message of Gandhi to America, in 1922 or so, in an authentic Indian manner. He was generously supported by Indian residents of California, Michigan, New York, Chicago, all imbued with the national spirit generated by the earlier struggle I have depicted. Young patriots, Dr. Anup Singh and Dr. K. L. Shridharani, educated at American Universities, made their contribution in the 30's.

By the time the Second World War started Indian merchants of enlightenment and patriotism, G. J. Watumull, J. J. Singh and others, had become effectively active. The work of the First World War had not been in vain. President Wilson had advised the British to give political concessions to Indians, while he had incarcerated Indian rebels in U.S.A. But in 1940 the Indians were not giving the British any excuse to get Americans antagonized against them; and sympathy for India had become a big factor in America. President Roosevelt was behind the Cripps Mission of 1942.

At San Francisco, the old battle-ground, India's forces against imperialism gathered at the first meeting of the United Nations there. Indians in California and Canada, particularly, raised funds and asked Mrs. V. L. Pandit, then visiting the United States, to fight for the Indian cause on the occasion. She did a magnificent job. She hurled unanswerable challenges at the Deputy Prime Minister, Attlee, and the Foreign Minister, Eden, of Britain.

So history was again made in San Francisco. When, only a year afterwards, it became known that the British Labor Party had really decided to give independence to India, the older revolutionists, men like Dr. Das and myself, G. R. Channon, G. J. Watumull and a few others, rejoiced most of all.

Now Dr. Das—like myself and many others—advocated unhesitatingly that an independent India should establish a close bond with the American-British (democratic) pattern, rather than stand alone or show any leaning toward a totalitarian pattern of any sort.

Dr. Das, who was so roughly treated by the British even in America, bears no old grudge toward them today. He believes that his studies, travels and personal experiences lead him to this position: it is best for India, on the Asian side, and Britain and America, on the Western side, to pull together, to co-operate wholeheartedly.

In all his published writings —including several books, one entitled *Foreign Policy in the Far East*—Dr. Das has dealt with problems of statecraft and diplomacy with special reference to the issues of freedom and justice for the peoples of Asia, including India. His brain is filled with a vast learning acquired in many lands. For him, it seems, statecraft is a high art, and he follows it with the love of an artist. Indian Nationalism, his original stimulant, turned his mind and activity in the direction of the politics of East and West relationships.

Har Dayal took up a secular philosophy, an attempt to unify the whole world by a new faith. Shri Aurobindo went in for Yoga in a new world. My own interests turned towards the study of modern sciences, and their popularization. Many have been the larger patterns of the great transition of India, and of the world, and we are all still groping towards a better way: Errors man makes. But if he is earnest, he rights himself.

In the light of the record I have submitted—can any one doubt the earnestness of Shri Taraknath Das? I predict that our Indian compatriots will find something contagious in his enthusiasms, which are derived from a rich emotionality, vitality, a hardy life of adventure and an enormous academic learning.

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GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN

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By Prof. BELA BOSE, M.A.
Hooghly Women's College, Chinsurah

II

Operation of the Grow More Food Campaign in West Bengal

From the foregoing reports we find that great stress has been laid on the following four methods for increasing food production—(*a*) manure, (*b*) improved seeds, (*c*) irrigation, and (*d*) reclamation of waste lands.

Now let us examine how the Grow More Food Campaign in West Bengal has been conducted and how far it has conformed to the valuable suggestions made by the First and Second Foodgrains Committees and the Woodhead Commission.

We find that the whole approach to the problem in this province during the past five years has been of a haphazard and improvised nature, unnecessarily diversified and the problem has not been tackled with a clear-cut programme of development supported by necessary provision and executed by an adequate organisation. Grants have been small and even the small grants were not fully and properly utilised. Unnecessary experience was gained at public cost.

Agriculture Minister's Statement in 1949

During the Budget discussions in March, 1949, the Agricultural Minister, Mr. J. N. Panja mentioned three ways of increasing agricultural production, *viz.*, (1) conservation of land, (2) reclamation of waste land, and (3) improving the productivity of land.

He admitted that much land had gone out of cultivation due to soil erosion and was now waste land. He mentioned about an experiment on soil erosion in Santiniketan. He also stated that he was awaiting reports on soil erosion from the Director of Soil Research Institute, Sholapur (Bombay) and some soil experts of the Government of India who had visited West Bengal. An amount of Rs. 1 lakh was sanctioned in the Budget for 1949-50 for the purpose. His successor in office, Mr. P. C. Sen, did not mention anything about these Reports, neither did he give any progress report on soil conservation that might have been attempted. The matter does not appear to have progressed beyond the exploratory stage.

Mr. Panja claimed progress about reclamation but it extended only up to 1375 acres of waste land in Chatapukri in the Jalpaiguri district of which 1000 acres were cultivated with the help of tractors. 200 refugees were settled there. His target for the next year was only 9000 acres of waste land.

As regards irrigation schemes for the improvement of land, Mr. Panja could only claim that arrangements could be made to irrigate only 3000 acres of land through small schemes. He had all praise for pumps, Persian wheels and Egyptian Screws about which the very next year, his successor had made a very unfavourable statement.

Agriculture Minister's Statement in 1950

Mr. P. C. Sen made a statement on Grow More Food Campaign in the West Bengal Assembly on March 16, 1950. He emphasised small canal irrigation, pump irrigation and tank irrigation in connection with his reclamation scheme.

The budgeted expenditure and actuals for these purposes and waste land reclamation, may be compared with the results achieved. The figures are:

(A) *Pump Irrigation (hiring)*

	Budget Rs.	Actuals Rs.
1948-49	56,000	Nil
1949-50	19,000	Nil
1950-51	19,000	...
1951-52	...	...

(B) *Pump Irrigation (Sale of plants)*

	Budget Rs.	Actuals Rs.
1948-49	1,21,000	1,09,074
1949-50	3,60,000	3,21,699
1950-51	9,18,000	...
1951-52	13,00,000	...
1952-53	5,70,000	...

(C) *Tank Irrigation*

	Budget Rs.	Actuals Rs.
1949-50	15,30,000	Nil
1950-51	15,30,000	...
1951-52	20,00,000	...
1952-53	25,00,000	...

Cost of Implementation of Waste Land Reclamation

	Budget Rs.	Actuals Rs.
1948-49	94,000	13,788
1949-50	4,06,000	...
1950-51	5,71,000	...
1951-52	5,50,000	...
1952-53	7,00,000	...

For the first two years, a total sum of Rs. 5,00,000 was sanctioned out of which only Rs. 13,788 was actually spent in 1948-49.

The Food Minister claimed that 20 acres of land were cultivated under this waste land reclamation scheme which produced a Kharif crop of 10 tons. The net social product added works out at Rs. 2,121|- at Rs. 7-8-9 per maund of official price of paddy. This net product was obtained by spending Rs. 13,788|-. This was the achievement for 1948-49. The actuals for 1949-50 has not been given even in the Budget for

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1951-52. The net product for that year, therefore, cannot be calculated.

The Food Minister gave out revealing facts for 1949-50 about the use and cost of tractors. He said that in 1949-50, the Government had only 10 tractors of which 4 were sent to Jalpaiguri, 2 to Malda, 2 to Nadia and 2 to Burdwan. Out of these 10 tractors, 5 were utilised for waste land reclamation. Till February 1950, only 2240 acres of waste land were reclaimed while the capacity of the tractors was 25,000 acres. The actuals for the purchase of tractors for 1949-50 —evidently the 10 tractors above referred to—show a net expenditure of Rs. 8,78,044|- or about Rs. 88,000|- per tractor while its market price would be somewhere near Rs. 18,000|-. 21 more tractors were later acquired.

About the area of land reclaimed conflicting figures are given by the Chief Minister and the Food Minister. On March 27, 1951 the Food Minister stated in the West Bengal Assembly that 53 tractors were then in use and 8000 acres of land had already been reclaimed.

On February 27, 1952, Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief, declared that in 1950, 1,734 acres and in 1951, about 11,500 acres of waste land were reclaimed with the help of departmental tractors. Besides, small irrigation and drainage projects of the agricultural department were responsible for the reclamation of 9,753 acres in 1950 and 28,559 acres in 1951. Thus out of a total of 20 lakhs and 29 thousand acres of cultivable waste land in the province only 61,806 acres had been reclaimed with 53 tractors during five years of its operations even when we add up all the figures claimed and disregard any overlapping. If we accept 25,000 acres as the capacity of 10 tractors, that of 53 tractors exceeded 1 25,000 acres in one year alone. From experience we learn that tractors in Bengal have been useful for the first break-up of the soil, and have not been profitable for subsequent ploughings. For the latter, tractors have been more costly and therefore not popular.

Small Irrigation Schemes

On March 28, 1951, P. C. Sen had stated that out of 1200 small irrigation schemes 224 had been completed in 1950-51 and 660 were nearing completion. But in the Budget of 1951-52 we find that only 324 out of probably these 660 have been completed although the target has been shown as 1000 projects. The Food Minister claimed that through the operations of small schemes 1 lakh 60 thousand tons of food-grains had been raised. But Budget Provision for 1,000 projects was 42 lakhs. Therefore, on an average each project cost Rs. 4200. Now if according to the Food Minister 224 small projects yielded 1 lakh 60 thousand tons of additional food-grains the expenditure comes to 224×Rs. 4200= Rs. 9,40,800. According to Mr. Sen, our food deficit amounts to 6 lakh tons, *i.e.*, about 4 times the additional production of 1 lakh 60 thousand tons which we obtain through small irrigation schemes. There can hardly be any doubt of the scope for multiplication of such schemes not to speak of extending it fourfold. If that is done the cost would be Rs. 9,40,800 × 4 = 37,63,200. We are sure that revenues of Bengal can bear this burden of which Rs. 42 lakhs, *i.e.*, more than that had already been sanctioned.

Persian Wheel

About Persian Wheels, the Food Minister said that this scheme had been abandoned because there was very little demand for the wheels. This experience was gained at the following cost:

Persian Wheels

1948-49	(Actuals)	..	83,574
1949-50	,,	..	24,286
1950-51	(Budget)	..	50,000
1951-52		..	8,000
1952-53		..	Nil

On March 16, 1950, in reply to a cut motion, the Food Minister said that Persian Wheels were not very useful in this Province. The type of deep well in which it can operate is not in existence here. Besides, a Persian Wheel alone can irrigate only 6 acres of land. It costs Rs. 411 and a pump Rs. 2220. A wheel with a pump irrigates at the most 50 to 80 acres of land. The Food Minister categorically stated that on experiment it was found that Persian Wheel was not useful for Bengal and it was discarded.

In the Budget for 1952-53, it has been stated in spite of the Food Minister's statement in 1950 that Persian Wheels were useless. 96 sets of Persian Wheels had been distributed upto January 1952 and a provision of Rs. 8,000 was made for the purpose.

Lift Irrigation

The Food Minister, Mr. P. C. Sen, has stated that Lift Irrigation and the sale of Power Pumping Plants had not been successful. The reduction of the Budget grant for the purpose from 13 lakhs to 5 lakhs 70 thousand is also an indication of it. But in the Budget for 1952-53 it has been stated that 125 Pumping sets had been distributed up to January, 1952.

Against a target of 500 tanks only 400 tanks were re-excavated in ten months.

Improved Seeds

On the result of the application of good seeds, the Food Minister P. C. Sen said, "We could get an additional Kharif crop of 170 tons and Rabi crop of 820 tons in 7090 acres by the application of good seeds."

Let us see what good seeds were distributed and to what extent. The budgeted items are not clear. We give them below as they stand.

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Under Joint Scheme

	Budget 1948-49	Act.	Budget 1949-50	Act.	Budget 1950-51	Act.	Budget 1951-52	Act.	Budget 1952-53
Scheme for Stocking—									
(a) Aus	2,25,000	Nil	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
(b) Aman	5,00,000	42,881	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
(c) Rabi	10,70,000	Nil	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
(d) Fodder	1,65,000	2,496	2,20,000	..	....	..	....	..	....
(e) Famine crops	8,35,000	Nil	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
Establishment of seed stores	5,30,000	Nil	2,97,000	..	....	..	....	..	....
Wheat seeds	3,00,000 (R)	72,000	3,00,000	3,554	1,51,000	Nil	1,62,000	Nil	1,25,000
Pulse seeds	6,23,000 (R)	24,000	15,71,000	59,004	1,00,000	Nil	....	..	....
Potato seeds	1,41,000 (R)	16,500	1,47,000	Nil	1,38,000	..	1,40,000	..	1,14,000
Sweet potato seeds	....	....	17,000 (R)	..	25,000	..	....	..	....

Under Provincial Scheme

	Budget 1948-49	Act.	Budget 1949-50	Act.	Budget 1950-51	Act.	Budget 1951-52	Act.	Budget 1952-53
Boro paddy seeds	30,000	2,489	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
Indian summer vegetable seeds	15,000	1,599	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
Cold weather vegetables	50,000	1,964	....	..	....	..	....	.	....
Winter vegetables	25,000	13,382	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
Oil seeds	1,20,000	....	1,44,000	..	....	..	....	..	....
Vegetable seeds & seedlings	64,000	....	1,00,000	m. 1,91,000	....	..	....	..	....
Potato	....	9,437	2,11,000 (R)	1,79,049	6,60,000 (B)	..	....	..	....
Tapioca stems	....	....	9,000 (R)	1,495	3,000 (B)	..	....	..	....

R —indicates Revised Budget. Act.—stands for Actuals.

A total sum of Rs. 1,84,268 out of a total sanction of Rs. 46,93,000 for 1948-49 and Rs. 2,43,002 out of a total sanction of Rs. 30,16,000 for 1949-50 was spent on seeds.

The net social product works out at just an additional maund per bigha. This should be considered as a rather poor result for an experiment with improved seeds and stems of 16 varieties of crops. According to the Food Minister, improved seeds would be used only in 7,090 acres of land only.

As regards distribution of seeds, Mr. Panja, Mr. Sen's predecessor, seemed to be a better realist. He said (March 25, 1949):

There were 89 seed stores in West Bengal. These stores supply, in addition to seeds, steel plates for cart wheels, ploughs, etc., ammonium sulphate, bonemeal, and oil cakes to the cultivators. In 1948-49, the supply was as follows:

Aus paddy seeds	4½ tons
Aman " "	23 "
Wheat " "	55½ "
Pulses " "	102 "
Agricultural Implements ..	1600 "

Much difficulty was experienced by distant villagers to carry the commodities from the seed stores. A plan for distribution through co-operative stores was drawn up, but no further mention about these stores have been made.

Actual figures for 1948-49 Budget seem rather surprising when compared with the Food Minister's claim. It works out as follows:

Seed	Budget	Actuals	Quantity of seed supplied	Cost per maund
Aus	2,25,000	Nil	4½ tons	Rs. 7
Aman	5,00,000	42,881	23 "	Rs. 69
Wheat	3,00,000	72,000	55½ "	Rs. 48
Pulse	6,23,000	24,000	102 "	Rs. 8

Where demand for good seeds was high, only a scanty amount was sanctioned out of which only a fraction was actually spent. The cost of paddy and wheat seeds seems to be exorbitantly high.

In the Budget for 1952-53, P. C. Sen stated that seed stores were reduced to 42 while from an earlier statement we find that they were 89. Of these 42, he said that 41 were functioning at the Sub-divisional headquarters. The difficulty of the villagers as regards access to the stores was increased instead of being

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reduced. The former Food Minister, Mr. Panja, had stated on 25th March, 1949, that a plan for distribution of seeds through Co-operative Stores had been drawn up. But in the Budget for 1952-53 it has been stated that the scheme for distribution of agricultural commodities through Co-operative Multi-purpose Societies has been held in abeyance since 1951-52.

The distribution of seeds along with other agricultural commodities has been entrusted to the trade.

The scheme for additional seed multiplication farms for which a provision of Rs. 6 lakh 40 thousand had been made, has been held in abeyance during 1951-52 which was one of the worst agricultural years for Bengal.

22,000 maunds of paddy seeds were purchased and distributed in 1951-52.

There is general complaint amongst the cultivators that the seed supplied by the Government does not germinate. The Annual Report of the Agricultural Department of the Government of India for 1950-51 discloses the fact that one of the causes of low production of jute was that the seed distributed did not prove of adequate quality. The seed in some places was so bad that it did not germinate. Two officers responsible for the purchase were suspended. Such must have been the affair with other seeds as well with the difference that they did not come to light. Government seeds are not popular.

Manures

The Food Minister made the following statement on manures:

(1) "Chemical manure was not distributed in large quantities because it was costly. The Agriculture Department tried to introduce cheap compost manure."

(2) "In 1948-49, 2,914,895 acres of land were manured and the additional products were Kharif 20,911 tons and Rabi 13,450 tons."

(3) "In the same year, 8800 tons of additional paddy were produced by using compost manure."

Let us examine the nature, quantity and cost of manure used.

	1948-49		1949-50		1950-51	1951-52	1952-53
	Budget	Actuals	Budget	Actuals	Budget	Budget	Budget
Oil cake	2400000	318000	2300000	489117	1638000	375000	486000
Bonemeal	1020000	749080	1534000	274627	560000	196000	244000
Chemical fertiliser	6095000	3489762	4200000	4071288	3385000	170000	199000
Green manure	90000	10036	75000	Nil	137000	..	..
Production of compost in village contingencies	250000	Nil	250000	Nil	65000	..	..
Composing town refuse into manures contingencies	85000	Nil	90000	Nil	127000	150000	150000
Calcutta sludge distribution	296000 (R)	Nil	297000	Nil	340000	290000	240000
					487000 (R)		
Cattle dung	2000 (R)	Nil	3000	Nil	..	..	..
Distribution of cow dung	..	..	3000 (R)	..	..	..	..
Calcutta sludge distribution	152000	..	..	..	..	..	..

Let us now examine the results. The total amount sanctioned for 1948-49 was Rs. 1,03,90,000 out of which Rs. 45,66,878 or less than half was actually spent. The net product added per acre of land, according to the Food Minister, was less than 1 maund in 3 acres or about 4 seers per bigha. According to the Floud Commission, manuring can improve production to 6.54 maunds of grain in addition to the average yield of 18.8 maunds by the application of 120 lbs. of sulphate ammonia to 1 acre of paddy land at the time of transplantation. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that something is radically wrong somewhere with the West Bengal Government's Manuring Scheme.

No definite idea about the claim of an increase of 8600 tons of paddy due to village compost manure distribution can be had from the data supplied.

In the Budget for 1952-53, the following distribution of manure for 1951-52 up to January 1952 has been shown in the booklet "statement showing the progress of development schemes, etc." (Government of West Bengal):

(a)	Oil cake	4,193 tons
(b)	Bonemeal	1,784 ,,
(c)	Ammonium sulphate	5,899 ,,
(d)	Ammonium phosphate	101 ,,
(e)	Super phosphate ..	46 ,,
(f)	Fertiliser mixture ..	400 ,,

Excepting fertiliser mixture which were prepared and distributed departmentally on a "no loss no profit" basis the distribution of other manures was made through trade channel, Government having to meet only the cost of subsidy to growers, *i.e.*, the difference between the cost incurred by the distributors and the price paid by the growers. The Budget provision was as follows:

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	1951-52 Budget	1951-52 Revised B.	1952-53 Budget
Cost of oilcake	3,75,000	4,77,000	4,86,000
Cost of bonemeal	1,96,000	1,66,000	2,44,000
Cost of chemical fertiliser	1,70,000	1,70,000	1,99,000

As regards the scheme for composting town refuse into manures it was stated in the Budget that besides payment of subsidy at Rs. 1|8|- per ton to the Municipalities, loans were being advanced to them for purchase of lorries required for the Scheme. It was claimed that 10,550 tons of compost had been distributed up to January 1952.

Green manure seeds were distributed at 75 per cent subsidy and only 27 tons were distributed up to January 1952. These, to say the least, were hopelessly insufficient.

Diversion of Land from Food to Non-food Crops

While diversion of land from non-food to food crops had been the recommendations of the Food Conference, the reverse has been the case since 1948-49 when land under food crops had been diverted to jute. In 1950-51, such diversion has been very substantial. On 17th February, 1952, Sardar Datar Singh, while presiding over the meeting of the Indian Central Jute Committee in Calcutta, said :

"In 1950, the acreage under jute was 1,454,000 while during 1951 the acreage was 1,952,000. In 1950, the production of jute was put at 3,301,000 bales, while in 1951 the production was estimated at 4677,000 bales. Considering that after partition we were left with an area of 650,000 acres under jute and production of jute at 1,690,000 bales only, this 300 per cent increase in acreage and production is a good achievement."

The Food Minister, Mr. P. C. Sen in a statement to the Assembly during the Budget discussion on March 27, 1951, supported this diversion of paddy-land to jute. He claimed that increase in jute production had greatly benefited the cultivators and that jute had been cultivated on many lands newly cultivated. The instructions of the Famine Commission as well as the Food-grains Policy Committee were thus flouted, both by the Agricultural Department of the Government of India and also by the Food Minister of West Bengal. Jute claimed greater attention than food and has now landed West Bengal in a difficult position in respect of food. The mirage of high jute prices have also faded away.

Causes of the Failure of the Plan

We may now summarize the causes of the failure of the Grow More Food Plan. First of all the most glaring defect appears to be a complete disregard of the valuable expert advice given by the important committees like the two Food-grains Policy Committees and the Woodhead Commission. Concentration of serious effort on the four primary directions, namely, small irrigations, manure, seed and reclamation have not been properly made. Too much was attempted all at the same time and attention was diverted to unnecessary and costly experiments. Co-operation between the agricultural department and the cultivators has evidently been non-existent. We do not find any plan where the experienced agriculturist has been given a place of importance. Money has been spent from Calcutta on the advice of officers whose knowledge of agriculture in its practical aspects is doubtful. We remember in this connection the statement of Dr. Voelcker who had stated clearly that the Indian cultivator knew his job too well. There is no soil map for the province. Cultivators know the local soil and can utilise it according to the tradition and practice prevalent in the area. Outside advice based on books is bound to be wasteful. Prices of paddy have been fixed at a level which has brought resentment amongst the cultivators because there has been a wide divergence between the controlled price and the market price. The reluctance to deliver paddy at the control price has been widespread. Forced procurement was introduced which was severely resented. Reports we have been able to gather show that a fairly large proportion of land was diverted to jute not so much for the temptation of jute prices but because the paddy price was considered to be too low and for fear of seizure of the paddy produced. We have a suspicion that some land has been left fallow deliberately out of such sentiments. What is however quite clear is that the Government has miserably failed to secure the active co-operation of the cultivators and transfer the initiative for production to them.

Our Suggestions

We believe that it is worth experimenting along the following lines :

(1) Local committees should be formed on which experienced cultivators should be represented. They should be asked to submit plans for improvement of local agriculture. These plans may be examined by the department and any alterations in them should be made in consultation with the local committee.

(2) Money sanctioned for the purpose should be placed in the hands of the committee on whom the initiative for expenditure should be entirely left. There must be a time limit for the execution of entire plan or specific portions of it. Money sanctioned should always be for a specific period or a specific part of the plan.

(3) The committee may be told that further finance will be supplied only on completion of a particular part of the plan within the time limit stated in it.

(4) Every plan should have a defaulting clause so that money wasted would be recovered from the committee. The defaulting clause should be made rigorous and deterrent so that undesirable elements would be discouraged and excluded.

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RECENT TRENDS IN MODERN INDIAN ART

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By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

It is a somewhat embarrassing and thankless task to review the modern trends and tendencies in Modern Indian Art. During the last thirty years artists have been working *not* in groups—with any definite common ideals and aspirations but in extremely individualistic, even capricious, manners,—each following his own peculiar aspiration, in ideal and in technique, on widely divergent paths without any common basis or objective. An individual and original outlook is no doubt a very desirable virtue in all forms of artistic creations. But in all ages and countries schools of art have existed, with some common ideals and aspirations, interpreting some definite principles.

In order to take stock of the recent tendencies, it is necessary to take a look back to the artistic happenings in India for about a century.

The old schools of Indian painting having a respectable history of a continuous tradition covering nearly four thousand years came to an end in about the year 1832, when Molaram, the last representative of the *Pahadi* or Hill School, died, bringing to a close a brilliant chapter of the latest phases of the native indigenous schools of Indian painting then surviving in the Panjab Himalayas.

In the meantime the political domination of the British has laid the foundation, for sinister influences, of the second-rate and third-rate British and European art, on the art-practitioners in India, who were taught to believe that India had developed no national art of her own in the domain of the higher achievements in the Fine Arts, and, that Indian painting was essentially "decorative" and of an inferior kind not worthy of the designation of the "Fine Arts." This view was crystallized in the policies of the establishment of the Government Schools of Arts, in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, where English teachers began to teach Indians the methods and technique of European painting of the realistic or the naturalistic "schools."

The typical products of this age were Raja Ravi Varma, followed a little later by M. V. Dhurandar and others in Bombay, who began to paint traditional themes of Indian mythology and history in Western style, absolutely ignoring the fact that a vernacular language of Indian painting has existed in all periods of its history.

To this denationalized outlook of the artists of the Bombay Presidency, a protest was raised by the late Dr. Abanindranath Tagore who discovered the traditions of Indian painting and developed these traditions to build a new language of Indian painting suitable to modern conditions and modern outlook. He demonstrated by a variety of experiments that the characteristic language of Indian pictorial art was capable of interpreting all the new aspirations of modern India.

But his principal achievement lay in interpreting Indian mythological, religious and even historical themes in the characteristic dialect of Indian pictorial art with a liberal assimilation of the best phases of European methods and technique. His disciples, chiefly Nandalal Bose, developed these new lessons by emphasizing on the strength and flow of continuous systems of draughtsmanship derived from the old masters of the Buddhist schools. Tagore himself exploited and developed the qualities and characteristics of the Moghul school, and in his colour schemes adopted many of the conventions of the Chinese and Japanese schools of painting. In his compositions he assimilated many of the principles of European painting in a true eclectic spirit without slavishly imitating Western technique and insisting on a strictly Indian point of view in vision and outlook. For nearly a quarter of a century his disciples, taking up work in many centres outside Bengal, in Lucknow, Lahore, Madras and Mysore, preached and practised the principles of the new school of Indian painting on the lines suggested by Tagore, the leader of the new movement. During the last few years, some of his disciples have dissented from the basic Indian principles and adopted and imitated Western techniques to win popularity and cheap patronage.

And the great master and leader of the New Movement, a few months before his death, had recorded a sorrowful protest against the works of his later disciples who had deviated from the path of truth and rectitude. He had said: "It is a pity that 'Indian Art' did not continue along the line it had taken at the start and deviated a great deal,—my heart aches when I think of this."

In the Bombay Presidency the chief centres of modern painting have been Bombay and Ahmedabad, the Guzerat group having been trained at the beginning at the J. J. School of Art, Bombay, where the imitation and adaptation of Western conventions have been a predominating feature of all forms of modern art until two years ago when the English teachers of art were replaced by Indian artists trying to develop Indian traditions. Of this new tendency, in the Bombay group, to develop Indian manners and technique, the leading representative is J. M. Ahiwasi, now a teacher in the J. J. School of Art, and some disciples of the Ahmedabad artist Ravi Sankar Rawal, who overcame the baneful influence of Gladstone Solomon who exhorted the students of his school to imitate the realistic conventions of the European studios. Of the Ahmedabad

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group with ambitions to imitate the Bengal school in developing Indian traditions the most talented exponents are Kanu Desai, Rasiklal Parekh and Somlal Shah who worked for some time in Santi-Niketan. But, with the exception of the Ahmedabad group, the persistent tendency in the Bombay group has been to lean deliberately towards European methods ignoring the qualities and characteristic conventions of the indigenous national Indian schools. It must be conceded that in skilful handling of the medium of oil colours the Bombay artists have displayed wonderful skill and power, particularly in portraiture and landscapes. In the latter part of the 19th century, very distinguished works in oil have been achieved by Pestonji Bomonji and Lalkaka and their followers founding a respectable Indian tradition in oil painting, now ably represented and maintained by A. M. Tali, M. R. Achrekar and others. In Bengal the adoption of the European medium of oil as a mode of expression has been persistently followed by several exponents beginning from J. P. Ganguly and his many disciples such as Satis Sinha and others, as also by Atul Bose, and recently by Ramendra Nath Chakravarty. But generally, the medium of oil has been avoided by artists who believe in Indian traditions and conventions which are best expressed through the medium of water-colours and in miniature sizes. There has been a recent tendency in some of the Bengali artists to handle the oil for the purpose of demonstrating that an Indian artist is as much capable of handling the imported foreign medium as in handling his own old indigenous medium of water-colour, just as Indian poetic and literary talent has skilfully used the English medium for a genuine national expression demonstrated by Sarojini Naidu and Harindra Chattopadhaya and, recently, by Ranjee Sahani and Mulk Raj Anand. This deliberate use of oil by Indian national artists is best represented by Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury and Ramendra Chakravarty and recently by Sailoz Mukherjee of the "Delhi group," who claim that it is possible to reveal Indian ideals and Indian ideas even through the foreign medium of oil. These new experiments by the disciples of Tagore to dabble in oil to express Indian nationalistic ideals have not, however, been very much of a happy success and have not received the sanction of the best critics.

In the works of the Bombay group, a new tendency has been to lean towards the vernacular language of Indian pictorial art without abandoning the medium of oil. The old slavish imitation of European manners and techniques replaced by a concession to Indian ideals has given rise to the idea that a modern Indian artist, while he should not adopt Western traditions, should not also repeat the old Indian traditions of the Buddhist, Moghul, or the Rajput schools, but have no prejudice against the assimilation of the latest phases of the European paintings of the post-Impressionists and Cubists, which have abandoned the the cheap realism of the Victorian Age, and which have valuable lessons to impart, which may *enrich* but need not *dominate* the basic Indian national manner of expression. In other words, it is believed that the language of the vernacular art of India, now slavishly adhering to the old and worn-out conventions, can be vitalized and strengthened by a judicious assimilation of the best phases of modern non-representational art of the modernistic French schools. An eclectic and critical assimilation of the best lessons of the Modernists of Europe is not necessarily a disloyalty to Indian national art, and in our blind worship of Indian artistic traditions we should not shut out the best and illuminating "lights" from the West, for light may not always come from the East. On this principle a group of artists from Bombay—Deuskar, Adurkar, Chavda, Achrekar, Satavalekar and Y. K. Shukla—had gone to Europe to study the latest developments of European painting to assimilate useful lessons for strengthening the Indian language of pictorial art. This attempt to extract useful lessons from European modernistic art had not been very successful, except in the works of Chavda and Shukla. Shiavax Chavda has not entirely confined himself to Western modernistic techniques but has also drawn valuable lessons from the traditions of old Indian sculpture as demonstrated by his studies of the sculptures of Ambarnath. Shukla has widened his outlook by taking a two years' training in the great traditions of Chinese painting. Jaya Appaswamy, an artist from the South, has also sought to assimilate lessons from the finest phases of old schools of Chinese landscape painting. But the general effect of an eclectic and critical contact with the works of Gaugin, Van Gogh and the Cubists, in the works of the modern Bombay group, has been to trample on the delicate and subtle phases of Indian traditions and to display an uncontrolled, nervous and clumsy brush-work of the Modernists of Europe. This tendency to indulge in reckless *bravura* of brush-work "in deforming figures, torturing of forms, multilation of limbs, in the name of rhythmic design and plastic unity, is in most cases, a delightful delusion where it is not a wilful self-deception."

The same importation of modernistic manners has marked the works of a group of artists in Bengal, who labelled themselves, into a group called Calcutta Group refusing to be dominated by the Indian ideals and indigenous methods of expression preached and practised by the disciples of Abanindranath Tagore. It must be admitted that there has been a very legitimate reaction against the weak, senti-

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mental, and insincere copying of Ajantan mannerisms and Rajput and Moghul caricatures, revealed in the large series of weak imitators of the Tagore school, who were unwilling to undergo the severe discipline of Indian draughtsmanship and merely repeated and imitated the mannerisms and formulas of old Indian traditions. The tragedy has been due to the fact that after the distinguished works of the direct disciples of Tagore, no new generations of interpreters of Indian painting with the necessary training and discipline have come forth to work out the principles of the Tagore school in Bengal, except a few artists trained in Santiniketan, such as Indra Dugar and Kripal Singh Shikhawat, so that the brilliant contributions made by Nandalal Bose, Khitin Mazumdar, Asit Kumar Haldar, Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury and others have not been followed by later travellers on the path, and the Tagore School has languished during the last few years for want of worthy interpreters.

Another depressing feature is the general want of trained connoisseurs and critics at all centres of art in India, such as there are in Europe and America. This dearth of intelligent and responsible criticism and accurate appraisement of our contemporary painting and sculpture has lowered the quality and accomplishments in our modern artists, instead of raising the standards of their work on paths of new development. Related to this want of accurate assessment of present-day productions of art is the incessant exhibitions of modern works, both in India and abroad, and the *diplomatic* rather than artistic use of our products on the basis of a genuine thirst for art on the part of the general public. Various second-rate and third-rate paintings have been sent to the UNESCO Exhibitions and also to decorate the rooms of our Embassies abroad. In choosing these exhibits, to meet a hurried demand, it has not been possible to select the best artists, and not even the best works of the mediocre ones. In this way the success of less deserving works has demoralized the productions of the really talented ones and led to a general lowering of standards. "The bad coin, in many instances, is driving out the good."

The general tendencies of the modern artists, in nearly all the centres, are to imitate the technique, conventions and formulas of the Modernists of Europe, almost ignoring the manners and methods of the indigenous language of Indian pictorial art, so that the old query put nearly a century ago by a French critic is still crying for an answer: "Art in India, should it be *Indian* or should it not be so?"

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FIELD SONGS OF THE WESTERN RANCHI DISTRICT

By Prof. GAUTAMSANKAR RAY, M.Sc.

The Western portion of Ranchi district in the State of Bihar may be said to be the present-day homeland of the Oraons. They are one of the artistic tribes of India. The late S. C. Roy of Ranchi has dealt in details regarding these people in two excellent monographs: (1) *The Oraons of Chota Nagpur, and* (2) *The Oraon Religion and Customs*. The Oraons possess wonderful aesthetic sense. But unfortunately their artistic abilities, their aesthetic sense are rapidly decaying on account of poverty and the infiltration of cheap amenities of modern civilization. They are an agricultural people. But due to heavy pressure on land a large number of these people have migrated to different parts of India as labourers, especially in the tea-producing districts of Bengal and Assam. Still in the midst of many odds there are some remnants of their old tradition, their artistic sense, their great aptitude for songs and dances, their beautiful sense of decoration as they have not yet totally lost the charm of life. Even in the face of famine they do not show any sign of hopelessness, nor go out for begging like the non-tribal peasants of India, but collect different kinds of edible roots and tubers or collect some kind of leaves which they eat after boiling from the neighbouring trees or forests, to appease their hunger and gather at the *akhras* (dancing grounds) in the evening to go on with their usual songs and dances. Another similarly ill-fated Adibasi group is the Kharias, who have some concentration in the southern part of this area. They have also maintained their cultural traditions to a certain extent up till now. Regarding the Kharias there is a monograph by the late S. C. Roy and R. C. Roy of Ranchi.

A cold war is going on between these simple folks of the soil and a group of economically superior people of the towns which is gradually eating at the root of their aesthetic life. It is high time for our social planners to see that the best elements of their culture are not lost. If we can preserve them, we shall be able to add some beautiful items in the high cultural tradition of India.

Songs and dances are the life centres of Tribal India. Among the Adibasis each and every ceremony or function is accompanied by songs and dances. But

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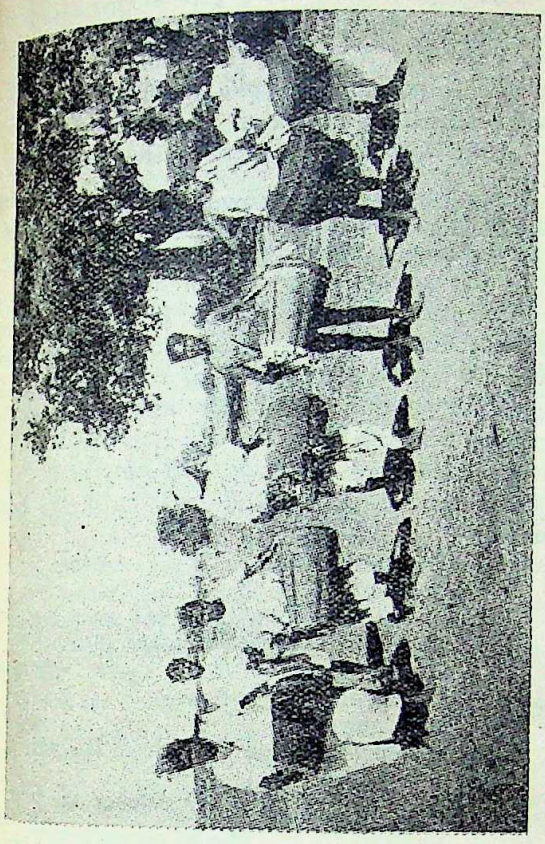
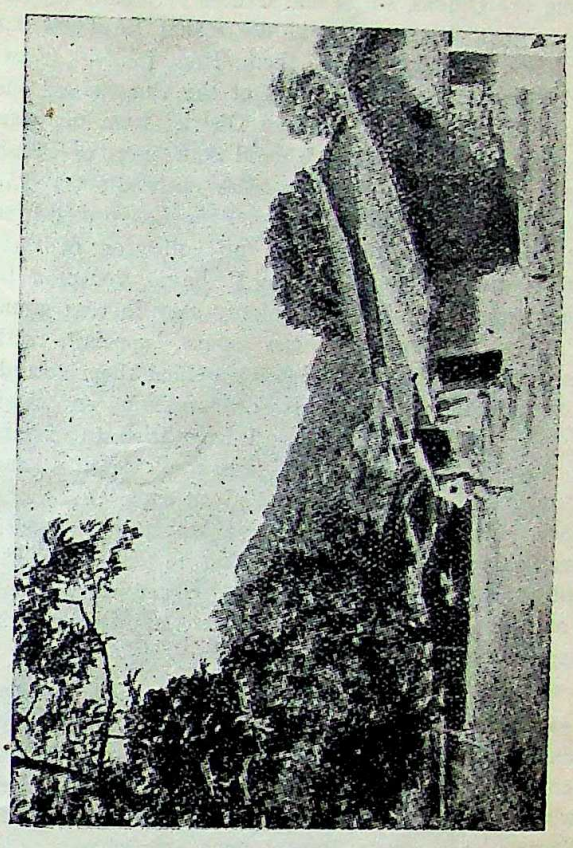
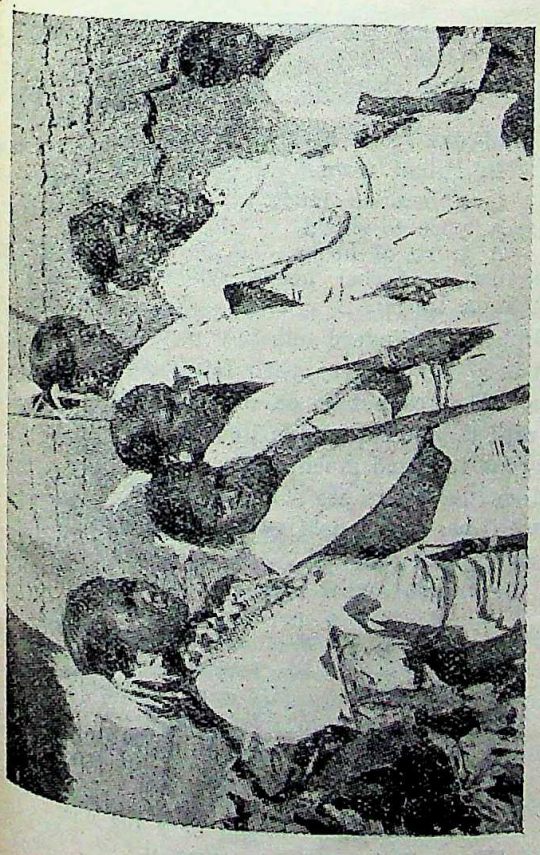


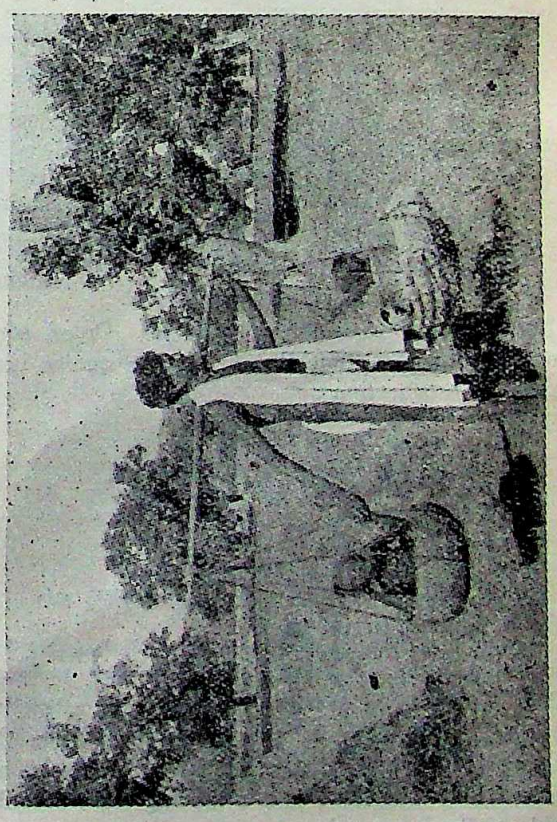
Oraon drummers



Palkot village



Oraon girls in dancing dress



An Oraon man going to the field

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among the Oraons, songs and dances play such an important part that one can hardly realize it unless one lives for a few days among them. Here I have translated a few characteristic songs of the Oraons and the Kharias of the Western Ranchi District from my own collection. We have got two good collections of Oraon songs translated by W. G. Archer entitled : (1) *The Blue Grove* and (2) *The Dove and the Leopard*. But as long as the Oraons are there, no collection of their songs is quite exhaustive ; so I have ventured to collect more songs in course of my stay in that country. Archer has analysed the songs, specially with reference to symbolism and has classified them according to the different festivals or occasions on which they are sung. In this article, I have tried to explain the songs in the context of their tradition, life and customs. And moreover I have given some Oraon and Kharia songs in their respective languages as specimens, along with their translation in English. The words 'Oraon' or 'Kharia' within brackets at the end of each song indicate whether it is an Oraon or a Kharia song.

Towns are always attractive to villagers, not to say of simple Adibasis, most of whom live far away from any town. Ranchi is the only big town in the Oraon country which has many features of a modern town, especially its electricity. So to an Oraon villager who has seen Ranchi town at night:

Ranchi re Ranchi sahar Ranchi sahar jingor jongor
Haere Ranchi sahar jingor jongor
Mal eren pandru mal eren kheso Ranchi sahar jingor jongor
Haere Ranchi sahar jingor jongor.
—(Oraon—original)

When translated:

Ranchi town, Ranchi town, Ranchi town is shining
Haere Ranchi town is shining !
Can't see a red nor a white, Ranchi town is shining
Haere Ranchi town is shining !

For the sake of interest another Oraon song depicting perhaps daytime Ranchi may be quoted here from Archer's collection :

Haere
Ranchi town
Ranchi town
Thronging with crowds.
Red you will see
White you will see
Golas you will see
Shops you will see
Motors and rickshaws
All you will see.

Golas=granaries for storing grain.

Just like a town a railway train seems attractive to the Adibasis, especially to the people from the southern part of the district, where there are no railways. Those who have seen a moving train describe it in the following words :

Hore gari cholta Hore gari cholta
Pohia pohia gari cholta
Tulungate loha lutahte timsongadah
Pohia pohia gari cholta.—(Kharia—original)

When rendered in English :

Hore ! the train is running, Hore ! the train is running
The train is running over the rails.
It is made of iron, water and fire within,
The train is running over the rails !

In the south-western Ranchi district there is a beautiful place known as Palkot. It is a pretty small town surrounded by hills, jungles and big ponds with lotuses. It was once the seat of the Raja of Chota Nagpur. Everything beautiful, everything good is associated with this place and the Raja's family. There are numerous songs depicting the beauty of this place or describing the culture and tradition of the Raja's family :

It is in Palkot *champa* flowers bloom,
Fragrance of which has filled Nagpur.
The daughter of King Indra is a good gardener,
Sweet smell is coming from her garden.
—(Oraon)

Champa= a fragrant yellow flower.

In Palkot town
Water is lapping upon the side of the boat,
Water is flashing
Water is lapping upon the side of the boat.
—(Oraon)

The Princess of Palkot is spinning very fine thread,
Removing the seeds and spinning very fine thread,
As if stitching the sun and the moon to make a garland.—(Kharia)

And one from Archer's collection :

In Palkot town
Is a bamboo fence,
A fence to shield
A grove of *beans*.

According to Archer 'beans' symbolises girls in many Oraon songs.

Orphans are indeed unhappy persons in any society. But in a tribal society, their fate is the most wretched of all. They cannot go on with their songs and dances or with their amorous life like other young fellows, as they are to spend much of their time in search of food and shelter. There are a large number of songs among many tribes which deal with the sorrows and miseries of an orphan, *e.g.*:

Kononjo ompai mahajo khiram
Har dea ing te ber langhay
Apaingjo ombordoij aiongjo ombordoij
Har dea ing te ber langhay
Dadaingjo ombordoij ajingjo ombordoij
Har dea ing te ber langhay
Kulamjo ombordoij kulamdaijo ombordoij
Har dea ing te ber langhay.—(Kharia—original)

When translated :

Whether a small stream or a big one,
Who will help me to cross it ?

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I have no father, I have no mother,
Who will help me to cross it ?
There is no elder brother nor his wife,
Who will help me to cross it ?
Not even a younger brother or a sister,
Who will help me to cross it ?
My parents are dead, my house is empty,
Oh my house is empty !
My parents are dead, cattle are crying for thirst and hunger,
Oh cattle are crying for thirst and hunger !
—(Oraon)

For comparison, one Oraon song from Archer's collection and one Ho song from my collection* may be given here which will indicate where lies the sorrows of an orphan. The Oraon song from Archer's collection is :

While the father lived
While the mother lived
I played with a *fan* of gold
I played with a *fan* of silver.
The mother died
The father died
The golden fan is lost
The silver fan is lost.

Here a "fan" means a fan for winnowing.

And the Ho song is :

You have got a father,
You have got a mother ;
You can spend your days
Full of songs and dances.
I have got no father,
I have got no mother ;
How can I have songs and dances ?
And how can I think of love ?

The Oraons are divided into a number of exogamous clans. The girls after marriage go to live with their husbands in their respective villages. It is very painful for the young men of a village to see beautiful girls of their own village going away :

Ningan koe pelo era era paradkan
Bela benjorka bina ambon
Das lago bis lago
Bela benjorka bina ambon.—(Oraon—original)

In English :

You have grown up before my eyes, girl,
I won't let you go I shall marry you.
Whether it costs me ten or twenty,
I won't let you go I shall marry you.
O damsel, don't go to a foreign land,
Famine is also there.
Search your bread in this village,
For famine is also there.—(Oraon)

The term "foreign land" is also used by the Oraons to mean Assam.

Generally the Adibasis are very conscious about their tradition and integrity :

Wherefrom the Kharia people have come
And hoisted their flag in this new land ?
It is from the east the Kharia people have come
And have hoisted their flag in this new land.
—(Kharia)

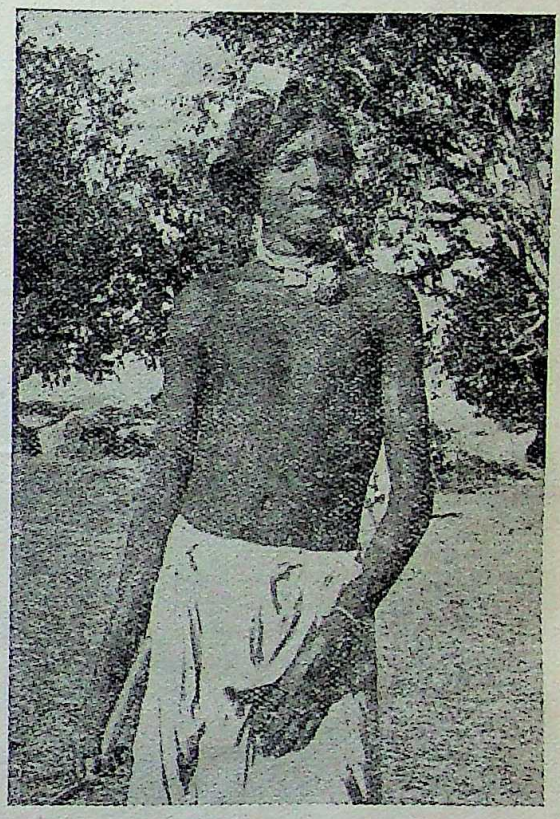
Oh Raja of Barwe !
How you have made friendship with the Europeans ?
In the morning of *Sarhul,*
How you have made friendship with the Europeans ?—(Oraon)

"Sarhul"=name of a festival.

And one from Archer's collection is :

The flag of the tribe is flying,
The war drum is sounding,
They are coming in the morning,
Jhamar jhamar the bells sound.

The following songs will show the nature and



An Oraon man

variety of some of the topics that these people select as their subject-matter :

Oh such a big palace ! where is the king ?
The queen is crying from room to room.
Just as the dry leaves fall away,
So also the king has gone away.—(Oraon)
Ho hore ! what a love in the foreign land, *maina,*
What a love in the foreign land ?
Ho hore ! what a love in the foreign land, *maina,*
What a love in the foreign land ?—(Oraon)

According to Archer, "maina" or starling in Oraon songs is a symbol for a girl.

A sage has come on the river side,
Let's go and hear some preachings.
The river has swollen, the boat is far away,
How to go there and hear his teachings ?
—(Kharia).

* See *Man in India*, Vol. 29, Nos. 3 & 4.

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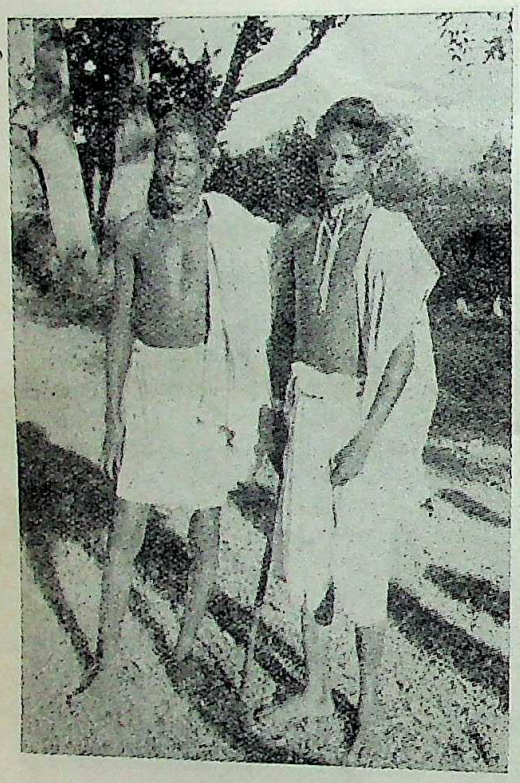
Is it not due to Hindu influence?

Whether this beautiful girl is married or not,
If I get her I shall take her to Assam.
When given water she will wash her feet,
When requested she will take her seat,
When offered food she will cook it,
When turned out she will go away,
If I get her I shall take her to Assam.
—(Oraon)

In many cases where a man cannot marry a girl of his choice due to lack of social sanction, he generally elopes with her and takes shelter in the tea gardens of Assam where both work as labourers and



Two Kharia men

live a conjugal life. After earning some money they come back and pay a fine imposed by the village council and are again admitted into their society and nobody bothers about the marriage.

Ne khadro karanjo jabdar
Karanjo pupa khatera lagi
Bhala karanjo pupa khatera lagi
Babu tambas karanjo jabdas
Maiya tangio pesage kali
Bhala maiya tangio pesage kali.
—(Oraon—original)

When translated:

Who is shaking the *karanj* tree?
See, the *karanj* flowers are falling below,
See, the *karanj* flowers are falling below.
The boy's father is shaking the tree
And the girl's mother is going to pick up,
See, the girl's mother is going to pick up.

"Karanj"=a kind of tree, from its fruits a variety of oil is extracted and used for various purposes. Is there any symbolism in this song representing the sex-relation between husband and wife?

Bapre! it is for my father's debt,
The sepoy is on the door.
Wait a bit! let me see the papers,
Then I shall repay his loans.—(Kharia)

Those who have come in contact with the Adibasis know how the moneylenders from towns cheat these simple folks.

The girl with yellow dress is under the *kadam* tree,
Golden ornaments are shining on her ears,
See, golden ornaments are shining on her ears.
Father-in-law has given gold, brother-in-law has given silver,
See, golden ornaments are shining on her ears.
—(Oraon)

"Kadam"=a kind of tree.

Khare khare nu nim chandra ful koe
Khare khare nu lal guranda
Mahato pelar hi nim chandra ful koe
Mahato jokhar hi lal guranda.
—(Oraon—original)

In English:

On the river side there are beautiful *nim* flowers, O girl,
On the river side there are red *guranda* creepers,
The daughters of *Mahato* are the sweet *nim* flowers, O girl,
The sons of *Mahato* are the red *guranda* creepers.

"Nim"—a kind of tree; "Guranda"—a kind of parasitic creeper; "Mahato"—village headman.

O weaver! O weaver!
You have sown paddy in your kitchen garden!
No corn has come out nor has it ripened
And you are beating your wife.—(Kharia)

Compare with the common sayings among the Hindus regarding the foolishness of the weaver caste.

Ho hore! I can't make a leaf cup,
I try my best but it turns bad.
Coming from the field he has beaten me,
Kindly see! I can't make a leaf cup.—(Oraon)

Leaf cups serve important purposes in the material life of the Adibasis. These are used for various purposes but especially they are used for serving rice beer, their chief drink and food.

Their girls have gone to steal *dimbo*
Our girls are still in the bed.
Hoo! it's sweet to steal *dimbo*
Though a fine is to be paid.—(Oraon)

"Dimbo"=a kind of fruit.

Father has prepared the field,
Brother has bought the seeds,
O father! who will take it away,
Haere! who will take it away?
Let it cost thousands of rupees,
O father! who will take it away?
Haere! who will take it away?—(Oraon)

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When the clouds will thunder, old lady,
Take *serega* take it after boiling.
When the storm will come and the rain will fall,
Take *serega* take it after boiling.—(Kharia)

"Serega"=fruit of *sal* tree.

Which flowers you have put on thy hair,
Swinging and coming, twinkling like a star,
Aiho, swinging and coming, twinkling like a star.
Tilay flowers you have put on the hair,
Swinging and coming, twinkling like a star.
—(Oraon).

"Tilay"=perhaps sesamum flowers.

This particular song has a wide range of circulation. It is sung at different parts of this country in different forms without a major change in the meaning.

—:O:—

ROBERT LEE FROST :
America's Poet of the Common Man

By CHARLOTTE REIN

The language of the poetry of Robert Frost, called affectionately the dean of American poets, is that of the common man. His poems are flavoured strongly with the salty idioms of the north-eastern corner of the United States known as New England, where he has spent the greater part of his seventy-seven years. But even a cursory reading of the poems would show that much of their force and beauty come from the universal truth that the poet develops out of situations and people that are apparently commonplace and prosaic.

Frost dislikes the description "dialect poet" that is sometimes applied to him. He said once:

"It was never my aim to keep to any speech, unliterary, vernacular or slang. What I have been after from the first is tones of voice. I have counted on doubling my meaning with them."

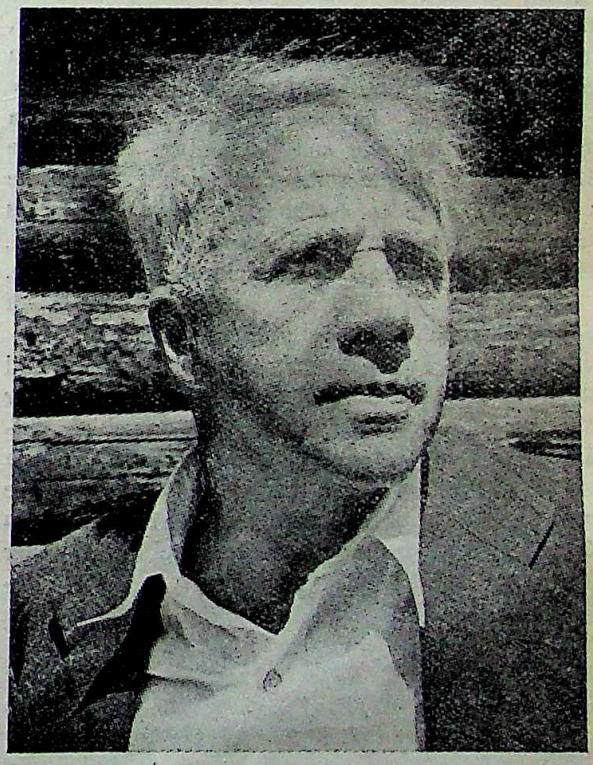
One can find this double meaning throughout his poetry and philosophy of life. Without appearing to have been put there by the poet, it is left to the reader to discover the same in some quiet observation or anecdote.

Incidentally, this double meaning is often revealed as a paradox, another of the poet's favourite devices. The ironical contradictions in men and in nature have a fascination for the poet and are laid bare in his longer poems. In his "Mending Wall," we find that the desire of a man to be on good terms with his neighbour clashes with his anxiety to build a wall or fence round his house; in "The Road Not Taken," it is the pursuit of one goal that calls for the abandonment of another; in "Stopping By Woods On A Snowy Evening" a man's dreamy mood is interrupted by the call of social duties.

One of Frost's critics remarks:

"His wonderful dramatic monologues and speeches come out of a knowledge of people that few poets ever had, and they are written in a verse that uses with absolute mastery the rhythm of the actual speech."

Truly, Robert Frost has the ability to create profound and lyrical poetry out of the commonness of daily life in the unadorned language of the farmer



Robert Lee Frost

and the mechanic. He is also one of the few American poets who combines playfulness with deep thought, and humour with seriousness. Beneath the casual tone of Frost's poems, lie teasing humour and searching philosophy.

Born in San Francisco on March 12, 1875 of a

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long line of New Englanders, Robert lost his father, a newspaper editor, ten years later. His mother, a teacher, took him to Lawrence, Massachusetts, to live with his paternal grandfather. While at high school there, Robert began to write poetry. After graduation, he entered Dartmouth College in 1892, but not liking the place he left it a few months later. He taught for a while in his mother's little school, went on a hiking tour of the southern states and did odd jobs which included working in a New Hampshire shoe-shop and a woollen mill. He was writing poems all the while; most of them were rejected by the leading magazine editors to whom he sent them. The first of them to appear in a periodical of national circulation, was "My Butterfly—An Elegy" published in the *Independent* on November 8, 1894.

At the age of twenty, the poet married Elinor Miriam White who remained his critic and inspiration till she died 43 years afterwards. After his marriage, Frost went on doing odd jobs. For a while, he edited a weekly paper and later, in 1897, entered Harvard University to study classics. After two years there, he left Harvard without a degree.

Next, he took up farming on a lonely farm in Derry, New Hampshire, and went on writing poetry. After six years of struggle, his poetry drew the attention of the authorities of the Pinkerton Academy in Derry. In 1906, he accepted their offer of a teachership in English and dramatics. For three years, the poet taught while farming but, finally, he gave his full time to teaching. After two years as teacher of psychology at the State Normal School, he left for England in 1912 on the advice of his wife. In the meantime, the Frost family had grown—of the five children born, three are now dead.

In England, while the family lived in a small cottage in Beaconsfield, Robert Frost met other poets—Rupert Brooke, Lascelles, Abercrombie, Wilfrid Gibson and Edward Thomas. Discussions on the forms, technique and purpose of poetry were frequent in the circle in which he found himself. In 1913, a collection of his poems was published under the title *A Boy's Will*. Containing poems in established lyric forms with conventional line, stanza and rhyme arrangements, the collection was received enthusiastically on both sides of the Atlantic. A reviewer wrote:

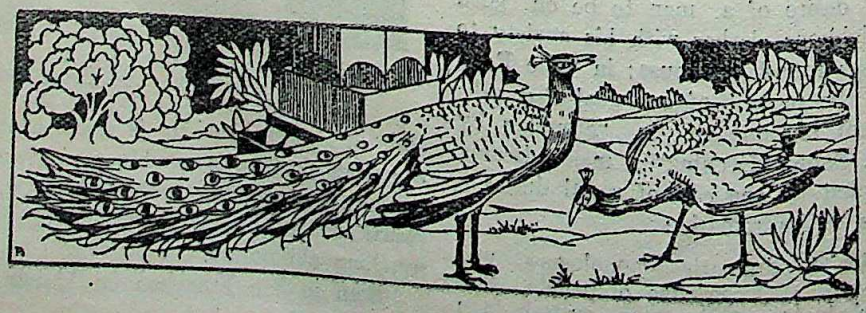
> "We have not the slightest idea who Mr. Robert Frost may be, but we welcome him unhesitatingly into the ranks of the poets born."

Frost's second book of poems, entitled *North Of Boston* came out in 1914. The poems which were in blank verse, included some of the best known, such as "Mending Wall" and "Death Of The Hired Man."

On his return to the United States in 1915, he was hailed as the leader of the "new era in American poetry." His simple lyrics, his sympathy and his humour received great praise. Since then, while Robert Frost goes on writing poetry, honours have been showered on him as perhaps on no other poet in his country. They include the coveted Pulitzer Prize on four occasions (1924, 1931, 1937 and 1943), the first Russel Loines Memorial Poetry Prize of 1931 awarded by the National Institute of Arts and Letters, seventeen honorary degrees from as many universities and colleges including Harvard and Dartmouth. For his 600-page *Complete Poems* published in 1949, he was awarded the Gold Medal of the Limited Exhibitions Club.

Robert Frost, the poet, retains his love for farming and teaching. During the summer, he lives in a small cabin on a 300-acre farm in Vermont. He moves to his house in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in October and lectures in Amherst College for two months during the winter. He also accepts teaching arrangements when they do not interfere with other works. Frost's only play *A Way Out*, was well received in 1917 and was produced at the Academy of Music at Northampton, Massachusetts, two years later.

The position of the 77-year old Robert Frost as one of the most remarkable figures in contemporary American poetry is beyond question. He has, indeed, become an American institution.



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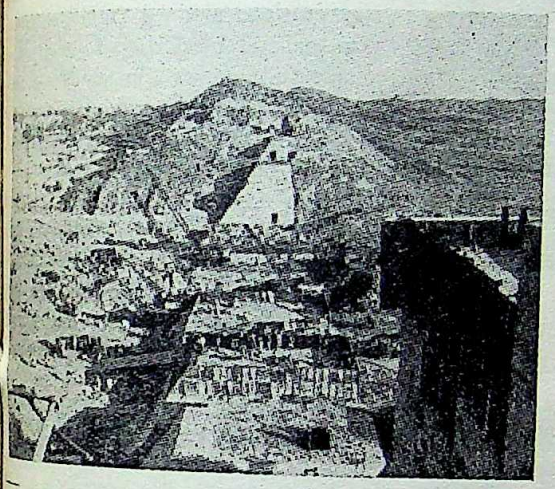
PROGRESS OF THE DAMODAR VALLEY SCHEME

The two major River Valley Schemes, Hirakud and the Damodar Valley are again under fire, this year from the opposition. Dr. Meghnad Saha has made some trenchant criticisms, the main point being inefficiency and wastage of money. Last year the attack was concentrated on the Damodar Valley, and was inspired by a group of officials who wanted to get control of the scheme for obvious reasons. Hirakud was under official control and so they kept silent on the details of its working. This year the opposition has spot-lighted both with the same accusations.



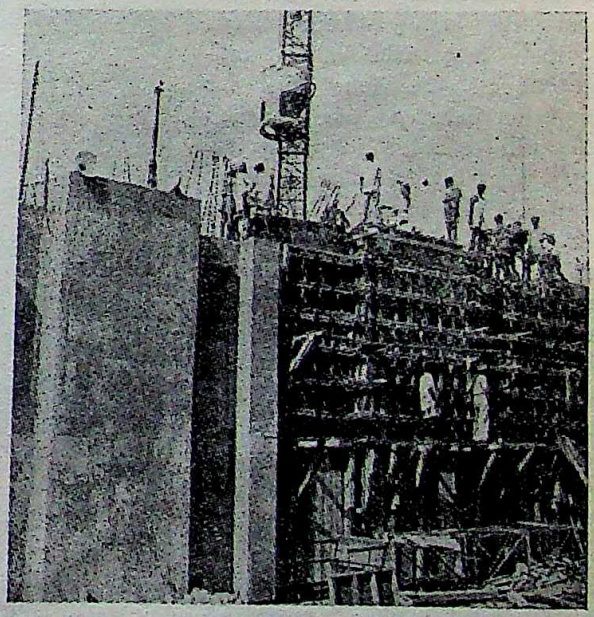
Tilaiya Dam. View across axis. Jan. 1952

Very little publicity has been given about the ...ially controlled schemes at Bhakra-Nangal and ...kud. Money has been—and is being—poured in ...cents on both and no progress reports have been ...ed to the public, which seems to be rather curious. We hold no brief for the Damodar Valley Cor...ation. Indeed, on the contrary. We were not at all ...fied either with the control or with some of the ...s at the beginning, and even today we are suspi... and dissatisfied about the working of the con... The Commissioners were not all well chosen and ... necessary drive and keen supervision seem to be ...ing at every step. Work at Maithon was started ... and the expected progress could not be made ...ce the rains and the consequent floods stopped ... work. The same is the case everywhere and there... there is a time-lag beyond justification resulting ...me considerable waste. It seems to us that if the ...V.C. is expanded slightly by the addition of one ...wo capable Commissioners, and an advisory com...ee on proper lines linked with it, then the addi...al expense would be more than justified by the ...gs in time, which means money in crores in this ...

But all the same it must be conceded that there is no hide and seek about the D.V.C., either at the top or broadly along its working, as in the case of the officially controlled schemes. We are not trying to justify all expense nor are we asking for the total exoneration from the charge of inefficiency. What we do emphatically state is that whatever be the state of affairs there is no deliberate attempt on the part of the Corporation to draw a screen over it. Ample publicity is given to the working of the scheme, in all its details and it is open to the public for criticism either way.

We have before us the latest brochure on the progress of the Project over three years and a half, extracts and illustrations from which are given *infra*. The details and the progress of the power grid has been omitted because as yet it is not functioning directly from the D.V.C.

It might be mentioned in passing, for the information of those who missed our full description of the Project in one of our last year's issues, that it is a comprehensive multi-purpose project, modelled on the Tennessee Valley Authority. Flood-control, Irrigation, Power-production and Navigation are the main objectives. Subsidiary objectives on the programme, like soil-conservation, water-supply for domestic and industrial use, fishery development, anti-malarial campaigns and planning of cottage industries and small



Bokaro Thermal Project. July 1951

and medium industries, which would help in decentralisation of the metropolitan population, are also the statutory responsibility of the Corporation.

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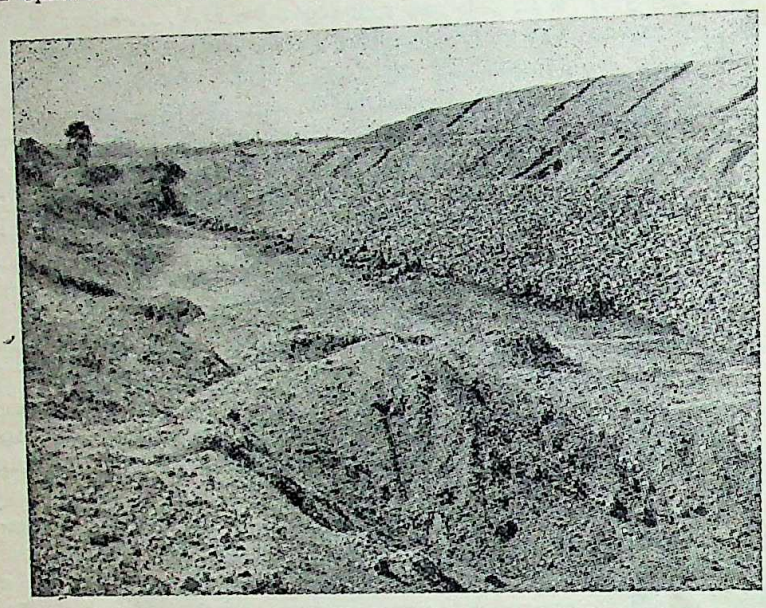
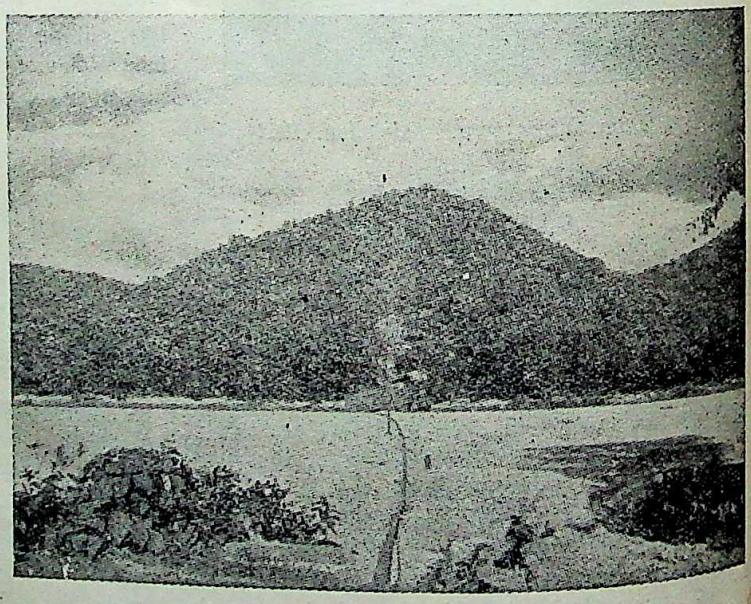
The latest brochure on the progress of the Project gives us a *coup d'oeil* over the entire scheme. We append extracts, which would help our readers to form an opinion on the matter :



Konar Project. Progress in Jan 1952

"Of the seven multi-purpose dams included in the Damodar Scheme, three have been reserved for later construction, and while all of them together will safeguard the valley from floods of the magnitude of a million cusecs, the four due for completion between this year and 1955 will afford full protection against the highest flood hitherto recorded. The erection of three hydro-electric plants associated with the three dams of the Second Phase has also been postponed for the present, and one unit of 50,000 KW is not being put in just now at the Bokaro Steam Power Station which is designed for an installed capacity of 200,000 KW to even out the seasonal variation of hydro-electricity.



Maithon Dam site. Centre line

"When this additional power, both hydro and thermal, becomes available the D.V.C. grid will certainly need further expansion ; but the high-voltage transmission system, which is being erected now as part of the Corporation's First Phase Programme, is four times more enlarged than was originally contemplated. Similarly, the area under perennial irrigation has become extended by 50 per cent, and the million acres in the Lower Valley which will enjoy this benefit will do so as soon as the First Phase is finished. Of the 1,500 miles of canals and distributaries to be fed by the Durgapur barrage, 83 miles will be navigable, as was initially proposed, and the extra capacity of 50,000 KW which Bokaro will ultimately possess is also a supplement."

"*Tilaiya Project* : Completed towards the end of 1949, the construction camp at Tilaya consists of about 100 buildings of various types, and is provided with modern sanitation, medical facilities, filtered water and electricity from a diesel-operated power house which also supplies the mica mines and the town of Kodarma and Hazaribagh. The dispensary has since May, 1949, treated about 45,000 cases, among whom the local villagers predominate. The construction of this all-concrete dam began in January, 1950, and it is scheduled to be ready in 1952. The hydro-electric station will start functioning somewhat later. The water released from the reservoir will provide Rabi irrigation for 75,000 acres and Kharif irrigation for 24,000 acres, totalling 99,000 acres, a year. The hydro-electric generation is computed at 22,770,000 kilowatt hours per annum. The dam will also contribute to moderation of floods in the Lower Valley."

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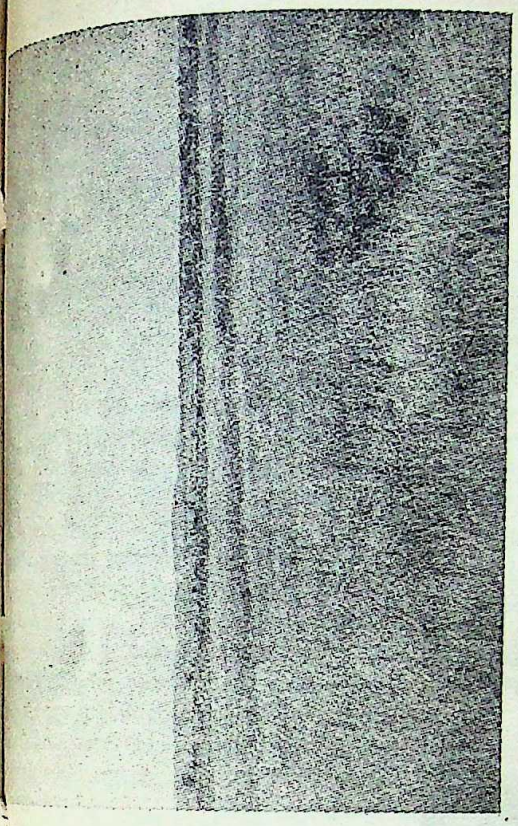
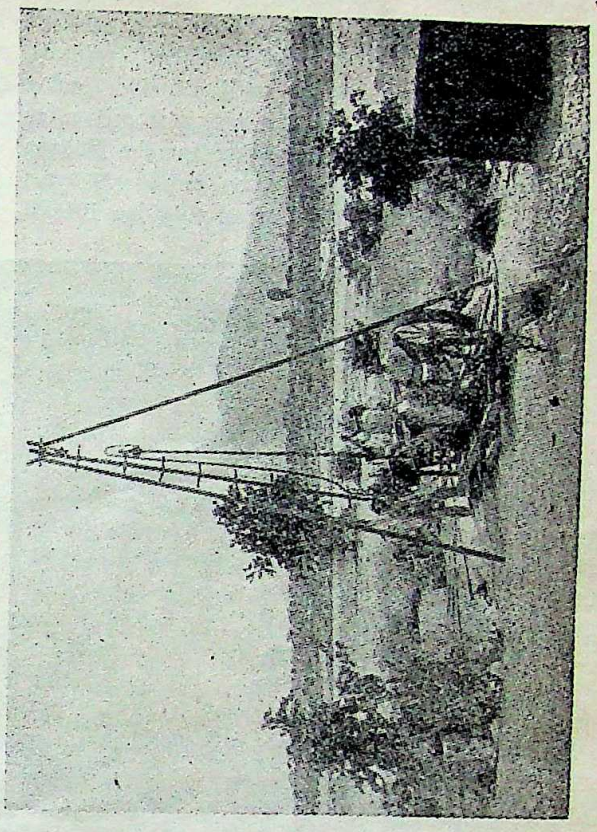
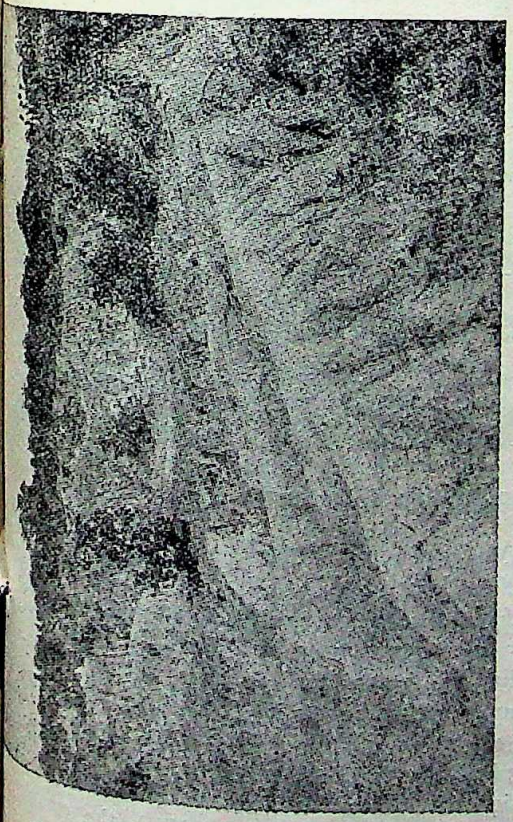


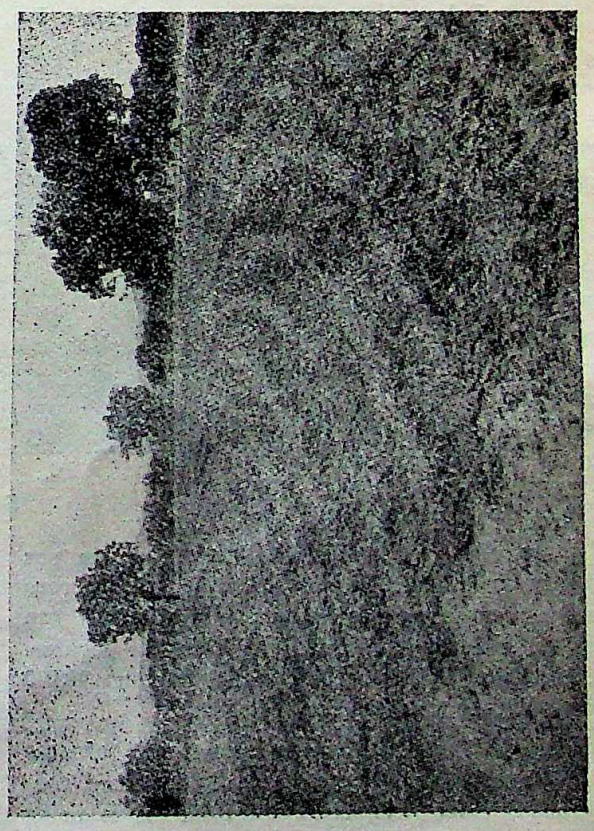
Chinese paddy on conserved waste land



Panchet Hill Project. Drilling at site



Soil Erosion near Hazaribagh



Soil conservation contour ploughing

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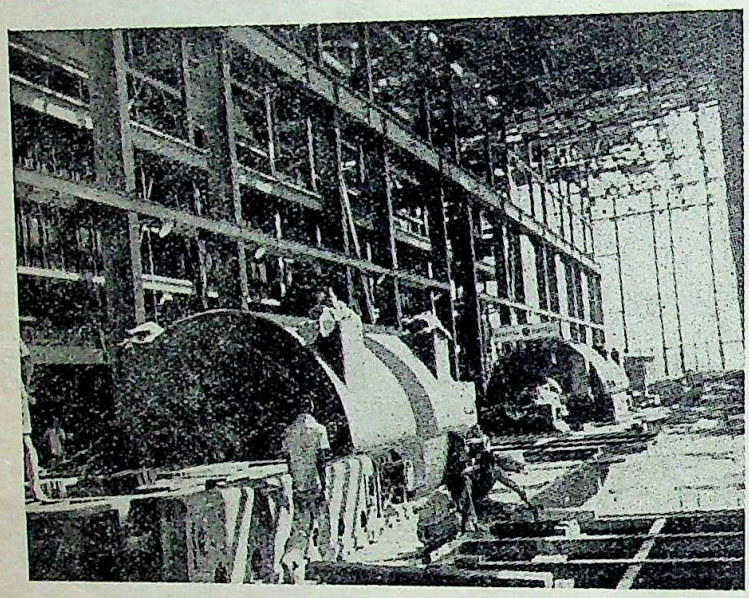
"*Konar Project*: The second of the four dams included in the First Phase Programme of the Corporation, Konar is of the concrete gravity type with continuous earth embankments on both sides and a saddle dike. The release from the reservoir will, after supplying 400 cusecs of cooling water for the Bokaro power house, provide Rabi irrigation for 68,000 acres and Kharif irrigation for 36,000 acres, totalling 104,000 acres annually. The hydro-electric generation from the 40,000 KW plant has been computed at 191,000,000 kilowatt hours per annum. The construction of the dam began in the middle of 1950, and though the pace at the start was a trifle slow, work is at present proceeding satisfactorily on both the concrete and the earthen section. By mid-1952, the dam should develop sufficient storage to meet the needs of Bokaro, and its completion is scheduled to coincide with the 1953 monsoon. The Konar camp consists of 210 buildings of all types, and possesses full facilities. The area was notoriously malarious; but as the result of vigorous anti-malarial measures carried out during the last two seasons, it is now completely free from the scourge. The dispensary has hitherto treated about 40,000 persons including neighbouring villagers."



Bokaro Project. First Stator in sites. Jan. 1952

"*Maithon Project*: Maithon, the third of the First Phase dams, is designed primarily for flood control. Scheduled for completion by 1954, it is being constructed departmentally. The dam will be a composite structure—partly concrete and partly earthen, and the attached generating station, with an installed capacity of 40,000 KW, will produce 164,000,000 kilowatt hours of hydro-electricity, while irrigation will be provided for 270,000 acres in the Lower Valley. As is in keeping with a project of such magnitude, Maithon is the largest of the Corporation's construction camps and contains over 325 buildings of all kinds. The available facilities are appropriate for a modern township, and include a primary school and a well-equipped dispensary where, since July, 1949, about 35,000 persons, with a good proportion of outsiders, have been treated. Its central situation makes Maithon the natural site for the D.V.C.'s Soils Laboratory, Timber and Mechanical Workshops and various other stores and godowns. The main distributing centre for the Sindri power is also located there, as is the headquarters of the Transmission Division, and to remain in step with the rising tempo of dam construction, the camp is still expanding itself."

Soil Conservation Laboratory. Crop tests

"*Panchet Hill Project*: The last of the D.V.C. dams on the Damodar, Panchet Hill, like its counterpart, Maithon, on the Barakar, is primarily concerned with flood control, and the two together, with some help from the upper reservoirs, will give the Lower Valley full protection against the worst floods hitherto recorded. In design, too, Panchet will be similar to Maithon, and while 100,000,000 kilowatt hours of hydro-electric energy will be generated by its 40,000 KW plant, the area it will service with perennial irrigation will be 683,850 acres as against 270,000 acres to be benefited from Maithon. With the completion

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of Panchet in 1955, the First Phase Programme of the Corporation will come to an end. The preliminary designs of the dam are ready, and preparations are well advanced for beginning its construction in 1953 when advantage can be taken of the equipment that by then will become surplus at Maithon."

"Bokaro Project : The Bokaro Thermal Power Station will be the biggest single plant of its kind hitherto erected in India. The power house is designed for an ultimate installed capacity of 200,000 KW; but the fourth unit of 50,000 KW is not being put in just now. The plant will use low-grade coal drawn from the Corporation's own mines situated about five miles away, and conveyed by an aerial ropeway, so as to minimize the cost of transport. The pooling water will come from the Konar dam 12 miles upstream, and sufficient local storage will be ensured by a solid concrete barrage, with lift gates, near the power house. Contsining more than 270 buildings of various types, a township suitable for 1,500 persons has been built at the worksite to house initially the construction staff and later the operating personnel. It is provided with all modern facilities including a post office, a school and a hospital where over 52,000 cases, both inmates of the camp and villagers from outside, have received treatment since June, 1949. Plant and equipment for Bokaro were ordered at the end of February, 1949, and work on the power station proper started a year later. The first unit of 50,000 KW will be in operation by August, 1952, and the remaining two at intervals of two months thereafter."

"Soil Conservation : Afforestation and control of erosion are among the statutory duties of the Corporation which is also responsible for promotion of public health and the agricultural, industrial, economic and general well-being of the Damodar Valley. But no river valley project can, in any case, neglect soil conservation if large storage dams are to be prevented from premature silting. In the headwaters of the Damodar conservation measures are particularly necessary, as for years forests have been cut down recklessly, and overgrazing has left the slopes so bare of vegetable cover that rains cannot but wash away the soil. Moreover, the Corporation must reclaim waste land for relocation of the displaced population, and unless scientific methods are used in cultivating the new fields, they will revert to the desert. Thus the Corporation's Soil Conservation department is engaged simultaneously in mechanized reclamation as well as in land-use experiments, and while 5,000 acres of wilderness have already been restored to fertility, new crops and grasses as also various improvements in the existing agricultural practices are being tried out to ensure continued productivity of the land."

——:O:——

ABANINDRANATH TAGORE : HIS EARLY WORK*

By S. K. SARASWATI

Acharya Abanindranath Tagore occupied a unique and significant position in the history of art movement in modern India. At a time when Indian art had degenerated almost to the point of extinction, stifled by the prevailing distaste of the so-called cultured class, under the influence of the ignorant superior attitude of the ruling community for things Indian ; when artistic activities in India consisted of debased copies of third-rate Western art, Abanindranath, by his inner æsthetic urge, tried to break new ground and evolved a style which, though based on older Indian art traditions, was at once individualistic and distinctive of his own genius. He was a pioneer and a path-finder and to him goes the credit of raising Indian art from the rut in which it had unfortunately fallen instead of inaugurating a movement that augured tremendous possibilities. The achievement of Abanindranath consists not only in what he himself did but also in what he signified.

An aristocrat by birth and an aesthete by temperament, Abanindranath took to art early in his life. He had his lessons in the technique of Western painting under two distinguished European painters, Sig. O. Ghilardi and Mr. Charles Palmer. The rigid technique of European painting, however, did not satisfy his æsthetic sense and imagination, and an inner urge led him to produce a few miniatures, based on the *Krishna-Lila,* which evoked unstinted appreciation from Mr. Palmer as having a new and distinctive character. Mr. Palmer encouraged him to proceed in the line that he had found for himself and to produce more works of a similar nature. Abanindranath's career in European art ended with this advice and he turned to the rich heritage in Indian art to find out his role.

The *Krishna-Lila* series, done in the nineties of the last century, thus turned to be a significant landmark, not only in the career of Abanindranath but in the history of modern Indian art as well. It was while doing this series that he discovered his *metier* and a sense of approach to his true vocation. "A

* *Abanindranath Tagore : His Early Work* : Edited by Ramendranath Chakravarti. Art Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. Paper Rs. 13, Cloth Rs. 15.

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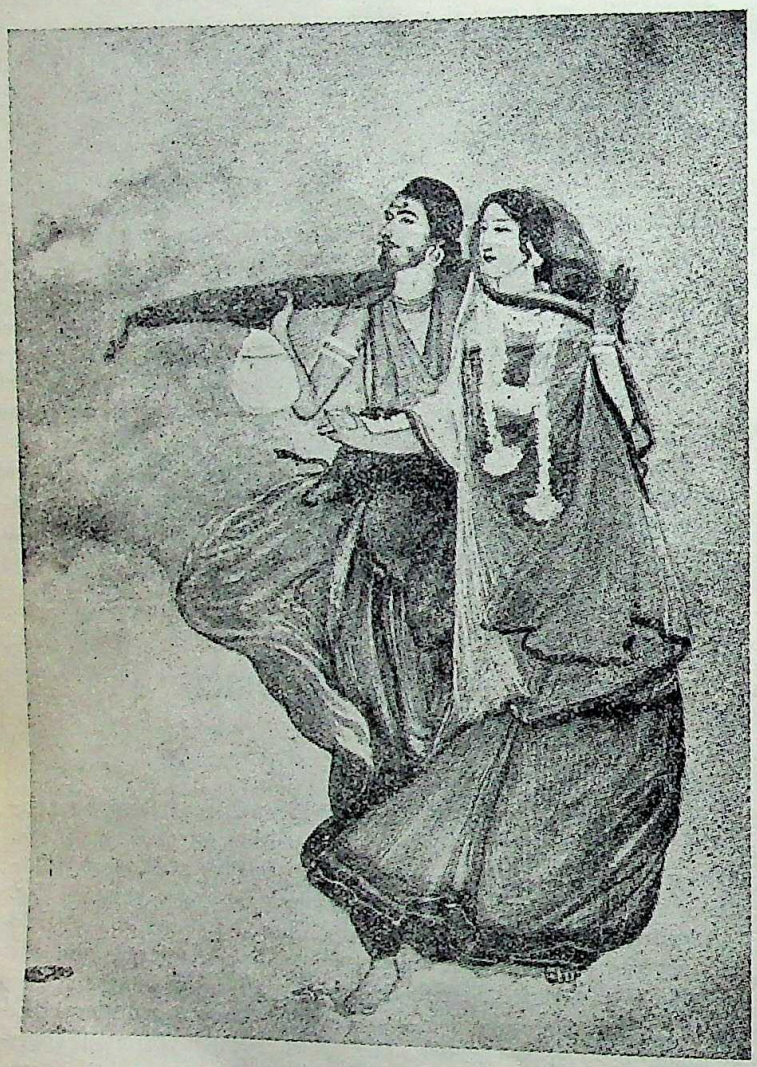
perfect identity," said the artist, "was established between myself and my theme," and it is this identity which, according to the Indian ideal, goes to the making of a great artist and of a supreme creation of art. The intellectual and imaginative function, the keynote of Indian and Oriental æsthetic concept, was re-discovered and with this recovery starts a new epoch—the epoch of neo-Indian art movement.



Siddhas of the Upper Air

In an interview with Mlle. Juel Madsen Abanindranath spoke of the artist as having four pairs of eyes—a pair like those of the ordinary man to see, the second pair which enable him not only to see, but also to remember the shape and form of things seen and to reproduce them, the third pair that lead him to go deeper into the meaning of the things, and the fourth, the eyes of imagination, which give him the power to see things unseen in nature and to create forms which are never found in nature. The fourth pair, which he calls the eyes of the soul, constitute the most powerful factor in the making of an artist. The second and the third constitute his intellectual equipment. An artist, deserving the name, must have these additional pairs of eyes to enable him to fulfil truly his vocation in life.

Abanindranath felt the formal and realistic concept of Western art to be an obstacle to the intellectual and imaginative function of art and it is this feeling which led him to seek new grounds and new lines of inspiration. He delved deep into the past heritage of Indian artistic and literary traditions. His quest was not confined to India alone, but was extended far beyond, to Persia on the one hand and to Japan on the other. He effected a fusion of the Occidental and the Oriental techniques, without any detriment to the character of the Indian art tradition, and evolved a new style of painting, entirely a creation of his for the expression of his own ideas and in fulfilment of his own æsthetic impulse. It is this signal achievement of Abanindranath that lay at the root of what is known as the Renaissance movement in Indian art.

The unique personality and genius of Abanindranath brought about this re-orientation and it is worth our while to get familiar with his early productions. The Art Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, has done a distinct service by bringing out an album of thirteen of his early paintings from among the specimens preserved in its gallery. The album is accompanied by short informative articles on Abanindranath and his work by Srijut Nandalal Bose, Srijut O. C. Gangoly, Prof. Stella Kramrisch and Srijut Benodebehari Mukherji. Srijut Nandalal Bose, the foremost of the master's pupils, speaks of the emotional significance of the paintings and shows how the heart of the master "seeks to pierce through the veil of technique in order to reveal in art the fullest expression of emotion and love." Srijut O. C. Gangoly, the celebrated art-critic and historian, stresses on Abanindranath's power of assimilating methods and manners which, by a mysterious fusion of both eastern and western points of view, created a new language of Indian painting and brought to old Indian thought new forms of beauty and new forms of expression.

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Descriptive texts explaining and elucidating the paintings are also from his pen. Srijut Benodebehari Mukherji studies the master's work in the light of contemporary art and analyses his style, lest we should forget in our enthusiasm for him as the 'father of modern Indian art,' as not belonging to any specific tradition, but as absolutely his own. The genius of Abanindranath needs no appreciative introduction; but a balanced analysis of his early works enables us to understand the manifold forces and factors that moulded the master's career and to correctly appraise the new movement of which he was the creator.

The thirteen paintings, reproduced in this album, "mark the turning away from the Western styles in India to the heritage of the country." Their publication in a decent form, as the present album is, is certainly of considerable historical interest. It may be contended that Abanindranath's mature painting is rather different from most of the paintings in this collection. But this does not minimise the value and importance of his early works. Not only are they of immense historical significance, but æsthetically too they are far superior to the contemporary productions that went by the name of art. They are pictorial records of the artist's pioneer attempts to recover the lost language of Indian art, the earliest beginnings of a splendid career of art. In these early gropings one discovers, in no uncertain manner, not only the new language, but also an art of rare charm and distinction. They belong to the beginning of the creative phase in the master's career and the qualities that characterise his style, are already there. In spite of their being experiments in diverse methods, manners and techniques, the style is already distinctive and the atmosphere replete with Indian flavour. They indicate unhampered liberty in expressing *rasa* and feeling. To quote Gangoly :

> "The leading traits of his wonderful miniatures are an intensely romantic and lyrical quality and a dreamy and mystic treatment of his subjects which lift them to a far higher level than the plane of merely literal naturalism."

It is from these early and simple beginnings that Abanindranath developed into the "wizard of form and colour."

The album is very nicely produced, in text as well as in colour-plates, in spite of so many handicaps to good printing now-a-days. It is very difficult to convey fully the fine and subtle lines and the mysterious colour-scheme, that characterise the work of the master, in colour halftone reproductions. The plates, reproduced here, however, approach the originals with a considerable degree of accuracy, resulting, no doubt, from a happy co-operation between the editor and the printer. Himself a reputed artist, the editor deserves congratulations for placing this beautiful album before the public.

To conclude, we cannot but reiterate again the achievement of Abanindranath in the words of Prof. Stella Kramrisch :

> "Abanindranath Tagore averted his mind from imposed standards. Aristocrat and connoisseur, he assimilated the forms of the past and those around him to the sensibility of his living self, in the morning twilight of a beginning."

And that beginning was of the modern Indian art which has, during the last half a century, reaped a good and rich harvest.

——:O:——

PANORAMA OF HISTORY IN AN AMERICAN MUSEUM

By JOE M. CLARK

The history of a region and its people is depicted in the exhibits on display in the State museum of New Mexico at Santa Fe, a city almost three and a half centuries old in the American Southwest.

The museum contains a fascinating assortment of primitive tools, weapons, household articles, and artifacts which made living possible and pleasant both for the American Indian residents of the area and for the non-Indian explorers and settlers who first arrived there late in the sixteenth century. The early Spanish explorers began colonization of New Mexico in 1598, or 22 years before the early English settlers landed on the Atlantic Coast of the new continent.

The museum itself is housed in a building first used as the capitol of the colony of New Mexico in 1610. That was more than two centuries before the area became a Territory of the United States, and more than 300 years before it became the forty-seventh State in 1912.

The long, low structure, simple yet impressive, forms one side of the historic plaza which marked the end of the Santa Fe Trail, historic wagon travel route from the State of Missouri to New Mexico before the railroad was built. The building is still known, popularly and officially, as the "Palace of the Governors" and is the oldest public building in the United States.

More than 100,000 visitors now enter the museum each

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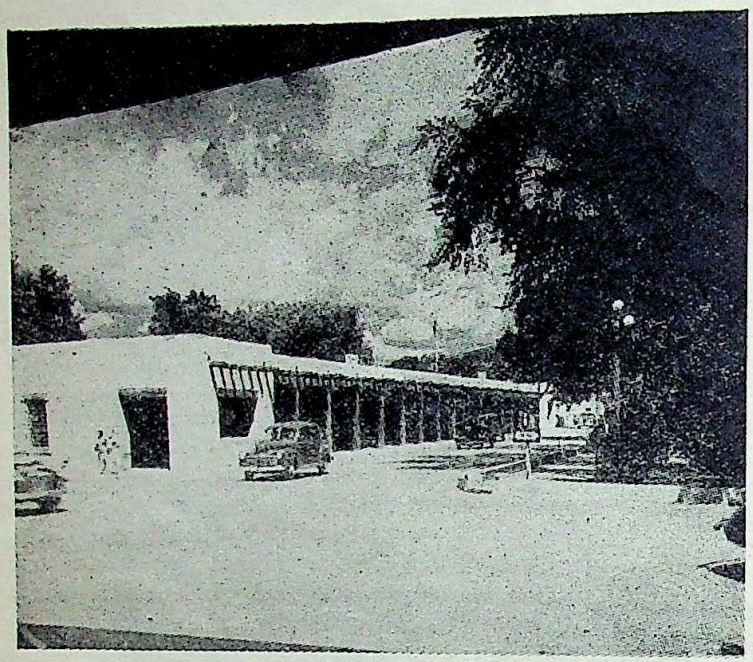
year to view the colorful exhibits there, and many of these persons return again and again. Obviously, many find the past intriguing and here one may see glimpses of mankind's past with clarity.



The oldest public building in the U.S.A. This adobe (sun-dried brick) structure at Santa Fe, capital of New Mexico, now houses a museum. It was erected by Spanish settlers as a provincial capitol in 1610

The visitor plunges further and further into the past history of human life in this region as he winds his way through this facinating museum. The centuries pass quickly, and the 250 years of Spanish rule seem brief indeed as the visitor examines mementos and handcrafts of the ancient Indians who raised grain and vegetables in the valleys of New Mexico, and who with spears and arrows hunted game in the nearby foothills, centuries before the Spanish conquistadores arrived in a hapless search for gold.

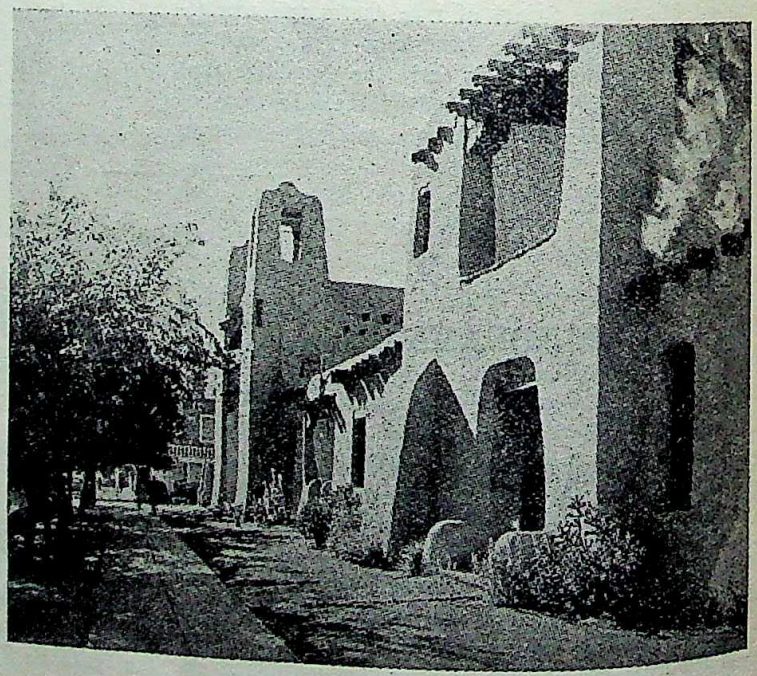
These aboriginal exhibits in the old "Palace" at Santa Fe are rated among the best extant. Some of the collections, started many decades ago, today offer a treasure of information for those interested in life in the long-ago in North America.

Authentic evidence has been found indicating that stone-age hunters visited what is now New Mexico several thousand years ago. Some authorities put the time as much as 5,000 to 15,000 years ago.

All exhibits on display in the museum, however, are dated since the beginning of the Christian era. And here it is clearly apparent that mankind has progressed far during these past 1900 years. This progress is shown in particular in the development of housing. Many of the early forebears of New Mexico's present-day American Indians lived principally in natural caves and crude shelters which they built with fallen logs and brush.

As time passed, others learned to utilize rocks in the construction of walls, using adobe, or sun-dried clay, as mortar. Adobe made with the clay found in certain sections of New Mexico proved so satisfactory for this purpose, that it came to be used almost exclusively in the erection of thick walls, much as cement is used today.

A further refinement in the use of adobe as a building material was introduced in this region by the early Spanish settlers. They taught the Indians how to mold and sun-dry adobe blocks of convenient size—about four times as large as a standard modern brick—to facilitate erection and improve construction. (The same kind of



This building, patterned along the lines of an American Indian pueblo (communal dwelling), houses the art-gallery and auditorium of the State Museum of New Mexico

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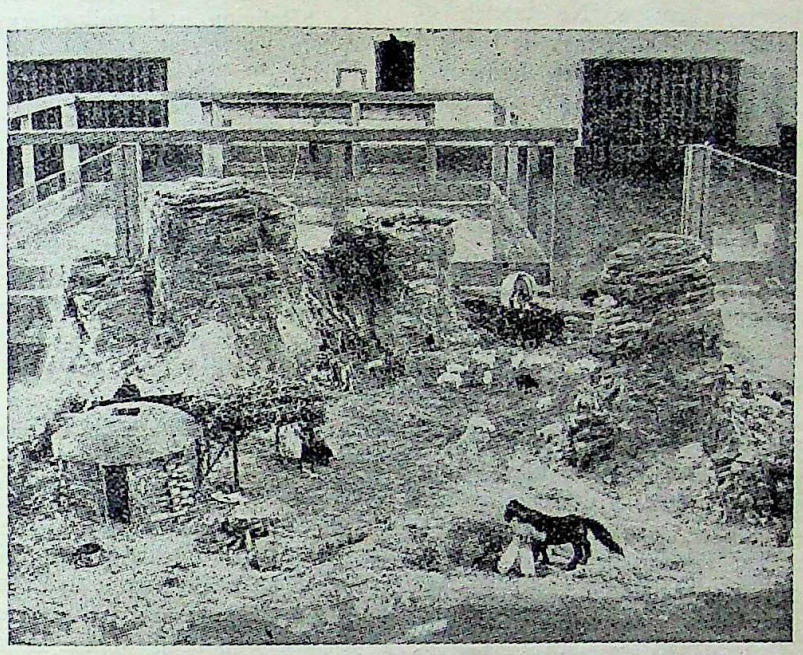
blocks is still used in the construction of hundreds of homes each year in New Mexico.)

This evolution in the housing of the people of the State is traced in exhibits at the museum. New Mexico now has some 50,000 American Indians, occupying 22 areas which they own. These areas include 18 pueblos or communal villages. Most of the Indians have been prompt to adopt methods or materials which promise to improve their pattern of living without altering it to any major extent. This is shown in the exhibits in the Hall of Ethnology, an adjunct to the museum, concerned with Indian origins, characteristics, arts, and customs.

Many visitors to the museum remember best the two old stagecoaches on display in the large grass-covered patio. Both of these vehicles were in service on regular travel routes in New Mexico before the advent of the railroads, and both have colorful histories.

The story of the "Palace of the Governors" itself is interesting. Its use has ranged from colonial capitol to stable and back again in its 300-year existence. The flags of Spain, Mexico, and the Confederate States of America (the States whose secession brought about the American War between the States) as well as the flag of the United States, have flown over it.



This realistic and authentic model in the State Museum of New Mexico illustrates the life in an American Indian village over 100 years ago

Obviously this is no ordinary museum. Here the history of a region and of a people unfolds. Here are exhibits to interest everyone, from school-children to historians, who make up the 100,000 persons who visit it each year.—From *The Highway Traveler.*

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POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF ANCIENT INDIA

By PRAKASH CHANDRA SAXENA, M.A.

THE Hindu concept of *dharma*, as is well known, is all-embracing and all-comprehensive. No branch of activity, no walk of life is such that it may be thought exempt from its claims. For every act, howsoever humble or seemingly insignificant, there is a right and a wrong way of performing it. On the field of Kurukshetra Arjuna asks the Lord:

Sthitapragnasya ka bhasha somadhisthasya Keshava;
Sthitadhih kimprabhasheta kimasita vrajeta kim?

Obviousy even the most insignificant acts of the enlightened soul are different from those of others.

It is not therefore surprising—indeed it is only to be expected—that there is no branch of life howsoever secular-seeming, that in Hindu thought has not been coloured by the spiritual outlook that is the main characteristic of Hinduism. This is as it should be—for it is only when the fundamental approaches of a society or people in different spheres of life be identical or similar, that there is harmony and smooth-working of the social and political machine. Hindu political thought, for example, drew its inspiration and energy from the fountain-springs of religious thought as expounded by the venerable ancient seers. This naturally led to a close harmony between the spheres temporal and spiritual, ecclesiastical and secular—and thus the horrors of European Medieaval Church-State conflict were entirely averted.

Of course, this led to the predominance of Church over State in Hindu States, in other words all affairs spiritual were given prime importance over affairs secular, but this as we shall see was not a bad thing. Emphasis on worldly matters is a characteristic of a materialistic outlook on the universe which results in fratricidal and suicidal wars, suspicion, distrust and hatred as in the world today. It was not because of religious fanaticism that the Hindus of ancient India subordinated the State to Religion but because they felt that the State, as all other things, is important only so far as it is contributory to the spiritual evolution of man and his attainment of the four treasures—*Dharma, Artha, Kama* and *Moksha*.

Unfortunately, superficial observers have misunderstood this. Their opinions have misguided the world into thinking that the Hindus never developed so-called secular arts and sciences and were extremely backward in worldly affairs. Says Prof. Dunning in his *History of Political Theories, Ancient and Mediaeval*:

"The Oriental Aryans never freed their politics from the theological and metaphysical environment in which it is embedded today."

Or as Max Muller says:

"Religion and philosophy formed the only sphere where the Indian mind found itself at liberty to act, to create and to worship."

Or Willoughby:

"To the early Eastern mind the fact that a thing existed was sufficient of itself to show its right to be. Thus was effectually excluded all possibility of enquiries as to the relative perfection or justification for the existence of *de facto* social and political speculation."

The last assertion is so sweeping and condemnatory that it is obvious that the author knew nothing of the ancient classification of sciences and arts by the Hindus. According to it, the primary *vidyas* or sciences are 32 and the primary *katas* are 64. Of the 32 sciences *Arthashastra* or *Dandaniti-Politics* is one. Two others were *Anvikshiki* (Metaphysics) and *Trayi* (Theology), which shows that politics was dealt with apart from the other two.

Sukracharya in his *Sukraniti* held that *Arthashastra* included both Politics and Economics, but the main body of thinkers sharply differentiated the two. The respective schools of Manu, Brihaspati and Usanas all disagreed with Sukra in this.

Thus the Hindus, while entirely separating politics from other sciences still gave it a religious basis due to their inherent tendency towards synthesis, towards looking at life as a whole and each aspect of it as closely inter-related with all others. In the present world we find the different sciences developing individually with calm indifference towards all others and there is no one to correlate the different spheres of specialised activities. The need for a synthetic view in which all developments of the various sciences would be co-ordinated is now only faintly being recognised by the West, while it was put into use by the ancient seers of India. Writes Alexis Carrel in his famous *Man the Unknown*:

"Every year we hear of the progress made by eugenists, geneticists, statisticians, behaviourists, physiologists . . . clergymen, sociologists, economists, etc. But the practical results of these accomplishments are surprisingly small. This immense amount of information is disseminated in technical reviews, in treatises, in the brains of men of science. No one has it in his possession. We have now to put together its disparate fragments and make this knowledge live within the mind of at least a few individuals. Then it will become productive."

It was precisely this synthetic approach to the problems of life that enabled the Hindus of ancient India to achieve what is called *Rama Rajya* of which the most conspicuous feature is that all branches of

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activity were perfectly adapted to the greatest happiness of society.

It was on this fundamental basis that politics grew into a separate science. As Dr. Beni Prasad remarks:

"After ages of intellectual activity politics was recognised as a science in itself and in the hands of some authors, was exalted to the rank of the supreme science but could never make itself completely independent of religion and ethics."

We are reminded of the Aristotelian conception of politics. The Greeks had a perfect realisation of the interconnectedness of the two.

The sages of India, in the sacred books, laid down the law for man for each of the varied branches of life. In the hands of priests and seers even the politics of India acquired a spiritual outlook and basis. Those who discussed politics as separate, could not restrain themselves from expressing views on other subjects. No one made the mistake of Western thought—of the separation into water-tight compartments of different aspects of life. Everywhere the divine hand is visible. The divine purpose is to be enforced. Earthly punishment is reinforced by the divine and sometimes the latter is emphasised. Hindu social theories become part of the general theory of the universe and was made to fit into the general scheme which included theology, metaphysics, tradition, logic, law, ethics and economics.

All Indian social thought pre-assumes an ethical basis. Certain fundamental principles of morality are taken for granted, and on this basis it seeks to establish theories of social and political life. The State, in the Hindu view, is certainly not a mere 'hindrance of hindrances'—it is not merely a preventive institution. Again and again it is insisted on that it must create and maintain conditions for the virtuous life and keep men to their duties as laid down in the *shastras*. The State is not to be *merely* secular in the sense of dealing only with the non-religious and non-spiritual aspects of life. It must go deeper and contribute to the spiritual evolution of man. Repeatedly, we find insistence on the duties (*dharma*) of both rulers and ruled, rarely, if ever, on their rights (*adhikaras*). The theory of the State is only the other aspect of the theory of ethics. Politics is the ethics of a whole society—a theory of the duty of man in regard to all his relations and environment. To this end all governmental activities are to be directed.

Hindu theory has its Utopias of a Golden Age or Age of Truth (*Satya Yuga*) but mainly the seers confine themselves to the practical problems of humanity. The bent of thought was essentially constructive and it is therefore that mostly the existing institutions, traditional scheme of duties and the prevailing form of government were not sought to be overthrown or replaced, but instead an attempt was made to build up systems of thought on their basis. Facts are always compromised with. But though, like Machiavelli and Treitschke, the theorists were realists, they never once lost sight of the deeper values of life. The aim is always the same and always high—the means vary according to conditions and circumstances.

The Hindu habit of synthesis and idea of all-comprehensiveness of the State linked theories of politics and government to those of economics, agriculture, irrigation, famine-relief, mining, communication, diplomacy, fortification, etc., in fact all social phenomena.

One important result of the comprehensive view of life is that government was made only an agency of the enforcement of the social order. It was only a part of society. Its importance was never exaggerated. Though its authority was ultimate it was not made an end in itself in contrast to the spiritual, industrial or commercial spheres, as is and has been done by a large section of European thought. Society viewed from different aspects was conceived as political or religious or economic or military. But the wood is never lost sight of for the trees. The State is always subordinated to the good of man. No responsible thinker dares to look at things cold-bloodedly from a political or military angle alone. The same spirit is reflected in the figure of Asoka who gave up his schemes of conquest when he witnessed the horrors of war in Kalinga. This comprehensive view again results in a usage of the term 'government' in the modern sense of 'State.' And since 'government' was generally monarchical the theory of kingship may be taken as the Hindu theory of the State.

Another of the consequences of this was the rather unfortunate conception of political inequality between man and man on the basis of caste. Since on a religious view men were divided into castes, the State accepted this division and acted accordingly. The State as purely secular had not yet emerged. Privileges were accorded to those of high caste, but one good result was achieved: the absence of any separate ecclesiastical organisation like the Church in Europe. This eliminated the conflicts that might otherwise have arisen between Church and State. To quote Dr. Beni Prasad:

> "It is the relation of the government with the social order and life as a whole which call for comment and guidance (in Hindu thought). From the very nature of social theory government could not be regarded as Sovereign in the Austinian sense of the term. It did not impart validity to the social order; rather it shared its validity. It could not alter it at will; other parts of it were as valid as itself. It sustained the social order but that was merely its function. It embodied the coercive power of the community and was bound to use it in the social order just as the priest or trader was bound to use his spiritual or economic power in the social interest. Sovereignty was really diffused throughout the community and was embodied in the Law which had its source in the Divine Will.

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On the part of the individual there can be no unified allegience, no single loyalty, except to society as a whole. No component part not even government, can claim to be absolutely sovereign. Here the monistic theory of sovereignty as applied to the State or government fails completely; only a pluralistic theory can grasp the Indian phenomenon. The State was only one of the groups to which the individual belonged, or rather, the State was merged in the social order as a whole. It is only the principles which lay at the root of the social and moral order that are omnipotent. They are summed up as Dharma, Law, Virtue or Duty. The Law, conceived in this wide sense, is above all individuals or groups. It limits the power of government; it regulates its exercise. It is above man; it is divine. With the government rests the ultimate power of adjusting social relations but the adjustment must proceed according to Dharma. Such are the principles in the light of which the Indian theory of government has to be examined."

Having indicated the basic principles of Hindu political philosophy I now proceed to the views of seers set forth in various treatises.

In Vedic literature we have only vague references to social theory. We find the institution of caste mentioned with reference to the supremacy of the Brahmana:

> "The Brahma certainly precedes the Kshattra. For the king should think (that) when the Brahma is at the head, then my royal power would become strong and not to be shaken."

The Brahmana, repository of learning and spiritual excellence, is assured of supremacy. He is said to be under the special protection of the gods and is even the representative of the latter. His person is inviolate. The Shatapatha Brahmana declares him independent of government and exempt from taxes. The Atharva Veda says that kings who injured Brahmanas are ruined both here and hereafter. The Rig Veda calls them Rashtragopa (protector of the realm), they should always be propitiated.

In Hindu theory, monarchy is the key-note. The institution of kingship has divine sanction. Time and again in Vedic literature we find it declared that the king gets his authority from the godhead and is the representative of the Supreme on earth.

It must be noted that though the office of kingship is divine, the king's person itself shares this divinity to only a certain extent. The right to revolt is not ruled out. The king may be deposed or exiled, for, if he is tyrannous and unjust and thus fails to do his duty he loses all moral authority and privilege. He is supposed to be just and to protect his subjects and if he fails in this, he not only earns spiritual punishment but also disgrace on earth. He may be called to account or killed. In the Anushasan Parva of the Mahabharata, subjects are advised to arm themselves for slaying a tyrant. Though his office is divine, the king is not himself deified.

Here we have the ideal of Plato's 'philosopher-king.' Later too, again and again, we shall find insistence on the moral virtues that a king should endeavour to acquire in order to rule well.

In another sphere however the Mahabharata is not so idealistic.

In the Ramayana, the great poet Valmiki gives a vivid picture of the 'social contract.' The original state of anarchy is a horrible one where there is no rainfall, no trade on earth, no security of life and property, no idea of law anywhere, no family life nor moral codes, where father and son fight, where the husband has no control over the wife, where there are no religious practices, no honour among even Brahmanas, no performance of sacrifices, no prayer, no joy nor happiness. From these horrible conditions the king saves society. He is the universal benefactor, father, mother, and friend. He is the truth and the light of humanity.

The Code of Manu (*Manusmriti*) and other law-books are our next source of political theory. All aspects of life are dealt with herein. The Brahmanas, Kshattriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras are said to have sprung from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet respectively of the Creator (I. 21). It therefore follows that the Brahmanas are the greatest of men. They are all one with Brahman and the eternal incarnation of the law. A Brahmana's wrath will destroy everything. His origin entitles him to special privileges. All that exists is his by right. It is through his sufferance that other men exist. He is the support of the three worlds and the gods. Whether learned or ignorant, of noble or of mean occupation, he is divine (IV. 4). Manu has no respect for the Shudras. He can attain no excellence. While trade and usury are Satyanrita (mixture of truth and falsehood), service, the occupation of Shudras is Shwavritti (dog's mode of life). They are born of slaves. Their work cannot be allotted to the twice-born even by Brahmanas (III. 154-167, II. 168, II 155, VIII. 412-414, IV. 4-6, and V. 83-84). But a man may receive learning even from one of low birth, law from the lowest and an excellent wife from a base family (II. 238).

One cannot but deplore this unfortunate exception to the high idealism of Hindu thought. Moreover, not only were the lower castes deprived of their rights but they were also to be forced to their status in life by the State. All the castes must perform their duties, but Manu says, the Vaishyas and Shudras in particular must be compelled to do so, for if they did not, society would be thrown into confusion.

As to the law, Manu gives the primary authority as the Shrutis or Vedas and Smritis or tradition. The other two are the custom of virtuous men and reason. When two texts conflict both are valid but decision is to be taken according to custom or reason.

> "What may have been practised by the virtuous, by such twice-born as are devoted to the law, that he shall establish as law, if it be not

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opposed to (the customs) of countries, families and castes."—*Chapter on Civil and Criminal Law, Manu.*

All local and communal customs must be respected—the implication being that these are usually in accordance with the eternal law. This means relaxation of the rigidity with which a fanatic zealot might have sought to enforce his own conception of the sacred texts.

Manu accepts the theory of social contract following the state of 'matsya-nyaya.' For him, kingship is divine though in purpose utilitarian. The king is composed of the eternal particles of the eight gods: Indra, Varuna, Yama, Vayu, Agni, Surya, Kuvera and Chandra. He performs on earth the duties of all these and exceeds all men in lustre. All should honour him, none disobey.

The king is admonished to be humble and modest, learned and versed in sacred and secular wisdom. 'Day and night he must strenuously exert himself to conquer his senses, for he alone who has conquered his senses can keep his subjects in obedience." He has a daily programme of duties prescribed.

We have a rather pessimistic view of human nature when we find that Manu, as in the Mahabharata, praises chastisement or *danda,* incarnation of Dharma, formed by Brahmana glory and the only thing supposed to be capable of keeping order in the world. Even in the Mahabharata we find Arjuna impressing on Yudhisthira the fact that without *danda* creatures would soon be destroyed and 'like fish in the water the stronger animals would prey on the weaker.'

"Even they that are breakers of rules, that are atheists and scoffers at the Vedas, afflicted by chastisement soon become disposed to observe rules and restrictions."

"If chastisement did not uphold and protect, then ravage and confusion would have soon set in on every side and all barriers would have been swept away and the idea of property would have disappeared . . . nobody would have studied the Vedas, nobody would have milked a milch cow and no maiden would have married."

The social instincts, as in Hobbes, are entirely ignored. So also Bhishma answers Yudhisthira when the latter asks him 'why one man, the king, should govern the rest of the world numbering many men possessed of great intelligence and bravery.' We seem to have here the Hobbesian view of human nature in its entirety. But there is a justification for this. As in Plato, the human being and his passions are likened to a charioteer driven by unruly horses. A natural corollary of this view is that in the State there must be an over-ruling power who keeps in check the unruly senses and passions of his subjects. It is a well-known fact that the path of temptation is always more easy to glide into and in the State—as in Plato's Republic —if there is no wise authority, it would be more inevitable, that the passions and inclinations of people might so get the upper hand that they might ruin themselves by a free play of these. At such times the fear of a higher authority would be the only deterrant. Hindu thought applauded chastisement only as a means to the welfare of the people themselves.

Thus the king has the final word. He is required to keep seven or eight ministers for consultation but the final decision is to rest with him. The royal priest must inevitably be confided in before every enterprise and none undertaken without his consent. Thus was a check placed on the misuse of monarchical power.

Local self-government is advocated, the smallest unit being a village, but authority is central for the sake of unified control.

Justice forms an essential part of protection which is the prime function of the State in Hindu thought. If a thief escapes undetected the guilt falls on the king. He has even to pay out sixteen times the amount or make good the loss to the plaintiff. The murder of Brahmanas, women and children is to be punishable by death. The weak are to have a privileged status. We cannot but admire this benevolent spirit of political thought.

Dire punishments await the king who is tyrannous or unjust.

> "A king who punishes those who do not deserve it, brings great infamy on himself and sinks in hell."
>
> "The guilt of an unjust decision is shared equally by the criminal, the judges and the king." —(VIII. 18).

The idea is that kingly office is divine but it is a duty and not a right bestowed by God. In the Shanti Parva of the Mahabharata, Utatthya says to Mandhatri: "One becomes king for acting in the interest of righteousness and not for conducting oneself capriciously." An unrighteous king should be slain. The Divine Right of Kings is an unthinkable conception for the Hindu seers. King Vena is said to be the lineal descendant of Narayana himself and yet was slain by the Rishis, being unrighteous and oppressive. Later, Sukra in his *Nitishastra* was to declare that the king is honoured because of his qualities and not birth. The justification of the king's authority rests on utilitarian grounds. Willoughby is entirely wrong in saying:

> "In all of the vast Asiatic monarchies of early days the rulers claimed a divine right to control the affairs of the State and this was submitted to by the people with but little question.—*Nature of the State.*

Hindu kingship is not unfettered or irresponsible. In the many Dharmashastras, Arthashastras, Puranas, Nitishastras and epics we repeatedly find checks to tyranny mentioned. These were both retributive and preventive. The latter were both internal and

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external. Moral discipline is the first requisite of kings and a vast period of religious and moral training is mentioned before the office can be held. It is a matter of pride that the ancient Hindus realised the futility of external checks on irresponsibility of which even after centuries of blood and tears the Western world is not yet conscious. Even in recent times Mahatma Gandhi gave his life to the inculcation of the principle that inward progress and self-culture would work more wonders than any external checks or institutoins seeking to do so but the truth is not fully realised by all. We have seen the League of Nations fail and U.N.O. too is likely to do so, for, when there is no sincerity in the heart, no external institutions can promote goodwill and co-operation. Says Shamasastry:

> ". . . Religious and moral restraints as self-denial, conquest of the six passions, preparation for *Moksha* or *Nirvana* by renunciation, frequently preached to the prince and poor alike, were scarcely less powerful than the constitutional and legal checks of Western nations of modern times. How far the modern constitutional checks, based on utilitarian rather than ethical principles, are preferable to religious or philosophical restraints, which are applicable to all, is a question yet to be decided." —*Evolution of Indian Polity.*

Other preventive checks were religious and one can imagine their effectiveness. Says Manu:

> "A king who protects receives from each and all the sixth part of their spiritual merit, if he does not protect them, the sixth part of their demerit also."—(VIII. 307).

So also Sukra and Kautilya too in his *Arthashastra.*

Political preventive checks were Laws and Customs, Public Opinion, Ministers and Assemblies. Though the final authority vested with the king, all these had to be taken into account, and so far as possible, catered to. Sukra declares that a king 'should dismiss the officer who is accused by one hundred men.' In the story of Devapi and Shantanu, the former was a leper and though his father wanted to instal him as heir-apparent, public opinion made him change his decision. Similar is the case of Yayati who had to justify the installaton of his youngest son as heir, to the people.

But most important were the ministers and assemblies. Of the high-priest says Kautilya:

> "As a student his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master, the king shall follow him."—*Arthashastra,* I. 9

Sukra asks:

> "Can there be prosperity in the kingdom if there be ministers whom the ruler does not fear?" Sukraniti says, "The king who does not listen to the counsels of ministers about things good and bad to him, is a thief in the form of a ruler, an exploiter of the people's wealth and soon gets estranged from his kingdom and alienated with his subjects," —(II, 515-516, 7-8).

The king was not even above the law as is the case even in many enlightened Western countries today. Manu says:

> "Where another common man would be fined one karsha, the king shall be fined one thousand."

The effectiveness of the Gandhian technique of passive resistance and Satyagraha in the struggle for independence against a foreign ruler has been proved. How much more effective was the Atmamedh or Prayopavesha form of satyagraha can very well be imagined in an age of religious zeal. The people *en masse* made a vow of fast unto death until grievances were removed. We find in the *Rajatarangini* that ancient kings sent out spies to find out such cases of Prayopavesha; for the kings, even if ignorant of the matter, was branded a murderer if any death occurred. His 'crime' was punishable by re-birth as a lower animal.

Deposition and tyrannicide are allowed. In the Vedic period monarchy was elective and the people deposed many kings. Says Kautilya:

> "A king of unrighteous character and of vicious habits will, though he is an emperor, fall a prey either to the fury of his subjects and to that of his enemies."—*Arthashastra,* VI. 1.
>
> "Impoverished and disaffected subjects voluntarily destroy the king."—(VII. 5).

In the Shantiparva of the Mahabharata, Bhishma quotes the great *Rishi* Vamadeva as saying:

> "That king who acts according to the counsels of vicious and sinful ministers, becomes a destroyer of righteousness and deserves to be slain by his subjects with all his family."

Sukra declares:

> "If the king be an enemy of virtue, morality and strength, people should expel him as the ruiner of the State, and in his place for the maintenance of the State, the priest with the consent of the Prakriti, should instal one who belongs to his family and qualified."

He does not agree with Narada in that whatever a king does is right, nor with Aryadeva that a king is a mere servant of the people and nothing more.

Sukra gives the following functions of the king or state: protection of the people and punishment, tax-realising and tax-spending functions, wealth-producing activities, the advancement of learning and religion and acts of charity and conquest. Kautilya is more realistic and less idealistic. The latter even looks on religion as a convenient tool for the furtherance of state-policy and does not scruple to advocate prostitution of religious institutions for this: The king if in need of money may set up a temple with an idol in the darkness of night and collect the money offered by the people in their credulity. In his politics Kautilya is not irreligious but unreligious and this is why he is termed the Machiavelli of India. For conquering an enemy, poisonous drugs and prostitutes are recommended and to kill an enemy king various devices are

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given in minute detail for doing so when he goes on a pilgrimage. The king may even give out that he is omniscient and able to converse with the gods in order to terrify the people. But all this is due to Kautilya's pre-occupation with the necessity of a strong administration which can wink at some irregularities in order to retain its strength which is to be used only as a means to enable the attainment by the people of the four ends: *dharma, artha, kama,* and *moksha.* His idealism can be gauged by the fact that while his contemporary Aristotle was justifying and proving the necessity of slavery, he condemned it in no uncertain terms. He even declared laws and fines for its extinction. 'An Arya can never be a slave,' he declared and said that such an ignoble custom can exist only among Mlecchas. Not only sellers and buyers but also witnesses of slave-deals were punished.

It is a well-known condemnation of the West that Orientals have never had any respect for human life. This malicious libel is disproved by the fact that even Kautilya lays down that it is the duty of the king to provide for all without means. He has to feed the weak and indigent, the widow without children and orphans. Men forsaking wife and children or brothers refusing to take care of minor brothers and sisters were punished. Men could take to *sannyasa* or join monastic orders only if they made provision for their families or were punished. Beggary was severly dealt with. Exploitation by businessmen was strictly punished and rigid control over prices and supply was exercised by the government. Society in ancient India, though monarchical and capitalist, yet exercised such thorough control over the two institutions that no misuse of power, political or economic, was even remotely possible.

In regard to inter-State morality, we find Kautilya absolutely amoral, though other theorists were not so.

Much the same trends of thought and outlook are to be found in the *Arthasharstra* of Brihaspati or the Brahaspatya Sutras.

This brief survey of the political philosophy of ancient India makes it obvious that it can not be subsumed under any of the prevalent categories of western polical thought. The Hindu conception of politics is a thing unique. The closest approximation to it is to be found in the Greek thought of Plato and Aristotle and which was taken as a basis by Rousseau and other idealist thinkers. Hindu theory does not conceive of the State and the individual as entities opposed to each other. The idea of protecting and safeguarding the latter from the encroachments of the former—a preoccupation with Western thought—did not occur to the Hindu seers. Each member of society as in Plato—is supposed to perform his own function and thus to contribute to the welfare of society as a whole. Duties are always insisted on, seldom, if ever, rights. The divinity of the monarch derives its worth from the amount of service he renders to society. The individual is regarded only as a member of society and the latter exists only to further the ends of the individual's life. A more beautiful harmony between State and individual can hardly be conceived.

Another common characteristic of both Plato and of Hindu thought is the conception of each class of society having a definite and independent function of its own to perform. Each class, accordingly, has its own type of mentality and thus its own rights and duties. As Bosanquet says:

> "Society, prima facie, exists in the correlated dispositions by which a plurality of individual minds meets the need for covering the ground open to human nature, by division of labour in the fullest sense."

All this may be true but whatever the benefits derived to society we cannot but deplore the system of privileges based on caste. That a Brahmana was considered one by birth and not by qualifications in the latter part of the ancient period, is evident from the laws for Criminal Procedure laid down by Manu and others where the most heinous crimes, if committed by Brahmanas and higher castes, were punished more lightly than if committed by others. I believe that no possible justificatoin can be put forward for this. It amounts to a denial of personality. Laski says in another context:

> "It is the primary fact in personality as such that it has no alloted station. It wins or ought to win the station in which it may best fulfil itself. It can do so by experiment alone . . . Any attempt at the division of society into 'natural' classes with 'natural' functions is bound to break down. We discover what we naturally are in terms of what we seek to become. And the discovery is intimately our own."—*Grammer of Politics.*

Apart from this, there is a lot to admire in the political philosophy of Ancient India. History records the amount of peace and happiness and what is more, virtue to be found in our country in those times. If, in spite of all this, some one should object to the monarchical system upheld, I can only retort: 'For forms of government let fools contest; whatever is best administered is best.' (This does not however imply the adequacy of the institution of monarchy in modern times).

The world has a lot to learn from the thought of ancient India. From the practical point of view, the sooner it is realised that no external institution or machinery or power of force can bring peace and prosperity to the world, the better. The greatest lesson of Hindu political philosophy is, in my opinion, that unless the heart of man itself is changed from within he cannot live happily or peacefully.

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REVERENCE FOR LIFE

By I. E. J. DAVID

The Hero of Verdun

Marshal Petain, the Hero of Verdun, was led to rest the other day. His imprisonment, his death and burial are a sad tribute to France. At a very critical time in the War of 1914 he saved France, and again at a very grave and a very much more critical juncture in the history of France he played his part again, and though aged, he took a decision which brooked no delay—perhaps rightly, or perhaps wrongly,—but *that* only he and his God knows, and probably posterity. But it was done for France and for the sake of his France, I have no doubt. What France did to him in return is, the defeat of human nature,—the defeat of France.

Hate and Vengeance: The Seeds of War

Marshal Petain was tried and condemned to death by France—the death of a traitor and a criminal. The execution was cancelled, but the life imprisonment was worse. France, one of the greatest nations of the century, which taught heroism, freedom and equality to the nations of the world, how small, how petty in its treatment of Petain! The ultimate victory or defeat of the nations which took part in the last World War depended or depends upon how they came out of that last heinous war—*upon the measure of the hate in their hearts.* The other day, five years after the blood bath, nearly a score of German "war criminals," who appealed in vain to the courts and hearts of the Nations of the World, were hung one and all. Cold-blooded murder. The Christian Nations sent innumerable more such human beings to the gallows, branding them, in all self-righteousness, as "war criminals." This cold-blooded murder flowed beyond the frontiers of Europe, to Asia, to Japan, and to our frontiers and now to Korea. Bloody hatred and vengeance galore. And we think, thus we have destroyed the roots of war and the seeds of war. Nay, this fair earth of ours is sown with bigger and deadlier seeds, and drenched with the blood of our brother man, and we are on the threshold of a mammoth harvest in Kashmir, in Korea, in the Middle East, in Russia and Europe. Man's hate against Man is raining blood on the face of this fair earth of ours.

If Our Civilization should Survive

As long as there are human beings, there may be those who hate and desire to plunge into wars. But if our civilization lays more emphasis and stronger emphasis on man's love for man, and believes in *One Race,* in *One* people, *One* human family and *One* world, and cultivates love as the one and only worthwhile and supreme end and aim of life, and endeavours to wipe out the hatred that encompasses man today, wars and hatred will be rarities, and against which the whole world will throw up its hands in wholesale horror and protest against man warring against man.

Hatred and love are born out of the hearts of individuals and these rivulets form ultimately the ocean. Hatred and love are cultivated. Love to become universal, love to establish the brotherhood of man, should be cultivated with assiduous and tireless effort. Every individual and organisation should take part in this great wide-world human effort on which the salvation and happiness of mankind rests—the hope of our children. Do you want our daughters and sons to be butchered and raped the way our mothers and wives were shamed and slaughtered, and the way our fathers have been led to hate and death?

Our "Christian Nations"

There are no Christian Nations. There are Christian individuals. It is amazing that the Christian Church as an institution and an organisation has never openly, boldly and uncompromisingly outlawed war. It is unbelievable that the World Council of Protestant Churches, which met not long ago in Amsterdam I believe, passed a resolution supporting the "Police Action" of the United Nations in Korea. It was pure hypocrisy on the part of those who met and passed that resolution, and to whitewash a full-scale war as "Police Action." It was, I consider, arrogant Imperialism. I for one, and I am sure all individual Christians disown any such resolution, and repudiate those men who met, however great they may be, the right to represent *Christ's Church* and pass such a resolution. "Love them that hate you. Pray for them that despitefully use you. If you are smitten on one cheek, turn the other cheek." *There is no compromise at all on this.* The Church cannot compromise one whit on this. Because it is not practised by many, it does not mean it is not possible, and it does not mean that anything opposite of this can ever be right. Right down the ages hosts of men and women, in all climes and countries, have practised and fulfilled this teaching,—martyrs, saints and ordinary obscure men. To commit a sin or crime is definitely bad, but to say that, that action or offence is not a crime or sin, is worse. *Then* you lose for ever the chance of conquering that weakness. Let us strive unceasingly for peace, and for the understanding of **The Reverence For Life.**

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Book Reviews

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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

A SURVEY OF THE RISE OF THE DUTCH POWER IN MALABAR, 1603-78 : *By T. I. Poonen. University of Travancore, 1948. Pp. xxiv + 303.*

This survey, though limited to a small area in time and geographical extent, has nevertheless been done with such scholarly care and accuracy that it must rank as a standard work of reference in its own corner of South Indian history. Though the Dutch sun has set, it should not be forgotten that that race ousted the Portuguese (the first race of European empire-builders in the East) as a colonising and trading power in India, and the English came behind the Dutch and eclipsed them nearly 70 years later. The value of Mr. Poonen's work lies in its going beyond the usual conquests and battles, and giving us the commerce, polity, administration, people's condition. It reflects credit on the University of Travancore to have chosen this useful work as one of its first publications.

J. SARKAR

VIKRAMADITYA OF UJJAYINI : *By R. B. Pandey. Published by Shatadala Prakashana, Benares. 1951. Pp. 268. Price Rs. 15.*

In this scholarly work the author has attempted to reconstruct the history of Vikramaditya and the social and cultural history of his age on the basis of various types of evidence—astronomy, folk-tales, Brahmanical literary traditions, Jaina traditions, archæology, history of tribal migrations in Asia and "the pure literature of ancient India" (Preface p. v). In the first two chapters, the author makes out his case for Vikramaditya's historicity based upon the cumulative evidence of "Indian eras, popular stories, the literary traditions of the Hindus and Jainas, epigraphy, numismatics, the history of the Malavas and the history of the Sakas" (p. 49) and involving criticism of the contrary views of previous scholars from Fergusson to D. R. Bhandarkar. In the following five chapters (III-VII) the author attempts to trace Vikramaditya's career in detail in the light of the above evidence from his parentage and birth down to his great military achievements. Chapters VIII-XIII, deal with various aspects of Vikramaditya's Age under the titles *The Malava State under Vikramaditya, social conditions, religious conditions, language and literature, art and architecture* and *economic conditions*. The concluding chapter (Chapter XIV) winds up with a brief notice of Vikramaditya's last years and a critical estimate of his character and place in history.

We propose to make a few remarks. It is unfortunate that the *Vikrama Volume* (Ujjain, 1948) which was published in commemoration of the 2000th year of the Vikrama Era was not available to the author at the time of writing his work. Otherwise, when considering the view of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (pp. 61-76) which, as he rightly remarks, is "the most serious theory so far propounded" on the subject, he would have noticed the additional arguments put forward by the late lamented scholar (*Vikrama Volume*, pp. 57-68). He would also not have failed to consider the weighty arguments against the authenticity of the Vikramaditya tradition put forward by Dr. H. C. Raichaudhuri (*ibid*, 483-511) on the basis of the significant silence of the Puranic dynastic lists and the accretions in the Sattasai as well as the chronology of Varahamihira and Kalidasa. In so far as the reference to the mysterious Kshapanaka is concerned, he would have followed up the exhaustive and learned study of Dr. Charlotte Krause under the heading *Siddhasena Divakara and Vikramaditya* (*ibid*, pp. 213-80). To this we have to add that the author should have considered, in connection with his chronology of Kalidasa, the difficulties presented by the poet's use of "Middle Prakrit" in place of the "Old Prakrit" of Asvaghosha and Bhasa. We have, again, grave objections against the author's characterisation of the original constitution of the Malavas as "a democracy" with "a second chamber of elected members" and of their later constitution as "a mixture of democracy and aristocracy" (pp. 132-133). We would substitute for the first phrase an aristocratic republic of the usual *Sangha* type with a sovereign assembly consisting of hereditary nobles and probably a council without plenary authority to conduct negotiations with foreign powers. For the latter phrase we would substitute an aristocratic republic with a hereditary executive head. The above differences notwithstanding, we have nothing but admiration for the industry, learning and skill with which the author has tackled this very difficult problem. In particular, his illuminating chapters on the cultural history of the period rendered illustrious by the works of Kalidasa and the lexicon of Amarasimha are worthy of high praise. In conclusion, we heartily endorse the words with which Dr. R. C. Majumdar introduces the author in his Foreword : "He has laid the students of Indian history under a debt of obligation by his comprehensive, critical and scholarly investigation into the problem of the historicity and personality of Vikramaditya."

U. N. GHOSHAL

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GAUTAMA THE BUDDHA: *By S. Radhakrishnan. Published by Hind Kitabs Limited, 261-263 Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 69. Price Re. 1.*

Sri Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan is perhaps the greatest living exponent of Indian philosophy. He has recently been sworn in as the Vice-President of the Indian Republic. Rightly Sir Francis Younghusband remarked that as an interpreter of the philosophy and religion of India to the West no one excels Radhakrishnan. When Sir Radhakrishnan delivered his lecture on the Buddha, contained in the booklet under review, in the Master Mind series to the British Academy it was observed of him that he was himself a master mind. This lecture was delivered to the British Academy under the Henriette Hertz Trust on 28th June, 1938 and first published in the fourteenth volume of the proceedings of the British Academy. It was first reprinted in India in 1945, then in 1946 and again in 1949. This shows how warmly has it been received by the students of Buddhist thought. In this lecture Sri Radhakrishnan gives a bird's-eye view of the life and doctrine of the Enlightened One in a very flowing style. So readable and thoughtful, so lucid and learned a lecture is rarely delivered now-a-days. The interpretation is wonderfully impartial and original. The problems concerned have been discussed authoritatively with appropriate quotations from the Pali and Sanskrit works. According to the great author, the Buddha is undoubtedly one of the greatest figures in history and one of those few heroes of humanity who have made epochs in the history of our race with message for other times as well as their own.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE PASSING OF SRI AUROBINDO (Its Inner Significance and Consequences): *K. D. Sethna. Reprinted from "Mother India"—Bombay, dated January 9, 1951. Published by Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Pp. 23. Price Re. 1.*

The return of "the material envelope of the Master" to its elements is a phenomenon that has a special significance to the author, a disciple of Sri Aurobindo and a poet whose mystic writings reflect his spiritual intuitions and realizations. Sri Aurobindo devoted his last days to re-writing or re-touching the *Savitri*—the drama that symbolized the triumph of Love over Death—a story that has been immortalized in the Hindu mind by generations of women making a particular day in May-June reminiscent of the old story of *Savitri and Satyaban*. It was "a lordly and leisurely labour," this writing of the drama. But "all of a sudden a couple of months before the fateful December 5, Sri Aurobindo startled his scribe by saying: I must finish *Savitri* soon." In these words the author read a mystic meaning that the Master had decided to take to another world for the greater work of helping the world's evolutionary process. This is the great faith and hope that sustain humanity amid so many disappointments and failures of body and mind.

TWO SCENCES FROM SAVITRI: *By Sri Aurobindo. Published by Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Pp. 14. Price Re. 1.*

Only mystic scholars can indicate the superb poetry of this grand drama. The King Aswapathi childless, prays to the "Creatrix, the Eternal artist Bride," goddess Savitri, to give him some power that would break "the doom to which thou bindest thy sons." The prayer is granted, and promises that

"One shall descend who shall break the iron Law
And alter Nature's doom by the Spirit's power.
* * * *
Her lips shall be the honeycombs of God,
Her limbs His golden jars of ecstasy.
* * * *
Strength shall be with her like a conqueror's sword...
Fate shall be changed by an unchanging will."

The Hindu knows the rest of the theme. The English-speaking world has now an opportunity to know and understand the significance of our Ramayana and Bharata stories.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

LINGUA INDICA REVEALED: *By Principal S. C. Chaudhuri. Published for Life Education Service of India by Thacker Spink and Co. (1933) Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 8-4.*

The main object of the work appears to be to disprove the necessity of selecting one particular language as the national language of India, for, in the opinion of the learned author, a Lingua Indica is already in existence; it is revealed through the close affinity existing among the various languages of India. He advocates the use of a common alphabet, 'tentatively the Devnagar alphabet in its present form, and ultimately the Devnagar alphabet in a scientific and adoptable form' (p. 113), for all the provincial languages. It is hoped that 'the adoption of this common script of Devnagar will work as a magic in merging the dialects of India into a grand Lingua Indica of Bharati, by a liberal levelling of the minor angularities' (p. 49). Nay, he goes further and declares that Mahabharati—presumably Sanskrit, the parent language which has nurtured the various later languages of India—'for her most scientific grammatical system, accurately phonetic alphabet, and spontaneous acceptance by the vast body of human society living between Russia and Celebes and between Madagascar and Korea, and for the candid appeal of her non-communal and non-appellative universal religion of *Humanism* will, in no time, find herself sincerely welcomed as the most suitable common alphabet and the most exquisite common language of the world' (p. 149). Few people may be expected to be as optimistic and as hopeful as our learned author. But his attempts to draw attention to instances of linguistic unity noticed in different parts of India and of Indian influences far and near will be widely appreciated. Detailed and dependable information on this interesting subject is a desideratum. Results of our Government's reported move in collecting common words used in various Indian languages are eagerly awaited. The importance of the author's proposal for the introduction of one script, though not a new one, requires to be brought home to the people at large so that it may be implemented at an early date. It may be pointed out in passing that the style of the book is rather diffuse and the bibliographical references are incomplete.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

UNDERSTAND YOUR CHILDREN: *By H. R. Bhatia, M.A. Published by New Hindustan Publications, 9A-92, W. E. A., Karol Bagh, Delhi, 1950. First edition. Pp. 239. Price Rs. 5-15.*

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Children are the assets of a nation, for upon them devolves the responsibility of upholding the society and enriching life and civilization. It is therefore desirable in the greater interest of the society that every facility should be provided for the maximal development of children's latent abilities. Most parents in our country are indifferent to educative processes and emotional training of their children. They rely solely upon schools and teachers in this respect. But school can hardly achieve success unless the home actively co-operates and parents exercise a wise and helpful attitude towards the little growing humans. Though there are numerous books on child psychology and development, general readers avoid them as dry pedagogy and thereby miss a chance of entering into an unknown and interesting world—a strange world of children's life and fancy, play and growth.

The present volume, free from pedagogic dryness, written in a simple, lucid and attractive style, aims at helping enlightened parents to understand the right way of bringing up, treating and training children. The author has discussed the various stages of child's development and characteristics thereof with definite suggestions for parents and teachers to be adopted for the right guidance of the young soul. Children's welfare is most dear to their parents. And parents to be equipped with proper knowledge for training children should acquaint themselves with their nature, peculiarities and problems. Sri Bhatia's book will help them admirably in this process of self-training for proper parentship.

While congratulating the learned author for this excellent book we would request him to incorporate a few chapters, in a later edition, on the comparative physical growth of boys and girls from childhood to adolescence with normal ailments and emotional bloomings peculiar to their ages.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

HINDUSTANI SELF-TAUGHT : *By Sosheila Ram. Published by the Vidya Mandir Ltd., New Delhi. Pp. 170+74. Price Rs. 3.*

This is a very easy and handy primer for English-knowing people to learn Hindustani in both the alphabets—Devanagari and Urdu. Sm. Sosheila Ram being in the educational line (holding London Teachers' Diploma) is thoroughly conversant with the modern scientific methods, so the book she has prepared is scientific. The rules are easy, the illustrations copious and the Hindustani-English and English-Hindustani dictionary appended at the end is very useful for beginners.

B.

REVOLUTIONARY PEASANTS : *By Prof. N. G. Ranga. Published by Amrit Book Co., Caunaught Circus, New Delhi. Pages 234. Price Rs. 7-8.*

Prof. Ranga in this volume presents to his readers a comprehensive study of peasant movements in different countries of the world including that of India and declares that the peasant is revolutionary through ages in spite of his obscurity. Neglect shown to the peasant by other classes, particularly urban workers and professionals is considerable but his contribution in world's democratic movements is not negligible. As a leading authority on Indian peasants, Prof. Ranga depicts the Kisan ideal of Swaraj.

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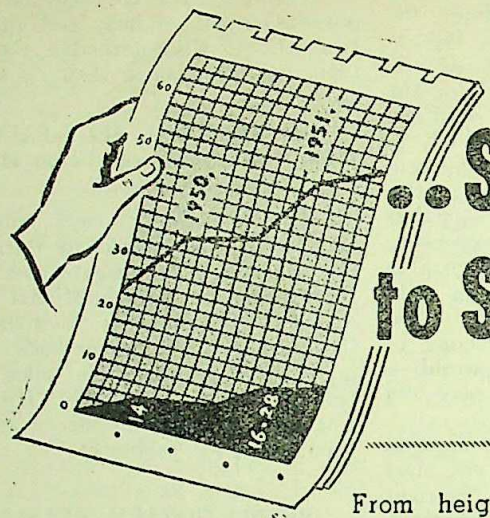

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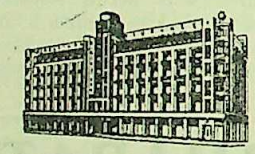

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In the first three chapters, the author discusses the subject from the Indian angle. Indian Peasants' struggle, particularly that of Andhra and Congress kisans with which Prof. Ranga was personally associated, is vividly described with the past historical background. In the next three chapters peasant movements in *Asia*—China, Philippines, Fiji, Mongolia, Korea, in *Western Europe*—France, England, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Ireland, in *Eastern Europe*—Poland, Balkan States (Rumania, Bukovia, Bessarabia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, Greece and Yugoslavia) are given. Next four chapters are devoted to Russia, Africa, United States and Latin America respectively. According to the author like other dictatorships, the proletarian dictatorship betrayed the peasant masses of Russia during 1917-21. The chapter on Economic Depression (1929-35) brings out the international character of the peasant's lot in world crisis and hence the author concludes his book by a call to the peasants of the world to unite. The peasant shall establish his own democracy in which he shall be an equal partner with the workers, artisans, professionals and intellectuals. This is the ideal towards which he Indian kisan is working. Mahatma Gandhi blesses this ideal of "Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja-Raj." This is an interesting and instructive study for all political workers.

A. B. Dutta

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL PROBLEMS (Second Edition): *By Dr. Raghuraj Singh and Vijayendralal Singh. Published by L. N. Agarwal, Educational Publishers, Hospital Road, Agra. Pp. 435. Price Rs. 5.*

The book is a collection of essays, being an advanced study on the most important economic and commercial problems of India. It has dealt with almost all the outstanding questions, such as, India's Fiscal Policy, Five-year Plan, Gandhian Economics, The Role of Foreign Capital in India, The Importance of Cottage and Small-scale Industries in India, Nationalisation of Banking and Industries, India's Foreign Trade, Indo-Pakistan Trade Relations, etc., that face Free India today. The problems are fairly elaborately treated within a short compass and the essays touch upon all the relevant points that arise on the different subjects in view of the economic and commercial developments of the country. At the end of each essay is given a bibliography of the authoritative books to be read by the readers, which has greatly helped to add to the value of the book. The book is obviously meant for advanced students of Economics and Commerce.

B. K. Seal

EVERYMAN'S DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS AND PROVERBS: *Published by J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd. Pp. 766. Price 12s. 6d.*

Fashions change in quotations as in everything else; and by modern standards the dictionaries of a past generation seem to be ill-proportioned. Besides new authors and new historic phrases like Marshall Petain's "They shall not pass" at Verdun, are often quoted. Such phrases can not be found in older dictionaries. A new dictionary has become a necessity; and the volume under review removes such difficulties. Within a short compact volume the editor has given more than 10,000 quotations. The arrangement of the authors, English and non-English, is alphabetical. Their dates of birth and death are also given thus fixing them chronologically. Within each author again the arrangement is chronological though no dates are given. In the case of the Bible, the usual order of the books has been followed. Its value has been greatly increased by a copious index. This is a very useful and handy book of reference for both students and busy readers, Indians especially. One little comment we have to make; if instead of giving *Ibid* as reference in the Bible portion, the book has been named, it would have been better.

J. M. Datta

BENGALI

BANGALIR SARASWAT AVADAN, Part I. BANGE NAVYA-NYAYA-CHARCHA: *By Dinesh C. Bhattacharya. Published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta. Royal Quarto. Pp. x + 334. Price Rs. 10.*

"The Bengalis' achievement in the field of learning"—this title has been rightly given to this scholarly history of the philosophical school of New Logic which originated in Bengal and which ended by eclipsing the old Logic whose home was Mithila. This is a book of abiding value and unassailable authority on account of the high degree of accuracy and painstaking research displayed by its author. It covers a field which had not been so minutely or half so ably explored before. Future historians of the growth of mental philosophy in India and the evolution of Sanskritic learning in Bengal, will have to consult it. The author has wisely chosen not to follow the many winding paths of logical disputation and hair-splitting distinctions, which in Europe moved Thomas Carlyle to sneer at "the logical mill (John Stuart Mill) chopping straw." He has been more fruitfully employed in constructing a very dependable, full, and critical biographical dictionary of the founders of the Bengal School of Logic and their line of successors, with very useful lists of their works and the places where manuscripts of these can be found. We thus get a clear and instructive chart of the cultural evolution of Hindu Bengal (on the intellectual, not religious, side) during the middle ages,—a field which was a dark jungle haunted by legends and popular "ghosts" before. This result has been attained after twenty years of devoted labour, the examination of many thousands of documents and manuscripts (often in out-of-the way places), and the piecing together of an infinite number of small details or dates thus collected. The author's freedom from the usual bias of pandits and his modern critical attitude to historical questions would do honour to a scholar trained in Germany or Oxford.

One little thing is of a personal interest to me. The great Vedantist Vasudev Sarvabhauma, who took care of Chaitanya at Puri, had migrated from Navadwip to Orissa in "fear of the ruler" of Bengal (p. 42). That was at the end of the third quarter of the 15th century. The oppression of the Abyssinian dynasty of Bengal Sultans reached its climax under the ruthless Shamsuddin Muzaffar, rightly called the lunatic or *Diwana* (died 1493), and in Delhi the fanatical temple-destroyer Sikandar Lodi had come to the throne in 1488.

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishad has earned public gratitude by doing, unassisted by public funds, a service to learning, which cannot pay its cost, and which in other civilised countries is done by the State or well-endowed universities.

Jadunath Sarkar

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SRI RAMAKRISHNA PARAMAHAMSA : *By Brajendranath Banerji and Sajanikanta Das. Published by Ranjan Publishing House, 57 Indra Biswas Road, Calcutta-37. Price Rs. 3-8.*

A large number of books have been written on Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa. With only a few remarkable exceptions almost all of them have been written from the point of view of Bhaktas devotedly attached to him. They have a value of their own, but devotees and admirers are not persons to write real biographies. A certain detachment is necessary to do that. The book under review is neither a biographical sketch nor is it written from the standpoint of a Bhakta. It shows Sri Ramakrishna as he appeared in the eyes of his contemporaries. Evidence from contemporary newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets and books has been gathered and put together so that the saint of Dakhineswar may appear in his true light shorn of all the trappings that have been thrown over him in the excess of a devotee's zeal and may shine in his true glory, the mist of time and distance being not there to make the figure appear as something different from what the great man really was. Though not a biography it has biographical materials enough to satisfy any intelligent reader. The great Brahmo leader Pratap Chandra Mazumdar writes in the *Theistic Quarterly Review*, October-December, 1879 : "The Hindu saint is a man much under forty . . . His dress and diet don't differ from other men . . . He protests against being lionised . . . Our ideal of religious life is different, but so long as he is spared to us, gladly shall we sit at his feet to learn from him the sublime precepts of purity, unworldliness, spirituality and inebriation in the love of God!" And in his letter to Max Muller, September 1895, he writes : "I have frankly and warmly expressed my estimate of that saintly man . . . I would not withdraw a single word I wrote in his praise." The reputed authors have spared no pains to find out everything that is available and have collected a considerable amount of materials from contemporary documents, which throw a flood of light on the life and teachings of the great saint.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

HINDI

GANDHI GRANTH: *Compiled and edited by Prem Narain Mathur. Published by Ram Narain Lal, Katra Road, Allahabad. Pp. 172. Price Rs. 5.*

This is an anthology of penetrating contributions on some of the aspects of Gandhiji's mission by Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala, A. V. Thakkar, Haribhan Upadhyaya, Sudhindra and others, including the compiler-editor himself. The appendices regarding the Social Studies Association of Banasthali Vidyapith, seem, however, to be rather out of place.

KHURAK KI KAMI AUR KHETI: *By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 302. Price Rs. 2-8.*

HAMARE BHOJAN KI SAMASYA : *By Ramavadh Dwivedi and Shrigopal Tewari. Published by Benares Book Corporation, Benares, 4. Pp. 96. Price Re. 1-8.*

Both these publications deal with the burning problem of food shortage in the country. The former is a compilation, edited by Dr. Bharatan Kumarappa, of Gandhiji's views on the subject in all its details, scientific as well as sociological as expressed by Gandhiji from time to time in his *Harijan*. The latter, however, is a searching economic study of the problem, highly educative and practical. Such studies in Hindi are to be warmly commended, indeed, because they help enlighten the adult electorate in the country.

PATHSHALAON KA PRABANDH: *By Prof. Jagadish Prasad Vyas. Published by Laxmi Narain Agrawal, Agra. Pp. 198. Price Rs. 3-12.*

A series of lecture-notes in the class-room, now elaborated, dealing with the organization, ideological as well as administrative, of schools in a manner, which is sure to prove very helpful to schoolmasters in their arduous work of making schools, in terms of interest and attractiveness and usefulness, more like temples or playgrounds of the soul (and also of the various senses with which a child is endowed) than just prisons or cattle-pounds!

ANANT KI OR: *By Swami Satyadeva. Published by Gnandhara Karyalaya, Jwalapur. Pp. 262. Price Rs. 3.*

A closely reasoned out appeal and advice, well supported by argument and illustration, "to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness"—to aspire and advance after the Eternal—so that one's life may be rich in health, happiness, peacemindedness and loving kindness.

G. M.

GUJARATI

GANDHI BAPU : *By Ardeshir Flamji Khabardar, Bombay. Printed by Associated Advertisers and Printers, Bombay. 1948. Thick card-board. Pp. 143. Price Rs. 3.*

Gandhiji held poet Khabardar in great regard and the poet reciprocated that feeling. In thirty-eight pieces of high class poetry Mr. Khabardar has paid a poet's sincere and cordial tribute to Gandhiji's ideals and achievements in various walks of life, and as an *In Memoriam* volume it stands easily as a first class one amongst the many tributes paid to him.

BHARAT-NA LAL : *By Pravin Vakta. Printed at the Usha Printing, Bombay. 1948. Paper cover. Pp. 36. Unpriced.*

Trikuta Mandir is a society of young artists in Bombay. They have staged a play lately depicting the *zoolum* practised by a Zamindar over his poor tenant and his family. The picture presented is realistic.

DHARMNUN TATTVAJNAN : *By Rev. W. Graham Mulligan, M.A., B.Litt., Ph.D., of the Irish Presbyterian Mission, Bhavnagar Para. Printed at the Saraswati Press, Bhavnagar. 1948. Cloth-bound. Pp. 687. Price Rs. 5.*

Rev. Dr. Mulligan writes Gujarati with a practised hand. A deep student of philosophy, he has set out various phases of it, such as belief in God, non-belief in same, *i.e.*, agnosticism, etc., from a learner's and teacher's point of view. Notwithstanding his leanings towards Christianity, he has been able to view the various view-points of the subject, impartially and ably. Altogether it is a valuable contribution to this branch of literature in Gujarati.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

What is an Abstraction ?

K. G. Mashruwala, a trusted follower of Gandhiji and his successor in the editorship of *Harijan,* writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The February issue of *The Literary Guide and Rationalist Review* contains a good criitical review of Gandhiji's Autobiography by Lord Chorley. The reviewer is a Rationalist and finds it difficult to understand Gandhiji's conception of God and his faith in Him. Let me quote his own words:

"It is difficult to be more precise than to say that Gandhiji believed in God When one comes to ask oneself exactly what he understood by God, one finds oneself in even greater difficulties than one does with the average Christian or Theist. In the introduction to his book, indeed, he says that he has not yet found God but is seeking after him. A little earlier he says that Absolute Truth is God, though he agrees that 'his manifestations are innumerable.' Truth is an abstraction—and it is difficult to understand how God, in any accepted sense of the term, can just be such an abstraction. Yet it is clear from the rigorous, indeed ruthless, way in which Gandhi struggles in this volume to acheive the truth about himself that a worship of the Truth in this quite exceptional way can lead to remarkable results.

"In an article written years after, Gandhi discussed whether God is a Force or a Person. His conclusion is not at all clear, but he admits that 'the power we call God defies description.' The truth of the matter is that Gandhi's intellectual equipment was not of the kind which wrestles successfully with such problems. As appears over and over again from his Autobiography, his genius was essentially that of the practical man, the organizer, the wielder of an iron will and determination."

Lord Chorley asks with surprise and tries to answer himself as follows:

"How, then, does this essentially practical man, this bold experimenter with truth, this shrewd politician, come to have such an intense, if vague, religious faith? I think the answer is almost certainly that he derived it largely from his maternal upbringing, as has happened so frequently with religious leaders."

It seems to me that Lord Chorley's difficulty is commonly shared by all those, whether Theists or otherwise, who are accustomed to conceive of God in only one way, *viz.*, as some sort of mystical Being even if formless—situate somewhere outside the creation, and creating, breaking and remodelling it out of materials at His command somewhat like a potter making pots out of clay, and governing the universe somewhat like a ruler governing his kingdom. Indian philosophy starts with the removal of this conception. God is to be conceived of both as the potter and the clay, the ruler and the governance; and His abode is in the pots themselves and inseparable from them. Until the mind becomes disabused of the former rudimentary conception of God, the Vedantic conception of Him might remain an enigma to Western philosophers of even Theistic persuasions. Atheism has its origin in the personified conception of God. When this conception fails to appeal to man's reason, he finds no basis for belief in God.

Lord Chorley says, "Truth is an abstraction—and it is difficult to understand how God. . . can just be such an abstraction ?"

But what after all is an abstraction ? Is it anything more than a *verbal* summing up of a *mental* isolation of the common principle in several concrete objects? We *speak* in "abstract" terms and make a *show of thinking* in the abstract, but are we ever able to make a really abstarct conception? Whether we speak of truth, love, non-violence, beauty, cruelty or even red and blue and white, or of force and energy in the abstract, or of the specific forms of energy like light or electricity, we are never able to conceive any of them except in a distinct or hazy association with several objects through or in which those properties are made manifest. Let us take also such a mathematical symbol as *n*. It looks, and has to be worked upon, as if it were a definite numerical quantity. We know, however, that it is a fraction, the value of which cannot be exactly calculated; and yet it can be definitely represented by a pair of compasses.

Man has the capacity of speaking in abstract terms of matters which he can conceive of only through concrete examples; he has also the incapacity of not being able to speak in exact terms of matters which he knows in an exact manner. For instance, he can understand sweetness and yet can never define it in exact language.

When you say God is Truth, or God is Law, or God is Love, or the converse of any of these, while your speech is in abstract terms, really your mind has a distinct or hazy picture of concrete objects that represent your idea of Truth, Law, Love, etc. That God is spoken of in so many diverse manners means that the term God is really a grand verbal abstraction of abstractions of all types of concrete realities. It is a generalization of all generalizations. On account of man's inability to picture all the types at once, he chooses what appeals to him as the most important among them, and for his own immediate purposes confines the term God to that one type of abstraction only. Thus, one speaks of God as Love, another as Truth a third as Law, a fourth, as Bliss, and so on in infinite ways. Every one of these is a compartmental view of God; and when man is conscious of his compartmental vision, he says, "the power we call God defies description."

Somehow the Hindu mind is used to moving from the abstract to the concrete and back without feeling embarrassed, and sees no difficulty in rationalizing its belief, or making a religious creed of its rationalized theory.

Hence Gandhi can, in the same breath, speak of

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God as an abstract idea and believe in Him as a real force. He can also personify Him, and can understand even those who give Him a definite shape in the form of a god.

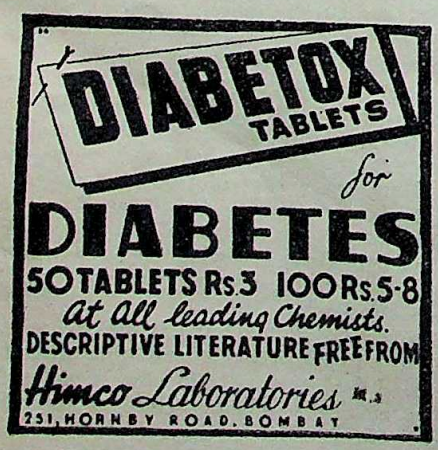
Perhaps it is necessary to give a further hint. Truth, Love, Non-violence are usually conceived of as virtues, qualities, sentiments or properties of the mind comparable to properties like red, blue, sweet bitter, etc., of ordinary substances. So when it is said that God is Truth, or Love, we are apt to think that God is the virtue of truthfulness or love. This is too meagre a conception of these words. The words do not represent certain virtues or attributes only, but the Force or Power of truth, etc.

Truth and Non-violence are as much types of Energy as Electricity and Magnetism, and must have their definite laws of action. These have not yet been fully investigated and applied in life, though unawares they have been made use of from times immemorial, even as levers were made use of before the laws of mechanics were discovered.

When Gandhiji speaks of his experiments with Truth he seeks to know how Truth acts as a Force in the universe. As a man possessed of reasoning and discrimination and as a man of action, he carefully considers how an absolutely truthful person should act under particular circumstances, and decides to do so regardless of the pain or pleasure that might accrue to himself. He then waits to see how the force of Truth works in the world.

Perhaps he may find that his judgment about the truthfulness of a particular action was wrong *ab initio*. In that case he is not ashamed to confess his mistake, and to make amends, if he has thereby caused harm to others. I believe that no Rationalist or scientist could adopt a better attitude in his investigations. His God is Truth ; that is to say, in the language of scientists, he dedicated himself to research into the Force of Truth and made it his lifelong and sole occupation. If we examine the life of any great master or saint we shall find that their devotion to God meant but the relentless pursuit of one or another of such forces as truth, non-violence, compassion, justice, the spirit of brotherhood, etc.

I hope that this will make the subject more clear, but I am not sure if I have succeeded.



The Welfare State

Brij Gopal Gupta observes in *Careers and Courses* :

"Welfare State" is the intellectual talk of the day. Even most of our reputed politicians are agreed on at least one concept—all are ardent supporters of the 'Welfare State.' Even the Indian National Congress at its Nasik Session endorsed the idea of 'Welfare State" as the definite guiding principle of the State. Above all it is also in harmony with the broad outlines of the functional basis of the State as laid down in the Indian Constitution through a number of Directive Principles of State Policy. With the sweeping victory of the Congress at the polls it is doubly imperative for all to know about the development and meaning of the concept of Welfare State.

Conception—Old and New

A good deal of misunderstanding and confusion is on account of a lot of ideas in currency about the real meaning and implications of such a state and it is therefore in the fitness of things to start by a fairly rigid definition of the Welfare State. "Essentially, it is a community where state power is deliberately used to modify the normal play of economic forces so as to obtain a more equal distribution of income," in this way ensuring for every citizen a basic minimum real income, irrespective of the market value of his work and of his property.

Such a view of the rights of the citizens and functions of the state is comparatively a radical one, and even as recently as a hundred years ago would have generally been regarded as outrageously revolutionary. In the middle of the 19th century the dominant Adam Smithian opinion among the social theorists was that society is merely an agglomeration of isolated self-regarding individuals that the greatest sum of human happiness would be achieved if the state stood aside and left individuals free to pursue their self-interest; that the only links between men which had any value were contracts which they entered into in their unhampered pursuit of self-interest; and that 'every law is an evil for every law is an infraction of liberty.' Everywhere the cry was to 'restrict the privilege to restrict.'

The owner of property was free to use his resources as he thought best and the man whose livelihood depended entirely on the wages he could earn by his labour was equally free to obtain from employers whatever he could extract from them in single-handed negotiation. The outcome, only too often, was that a minority enjoyed enormous possessions and incomes while many others spent their lives in almost unrestricted destitution and squalor.

Theory of the New Society

The crude individualistic doctrine was attacked, breached, and finally overthrown because people experienced that people pursued self-interest to the point where they cripple the lives of their fellows and that many citizens are so hard-pressed that if left to their own resources they will be unable to resist such condition. On the ideological side came Jeremy Bentham and other utilitarians with their oft-quoted slogan, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

The theoretical justification for the battle against poverty and for the use of state power to end destitution was first systematically enunciated at Oxford

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There during the 'sixties' and 'seventies,' T. H. Green, Professor of Moral Philosophy, delivered his "Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation." He taught generations of students that:

"The life of the individual was absolutely dependent upon the life of the community, and that a scheme of thought which regarded the liberty of the individual as something distinct from the welfare of society, was entirely false. The individual depends on the community for all that makes life worth living; the community must therefore secure for the individual all the conditions necessary for his full spiritual development . . . The state exists to secure 'a good life' for its members, not merely to prevent them from suffering concrete injuries. Liberty is not the absence of restraint, but a 'positive power of doing and enjoying something worth doing and worth enjoying!' . . . The man who is enslaved by poverty is no more truly 'free' than the man who is locked up in prison. The true function of statesmanship is to produce a community in which all the individuals shall, so far as is possible, be capable of living and free to live, a good life."

From this doctrine it was but a short step to what Keynes, Beatrice and Sidney Webb called "guaranteeism," the "policy of securing to every individual, as the very basis of his life and work, a prescribed national minimum of the requisites for efficient parenthood and citizenship."

Then came the two world wars and depression over the next thirty five years and turned the theories of philosophers into realities. The two wars accustomed people to a state apparatus, which in the interest of society as a whole, limited and changed the rights and the obligations both of labour and property; they developed and trained an army of civil servants familiar with the arts and processes of regulating the ordinary man's life in detail; they taught all sections of the community to turn to the state for solutions and instructions.

Welfare State and Socialism

The distinctive features of socialism are those of the communal ownership and control of the means of production (nationalization), and by the attempt to pursue and maintain material equality throughout the population. By contrast, the Welfare State is the attempt to provide everyone with the security of a basic minimum income; this can be provided without necessarily enforcing equality of incomes, without the nationalization of industry, and without expanding the degree of collectivism unavoidable in the day-to-day life of a community containing millions of people.

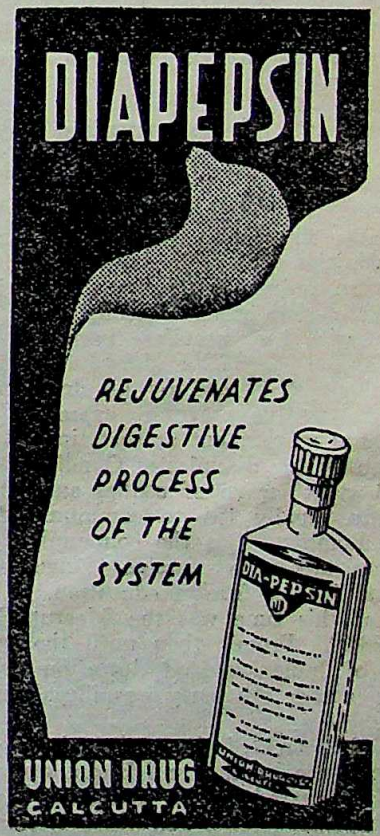
Some Economic Problems

The essence of the Welfare State is almost the reverse of the 19th century individualistic economy. On the production side part of the nation's resources are used to provide every citizen with certain goods irrespective of whether or not he can (or wants to) pay for them: the criterion becomes human needs rather than purchasing power. For example, milk is produced for all children without expecting them or their parents to pay a price which will cover the cost of production. On the distribution side all citizens can depend upon a reasonable minimum of income irrespective of whether or not they work and save. Of course, dependence on the forces of supply and demand is not entirely abandoned. Rather, what happens is that they now come into play only after the State has provided everyone with a 'ground-floor' of material security.

It is this 'ground-floor' of material security which the commentators have in mind when they discuss the economic problems of the Welfare State. They argue that: It withdraws from the lazy worker the old spurs which formerly induced him to work diligently and regularly; it increased to a wasteful point his readiness to throw up his job and seek a new and more acceptable buyer of his skills; it reduces his readiness to learn new skills and shift to another trade when his old industry is threatened with redundancy; an unduly largely proportion of the nation's man-power has to be diverted to the administration of the Welfare benefits.

The largest amount of money required to finance the benefits of the Welfare State necessitate higher rates of taxation. Such taxation itself creates additional problems; it is said that: it deprives the worker of all incentive to earn more than his untaxed minimum; it makes it well nigh impossible for an ambitious worker to save enough to set up on his own; it leaves the middle class with no margin for saving and investment.

Additionally, the state has had to increase its revenue by strict taxes on profits; and here such taxes kill industrial initiative: no one but a fool is likely to shoulder the risks and worries of new projects when he knows that if he succeeds much of his rewards will be taken by the State; while if he fails the losses will fall on his own resources; the only sensible thing under these circumstances is to 'play safe' and carry on with the accepted routines.



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The second main body of defect of the Welfare State is that the taxation by which it is financed discourages the hard-working wage-earner and checks middle-class saving entrepreneurial initiative. The following U. K. figures are instructive:

Year	Net saving as percentage of personal income
1938	2.8
1939	2.0
1949	1.7

INDIA AND THE CONCEPT OF WELFARE STATE

For a hard-headed realist, with the Indian productive capacity being what it is the concept of Welfare State is only a long-term objective to be realised gradually by stages because 'Welfare' measures benefit the poorer sections of the community by a re-distribution of income. The possibility of increasing national welfare through such palliative is, after all limited by the size of the cake and also by the fact that too much redistribution kills the incentive for increasing production. It does not help to argue that the numbers of pieces into which a cake can theoretically be cut is infinite—make half and there will always be half, because beyond a certain point the "half" which remains is only of academic interest. Sardar Patel was right in his wry assessment that "we have only poverty to distribute." The national salvation lies in the round increased production and that social welfare should be promoted as far as practicable, but the dangers of any precipitate policy must be coldly calculated. "The sound policy for those who believe in the Welfare State," the *Economist* declares "is that the State should seek to maintain for its citizens the highest standard of individual welfare that it can reasonably afford and does not undermine the economic efficiency or the politicil liberty of the citizens."

The Chalienge of Communism in India

L. M. Schiff writes in *The National Christian Council Review* :

Communism first began to receive notice in India towards the end of the twenties and it was primarily as an industrial movement that it gained influence. At a time when Gandhiji was inflaming the country with his peculiar brand of political idealism he more especially drew attention to the poverty of the peasant and by his dress, mode of living and constructive program expressed the feelings of the rural masses, but at that time little attention was given by the disciples of Gandhi to the cities and the first great wave of strikes and developing trade unionism rapidly led to communist leadership especially in Bombay. But the communists were still a small group talking a foreign language for the most part and having foreign education. The high-water mark at this time was the Meerut Conspiracy case in 1928-29. From then until the war the Government of India clamped down on communism and for long periods the party was illegal and largely underground.

Towards the end of the period before the war under the influence of the anti-fascist world outlook communists increased their influence in various 'Popular Front' movements and these were not without their influence in India. From attacknig the Congress as a movement of the Indian bourgeoisie the communists now began to enter the National Movement and were not uncordially received by some progressive leaders such as Pandit Nehru. In the National Movement of the thirties the comunists began to increase their influence and there were a good many Marxists in the Secretariat of the Congress. The outbreak of war did not alter the situation until the invasion by the Nazis of the Soviet Union. At this point the Communist policy and that of the Congress diverged. The communists began to support the war effort, were given a freedom not hitherto granted by government and greatly increased their influence.

Their hostility to the movement of 1942 was used in the election campaign after the war to suggest that they had been agents of the police and enemies of freedom. This may explain the weakening of their position in the immediate post-war period. One should also mention their rather ambiguous attitude to partition and the Muslim problem generally. The Indian socialists finally crystallized out of the loose leftist groupings of the pre-war period and, as the present elections have proved, hate communism more than they do the Congress. The great influence that the communists had in the working-class areas of Bombay or Kanpur was to some extent lost, in part because of the Congress policy of putting the government behind the new INTUC Union organization. At this time the communist leadership was changed and the last vestige of involvement in the broad movement for independence or the 'bourgeois revolution' was abandoned. The able P. C. Joshi was replaced by the ultra-left Randive and the party came under the influence of adventurists and often of terrorists. But in this period the party began increasingly to pay attention to agrarian problems.

In 1951 after intense internal conflict the Randive leadership was replaced and the policy of the party is now clearly under the influence of the Chinese brand of communism. This puts great emphasis on land reform and the support of small industrialists and the middle class as against the large capitalists and foreign controlled capital. The influence of the party has increased by leaps and bounds, not so much in their old centres such as Kanpur and Bombay but in the South, where incidentally it had been most fiercely repressed. In the Talengana area of Hyderabad where the party had been virtually at war with the government and had actually redistributed land to the peasants, all fourteen communist candidates in these elections

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have won seats. In Kerala (Travancore, Cochin and Malabar) they have had striking successes, and would have had many more had not the socialists split the vote. In Madras state they have also done very well, but largely due to their victories in Andhra and Malabar.

The part of their programme which concerns us here is that which deals with the agrarian problem. The party program of October 1952 writes: 'Agriculture and the peasant problem are of primary importance to the life of our country. We cannot develop agriculture to any considerable extent and provide the country with food and raw materials because the impoverished peasantry deprived of land is unable to purchase the most elementary agricultural implements and thus to improve its farming.' It proceeds to point out that in their impoverished state the peasants, constituting 80 per cent of the population, are unable to buy even a minimum of manufactured goods and are forced by poverty to go into the towns, thus 'swarming' the labour market, depressing the prices of labour, increasing unemployment and affecting the standards of the working-class also. This half-starved majority is deprived of the means to educate the children and thus contributes to conditions of cultural backwardness. The land of the landlords and the properties and incomes of the dethroned or enthroned princes are made inviolable. The landless peasant can have land, it appears, but only if he can buy it or compensate the landlord for it. But to buy land and to pay compensation capital is needed, and tens of millions of poor peasants who live from hand to mouth have no capital. Therefore they have to stay without land and continue existence in poverty. The communist program suggests that to tackle this evil it is necessary to hand over landlord's land, without payment, to the peasants including agricultural labourers; and to legalize this reform in the form of a special land law, thus realizing abolition of landlordism without compensation.

It is necessary also to ensure a long-term and cheap credit for the peasants to enable them to purchase agricultural implements and the necessary needs, and for small artisans to enable them to purchase raw materials, etc., to carry on their trade. It is further necessary to improve old and to build new irrigation systems and to cancel debts of peasants and small artisans to money-lenders. Finally it is necessary to ensure adequate wages and living conditions to agricultural labourers. It is obvious that such a land policy must be accompanied by a parallel policy in regard to industry, to relieve pressure on the land and to encourage indigenous industry. This involves limitation on unfair forms of competition by foreign capital. If we add to these points the emphasis on autonomous linguistic provinces, we shall get some idea of why the Communists have been so successful in elections in many parts of South India. Their influence is still very weak in the North, and, thanks to the lack of unity amongst the many parties of the Left, they have not done as well as might have been expected in Bengal.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Gide and Santayana

Two Eminent Individualist-Humanists

Victor S. Yarros writes in *Unity*, November-December, 1951 :

Our age is irreverent and distinctly skeptical. It is loath to bestow the order of merit on men or women of exceptional gifts and accomplishments. But there is no denying the uniqueness of Gide and Santayana in the realm of letters and thought. Neither founded a school, and neither had ambition or interest in popularity. Both were supremely independent, detached, far above the battles here below. Gide was not an original thinker in the last analysis. He was a man of letters rather than a philosopher, whereas Santayana is unAmerican in his philosophy, incurably Latin, and a poet rather than a logician. Both were stylists, and each created his style the better to express his unconventional ideas. Neither was ever quite satisfied with his formulations; each was full of nuances and shades of meaning beyond the comprehension of the average reader of difficult works.

I shall not pin any label on either of them. But we can consider the views they struggled with and managed to set down in advanced age for our edification.

In the first place, they were inveterate individualists, despite the collectivist trends and tides of the time. Technology d'd not particularly interest them. Gadgets meant nothing to them. Simple living and high thinking were their natural elements. Modern inventions left them indifferent. They had no love for mankind and professed none, though both were essentially Humanists.

Santayana has repeatedly declared himself a materialist and a naturalist. This position, he insists, is not irreligious. The naturalist can be a poet, a musician, a lover of beauty and goodness. "Religion in essence is the recognition of the Powers on which our destiny truly depends and the art of propitiating those Powers and of living in devout harmony with them." The materialist is no foe of spirit, but of false claims in behalf of the spirit. He respects and is friendly to popular religion in so far as it exalts or serves spirit and makes for harmony.

Santayana is not a Christian and not a monotheist, if his words have any meaning. He speaks of Powers, not of *a* Power. He rejects what is called Revolution. If he perplexes the orthodox, he is sorry, but the style is the man, and he is, after all. a poet even in his prose. He is too subtle to be lucid, and he writes, like Stendhal, for the "happy few."

However, even the few are often perplexed by his expressions. Thus, in speaking of death he says that "it is easy, almost pleasant, to give up the world if we know what the world is, and we never die too soon if we have found something eternal to live with." This is a most enigmatic utterance. Is anything eternal? Is mankind eternal? Is the cosmos itself eternal? If we die young, we have not "lived" with anything eternal long enough to enjoy the bliss; and being human, we cannot fail to regret the fact, unless we believe in a hereafter. Surely Santayana does not believe in the crude, naive, orthodox hereafter. It is clear that he has a nostalgic, sentimental attachment to Roman Catholicism. Reason hardly justifies that attachment, but we human beings are not always rational. Santayana is aware of that, but he is not a scientist nor a rigorous logician. Protestantism he calls "a tradesman's religion," and the ultimate Protestant ideal, he says, "is to have no outward or specific religion at all—no priests, churches, theology, scripture or Sabbath, indeed no God." This is gratuitous and arbitrary. Nothing in history warrants this inference. Nothing in logic justifies it. Catholics, too have been known to reject supernaturalism and embrace agnosticism, but not because of any peculiarity in their faith. Secularism and Humanism are steadily gaining ground at the expense of *all* orthodoxies and all supernaturalism. This is an irreversible trend, and all the sciences. physical and social, are contributing to it.

Santayana is no admirer of democracy, yet he is no aristocrat in principle. He sees little sense in counting heads, but even less sense in breaking them. What is the alternative—philosopher kings and presidents? Hardly! Santayana has been called a rational anarchist, but this is not really a fit label for him. He certainly is no State-ist, no collectivist, but neither does he favor class rule. Concrete issues, whether economic or political, seem not to interest him. He dwells, to repeat, in the realm of abstractions and generalizations. He has never taken part in reform movements. He is no fighter. Programs are not his forte. He is satisfied that war is not caused by human pugnacity and aggressiveness, and a ruthless world dictator, he opines, could do away with wars of strictly economic origin and nature. The other causes of war—and there *are* such—are apparently unpreventable as yet. The future may or may not solve that problem.

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Andre Gide, for years the acknowledged leader of the French literary world, was less complex and less baffling than Santayana. He, too, was first and last an individualist and Humanist. His record is less consistent than that of Santayana. Born into a strict austere Protestant and Calvinist family, he never quite freed himself from the influences of his childhood. His religious opinions underwent evolution, and at one period he was undoubtedly a theist, perhaps a Spinozist. His Catholic friends hoped at one time to convert him to their religious philosophy, but he was too critical and conscientious to commit himself to any very definite system. "Revelation," he wrote in his *Journals* shortly before his death, "what have I to do with it?" To a logical and rigorous thinker this was a strange question. What have we to do with Revelation? Why, everything. If Revelation was a fact, it was a world-shaking fact. It revolutionized human life. If it was a fiction, as rationalists hold, the recognition of *that* fact is equally revolutionary and world-shaking. If man must solve his own problems, without any aid from "divine" sources or powers—as the rationalists affirm—then supernaturalism in religion is worse than meaningless. If, as some theologians maintain, sinful man can *never* save himself and only divine grace and love can—and will—redeem him and eliminate evil from his future everlasting and abundant life in another world, then secularism and humanism are the most dangerous delusions and snares, and our works on science and philosophy are heaps of rubbish.

Gide died an atheist, though he had used the term God in some obscure sense. He wrote in his *Journals* that God was still evolving and "becoming," and that we humans are his real creators. All gods are man-made, man-imagined, according to the rationalists. This is intelligible prose, not poetry or metaphor.

Gide was a mixture of classicism, romanticism, and impressionism. He was not a first-rate novelist, but a sincere and truth-seeking artist, given to introspection and conscious of his eccentricities—homosexuality, for example, a vice he was not ashamed of even in advanced age. He was always honest with himself. He was no superpatriot, and never pretended to be one. He admired German genius and said so. He was charged with cowardice, opportunism, and collaboration, and all he said was that he could see the other side of the questions which caused tension and discord between nations, races, and classes, and just tried to be true to his own nature. Hypocrisy, dogmatism, and bigotry were utterly repugnant to him.

Socialism and Communism appealed to him as champions of social justice and equality, and he sympathized with the oppressed and exploited without ever doing much for them. Politics and economics he never studied scientifically. His half-formulated ideas in these spheres were superficial and lightly held. The spirit mattered more to Gide than any concrete program. He fervently welcomed the Bolshevik revolution, but a little experience in Russia, as a guest of the Kremlin and the "controlled" press, disillusioned and sobered him, and he repudiated the whole Soviet-Communist system. He was an anarchist in his attitude toward organized government, like Santayana. He owed his high position to his style, his sensitility, his charity, and his freedom from fanaticism. On the whole, he was an attractive asset to humanism and rationalism.

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Truman Stresses U. S. Goal in Technical Co-operation Programme

Americans want the less developed countries of the world "to learn the methods of our science and our industry and use these methods to develop their own resources," President Truman declared, speaking before the National Conference on International Economic and Social Development.

Truman emphasised as the two guiding ideas of technical co-operation "first, co-operation, freely sought and freely given, and second, help to those who want to help themselves." He added: "To have peace, we must strike at the conditions of misery that envelop half the people of the earth. That is the purpose and the meaning of Point Four (technical co-operation)."

Other speakers at the privately-sponsored conference included W. Averell Harriman, director of the U.S. Mutual Security Agency; Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers; Lewis G. Hines, special representative of the American Federation of Labour; and Justice William O. Douglas of the U.S. Supreme Court. All of them stressed the urgency and importance of the technical co-operation programme.

Harriman said it was important to remember that hunger and disease are a form of slavery, and that where they exist "it is folly to talk about freedom."

"It is possible for the world to have both bread and freedom," Reuter asserted.

Hines pointed out that the American Federation of Labour had always supported the technical co-operation programme. He added: "As the leading democratic country, and the nation with the highest industrial development, we have the greatest moral and material responsibility for helping the peoples of the world to harness modern technology in the service of human well-being, peaceful social progress and international harmony."

Justice Douglas told the conference that technical assistance should be accompanied by bold and dramatic economic and social reforms. He called for an extension of what he termed "the American Revolution of social justice." He said this should include representative democracy in which all men and women could vote as they choose and land reforms which would enable every farmer to cultivate his own soil.—*USIS.*

Progressive Educator Explains Theory of "Learning by Doing"

William Heard Kilpatrick, 80-year-old professor of education at Columbia University in New York City, is often called America's greatest teacher. His progressive educational theories have spread to all parts of the world. Students from 59 countries have attended his classes.

Core of Dr. Kilpatrick's philosophy is his belief that learning comes by doing. In a recent interview the famous educationist explained how his theory works in the classroom. He said:

"Learning comes only from experience. Children must learn all over, through thinking, feeling and bodily response. In the old formal days, school children 'learned' things in order to repeat them, to be examined on them. Those things never really became a part of their being. That is why they forgot most of them as soon as they left school."

This theory of learning by doing had already been expounded by John Dewey, leading American philosopher and teacher. Dr. Kilpatrick put it into practice with his famed project, or activity, curriculum. This method discards the formal curriculum with its emphasis on memorisation and recitation of teacher-assigned lessons. Instead, under the skilful guidance of teachers, children work on activities that they themselves have helped plan and in which they have a genuine interest. Routine classroom studies become mere tools in accomplishing the tasks they want to carry out.

"It is purpose that we want," said Dr. Kilpatrick, "worthy purpose, urgently sought. Get these and the interest will take care of itself."

The child may paint a picture, construct a motor boat, edit a newspaper, Dr. Kilpatrick continued. He may take part in community affairs. A biology class, studying about home, children and marriage, may organise a nursery for children of working mothers. An agricultural class may benefit local framers by studying soil composition. Thinking, planning, initiating, working together, these children are developing self-reliance, independence, moral and civic responsibility.

"It is —first, last, and all the time—not subject matter which must immediately concern us," said Dr. Kilpatrick, "but life and personality and their best growth."

He was asked whether children in progressive schools learned reading, writing and arithmetic as well as in traditional schools.

"Indeed they do," said Dr. Kilpatrick. "Every survey made has shown that pupils in progressive schools do as well in every respect, and better in the creative areas, than traditional school children."

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Dr. Kilpatrick's system has particular significance in a democracy where each person has a responsibility in local, state and national affairs. The better trained the individual to think, to plan, to find out, the greater his power to help evolve ways to national and international progress.—*USIS.*

Co-operatives Help Improve Farmers' Lot

Many farmers in the free world are creating better living conditions for themselves by working together in farm co-operatives. Through group action they are accomplishing much more than they could if each man worked separately.

Farm co-operatives, of course, are not new. They have had a long and successful history in Europe and the British Commonwealth, but it was not until recent years that they began springing up in many other parts of the world. Co-operatives are taking hold now in South America. They are proving helpful in India, Pakistan, Burma, the Philippine Republic, Japan, Iran, Lebanon, Israel, Thailand and other nations.

In the United States, two-thirds of all farm families are served by one or more of the 20,000 farm co-operatives now in operation. Through these co-operatives U.S. farmers market their produce at fair prices. They buy petrol, oil, supplies, seed, fertilizer and machinery in bulk at reduced prices. They get long-term credit at reasonable rates. Largely because of rural co-operatives, nearly 90 percent of all U.S. farmers now have electricity to light their homes, pump their water and make their daily work less burdensome.

U.S. farm co-operatives are of all sizes. Some serve only a hundred or so farmers. Others are vast and complex businesses like the California Fruit Growers Exchange, which has 15,000 citrus-fruit growers as members.

Often, it is necessary for farm co-operatives to have government aid if they are to get started and prosper.

Co-operative farming is a system of agriculture in which a number of farmers voluntarily join together to carry on all, or a part of, their farming operations. There are at least three ways to distinguish co-operative farming from collective farming.

First, membership in a co-operative is voluntary. If farmers are coerced in any way, the society ceases to be a co-operative.

Second, a co-operative is run democratically by majority vote of the members.

Third, each member of a co-operative profits according to the produce of his land and the fruits of his labour. *USIS.*

The National Forests of the United States

Lyle F. Watts, Chief, U. S. Forest Service, writes in the *United States Information Service* :

The United States has 152 national forests that are owned and administered by the federal government. These forests, which embrace about 180 million acres, are located in 40 of the 48 states and in the territories of Alaska and Puerto Rico.

The Forest Service in the U.S. Department of Agriculture has the responsibility of seeing that the national forests serve the best interests of all people in the nation. As a guiding principle, we work for "the greatest good of the greatest number in the long run."

National forests have many uses. They produce timber, water for irrigation and municipal use, hydroelectric power, wildlife, grazing for livestock, minerals and recreational areas for millions of Americans. The Forest Service must weigh all of the uses of each national forest and manage the forests so that no single group is favoured above other groups.

Under U.S. Forest Service supervision, commercial loggers are now cutting around 4.500 million board feet (375 million cubic feet) of timber in the national forests each year. This is about one-tenth of all the timber harvested in the United States. National forest timber is sold at appraised value or by competitive bid to the highest bidder, who cuts only those trees that foresters have designated for cutting.

The national forests also are contributing to the

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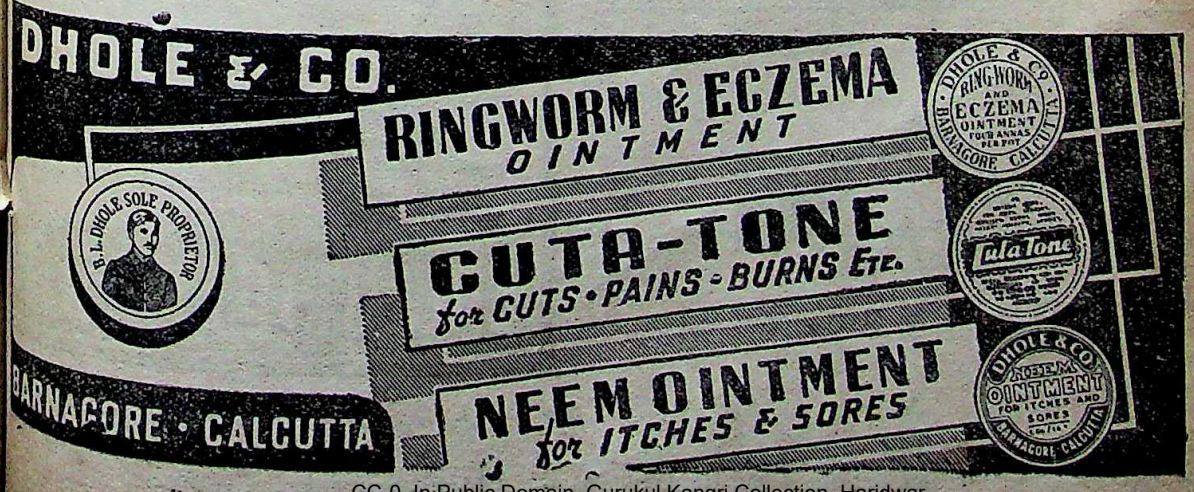

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nation's supply of meat, hides and wool by providing seasonal grazing for more than 8,000,000 head of cattle and sheep. The livestock are owned by private ranchors who pay a small fee to the U.S. Government for the privilege of grazing their herds in the national forests each summer.

National forests provide many of the finest recreational areas in the United States. Millions of Americans go to the forests each year to camp, picnic, hunt, fish, hike, swim, ski, climb mountains, ride horseback—or just to relax and enjoy the beauties of nature. The Forest Service maintains 4,500 public camping grounds and picnic areas and 230 winter sports areas. More than 50,000 miles of forest roads are used by motorists and thousands of miles of trails by hikers and horseback riders.

Hunters and fishermen may use the national forests so long as they observe state fish and game laws—the same restriction that applies to citizens who hunt or fish on private land. National forests contain one-third of the nation's big game animals such as deer, elk and moose and are the home of large numbers of small game and birds. Anglers can catch mountain trout and other fish along 90,000 miles of streams. Hundreds of lakes provide boating, fishing and swimming for Americans who want to spend holiday out-doors.

For people who enjoy forest in its original, primitive state, the U.S. Forest Service has set aside 77 wilderness and wild areas embracing 14 million acres. No roads or houses may be built iin these areas, and no timber may be cut there. The idea is to leave nature undisturbed. Anyone travelling in a wilderness area must go on foot, by horseback or in a canoe. Since there are no lodges or hotels, he must carry his own bedding and food. A man who sits alone at night beside his campfire and listens to the night sounds of the wilderness is probably as far removed from civilization as it is possible to get in this age.

Although national forests provide many economic and recreational benefits for all Americans, the primary purpose of many national forests is to protect vital watersheds. Millions of Americans rely upon the high mountain forests to provide them with clean, pure water for domestic use, irrigation, generation of hydroelectric power and thousands of industrial uses. We know that floods increase and soil erodes when vegetation is stripped from watersheds. We know that the whole nation suffers when the forested areas are abused.

That is one of the reasons why the U.S. Forest Service protects national forests from fire, insects, tree diseases, unwise logging and overgrazing. It is one of the reasons why we feel that all Americans owe a debt of gratitude to pioneer conservationists who laid the foundation for the present system of national forests in the United States.

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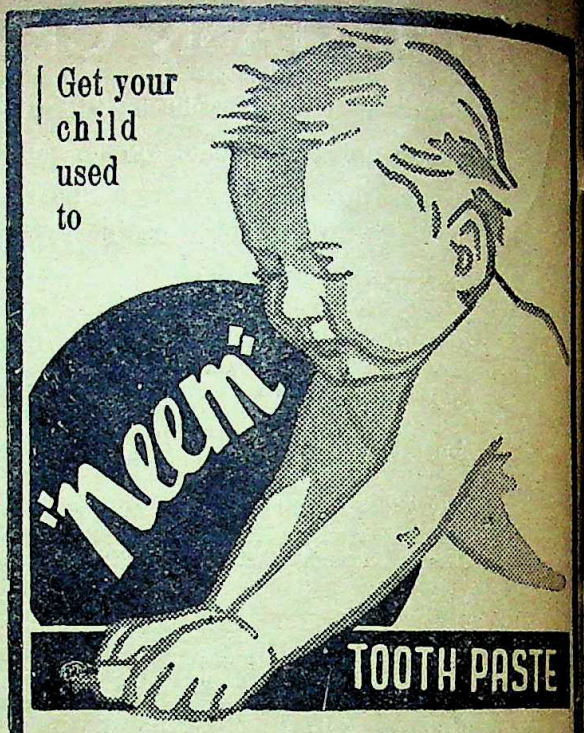

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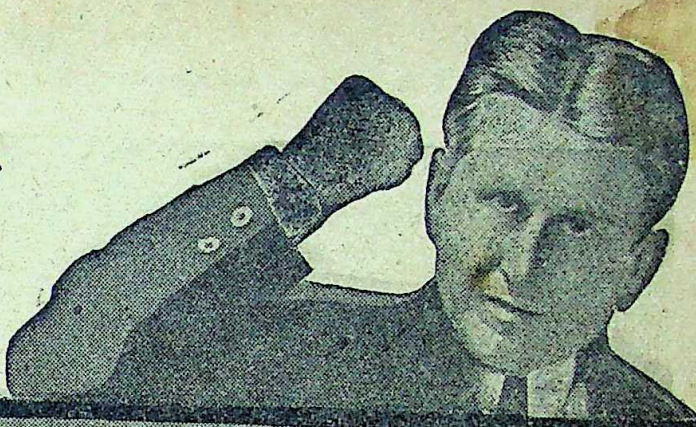

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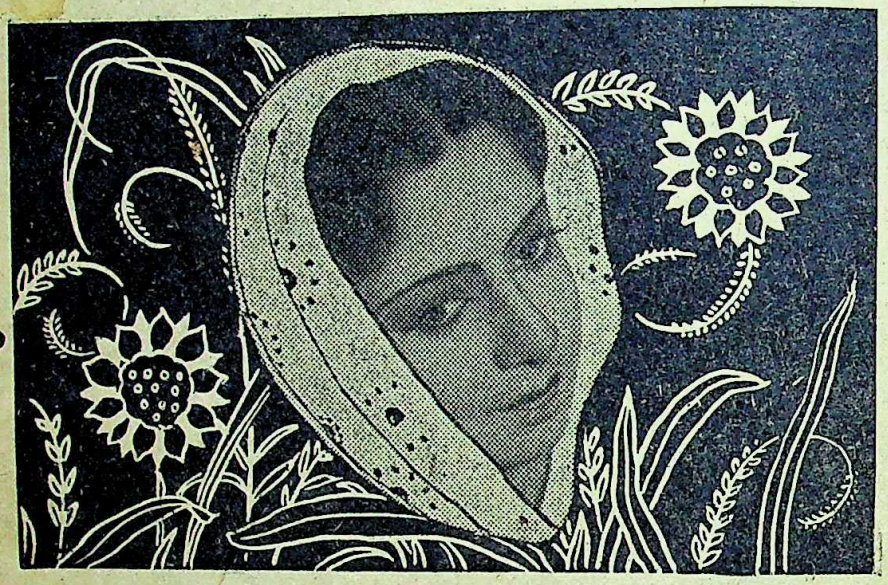

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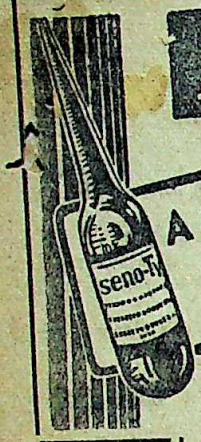

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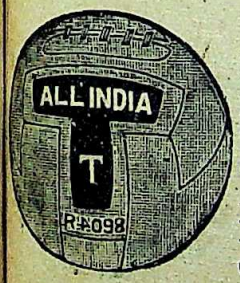

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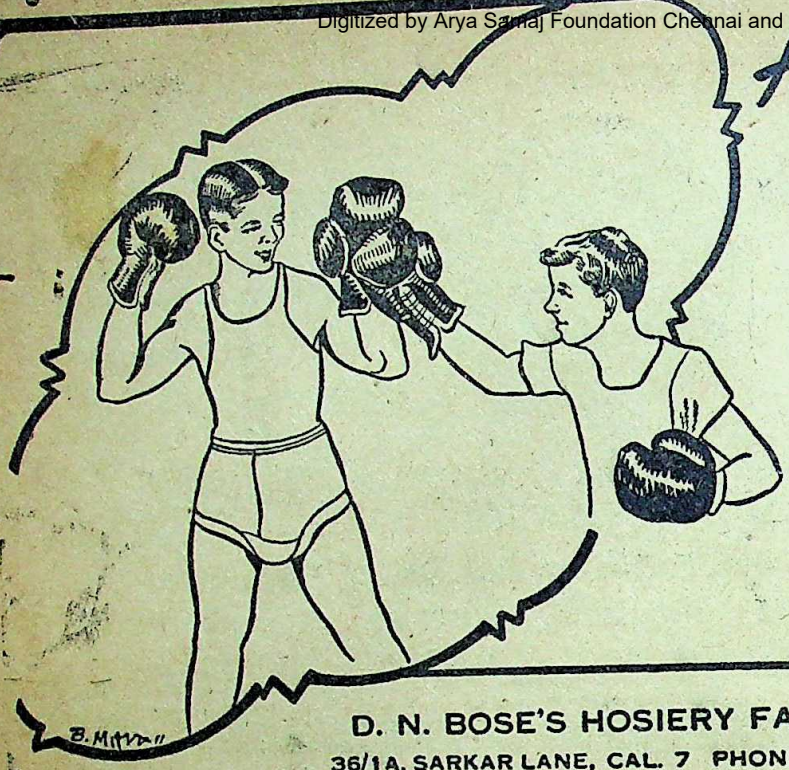

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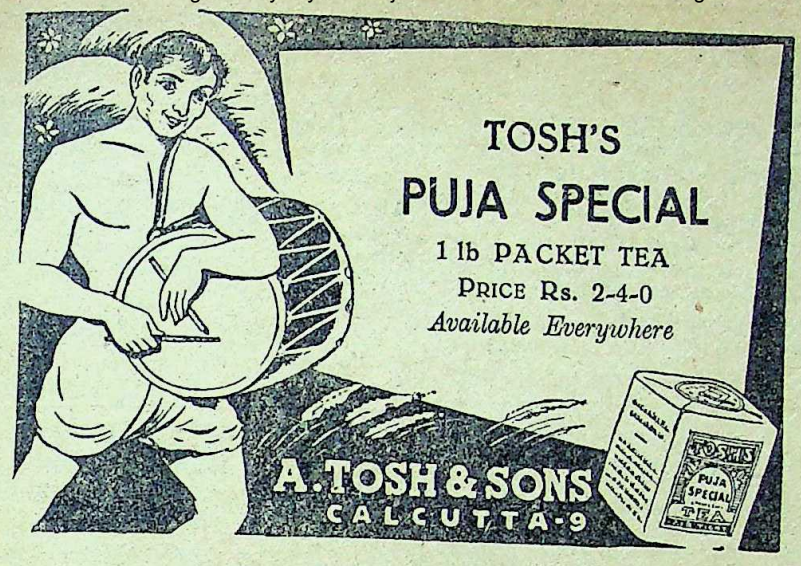

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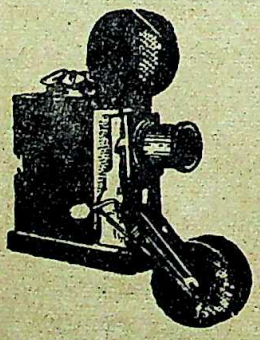

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প্রবাসীর পুস্তকাবলী

রামায়ণ (সচিত্র) ৺রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় ১০৷৷০

সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ১ম ভাগ—

রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় ।০

সচিত্র বর্ণপরিচয় ২য় ভাগ—ঐ ।০

চাটার্জির পিক্‌চার এল্‌বাম ১—১৭

(৩, ১০ হইতে ১৭ আছে) প্রত্যেক সংখ্যা ৪৲

উষসী (মনোজ্ঞ গল্পসমষ্টি)— ঐ ২৲

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বজ্রমণি (শ্রেষ্ঠ গল্পসমষ্টি) ঐ ২৲

উদ্যানলতা (উপন্যাস)—

শ্রীশান্তা ও সীতা দেবী ২৷৷০

কালিদাসের গল্প (সচিত্র)—শ্রীরঘুনাথ মল্লিক ৪৲

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ডাকমাশুল স্বতন্ত্র।

প্রবাসী কার্য্যালয়

১২০।২, আপার সার্কুলার রোড, কলিকাতা

=প্রবাসী=

১২০।২, আপার সার্কুলার রোড, কলিকাতা।

গ্রাহক-গ্রাহিকাদের জন্য ঃ—

ভারত পাকিস্তানী সডাক বার্ষিক মূল্য ১২৲, ঐ ষাণ্মাসিক ৬৲, ঐ প্রতি সংখ্যা ১৲ টাকা। বিদেশী সডাক বার্ষিক মূল্য ১৮৲ টাকা, ঐ ষাণ্মাসিক ১০৲ টাকা, ঐ প্রতি সংখ্যা ১৷০ টাকা অগ্রিম দেয়। বৎসর বৈশাখ হইতে আরম্ভ হয়। টাকা মনিঅর্ডারে অগ্রিম পাঠানোই ভাল, বাহিরের ব্যাঙ্কের চেকের সঙ্গে অতিরিক্ত ।৵০ ব্যাঙ্ক কমিশনও দেয়। প্রবাসী বাংলা মাসের ১লা তারিখে প্রকাশিত হয়। যথাসময়ে প্রবাসী না পৌঁছিলে ১৫ তারিখের ভিতর স্থানীয় ডাকঘরের রিপোর্ট ও নিজ গ্রাহক নম্বর সহ পত্র লিখিতে হইবে। পুরাতন গ্রাহক-গ্রাহিকাগণ, তাঁহাদের চাঁদা যে সংখ্যার সহিত নিঃশেষ হইবে, সেই সংখ্যা পাইবার পর ২০ দিনের ভিতর পুনর্ব্বার চাঁদা বা প্রবাসী লইতে অনিচ্ছাজ্ঞাপক পত্র না পাঠাইলে, তাঁহারা পরবর্ত্তী সংখ্যা ভিঃ পিঃতে লইয়া চাঁদা দিতে ইচ্ছুক এই বিশ্বাসে ভিঃ পিঃ প্রেরণ করা হয়। চিঠিপত্র বা টাকা পাঠাইবার সময় গ্রাহক-নম্বর উল্লেখ না করিলে কার্য্যসাধনে গোলমাল অবশ্যম্ভাবী।

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" " অর্দ্ধ পৃষ্ঠা (৪ইঃ×৬ইঃ)
বা এক কলম (৮ইঃ×৩ইঃ) ৩২৲

" " সিকি পৃষ্ঠা (২ইঃ×৬ইঃ)
বা অর্দ্ধ কলম (৪ইঃ×৩ইঃ) ১৮৲

" " অষ্টমাংশ পৃষ্ঠা (১ইঃ×৬ইঃ)
বা সিকি কলম (২ইঃ×৩ইঃ) ১০৲

বিশেষ বিশেষ পৃষ্ঠার বিজ্ঞাপনের মূল্য পত্রে জ্ঞাতব্য

প্রবাসী প্রকাশিত হইবার অন্ততঃ এক সপ্তাহ পূর্ব্বে 'বিজ্ঞাপন' অগ্রিম মূল্যসহ কার্য্যালয়ে পৌঁছান চাই। মূল্যসহ বিজ্ঞাপন প্রবাসী প্রকাশিত হইবার অন্ততঃ ১০।১৫ দিন পূর্ব্বে কার্য্যালয়ে পৌঁছিলে প্রুফ দেখাইবার ব্যবস্থা করা হয়। প্রুফ দেখার দোষে যদি কোন ভুল থাকে তজ্জন্য আমরা দায়ী নহি। যাঁহারা বিজ্ঞাপনের প্রুফ দেখার ভার আমাদের উপর দিবেন, তাঁহারা সামান্য ভুল-ত্রুটির জন্য অভিযোগ করিলে গ্রাহ্য হইবে না। এক বৎসরের জন্য কণ্ট্রাক্ট করিলে এবং বৎসরের সম্পূর্ণ মূল্য অগ্রিম জমা দিলে টাকায় ৵০ হিসাবে বাদ দেওয়া হয়।

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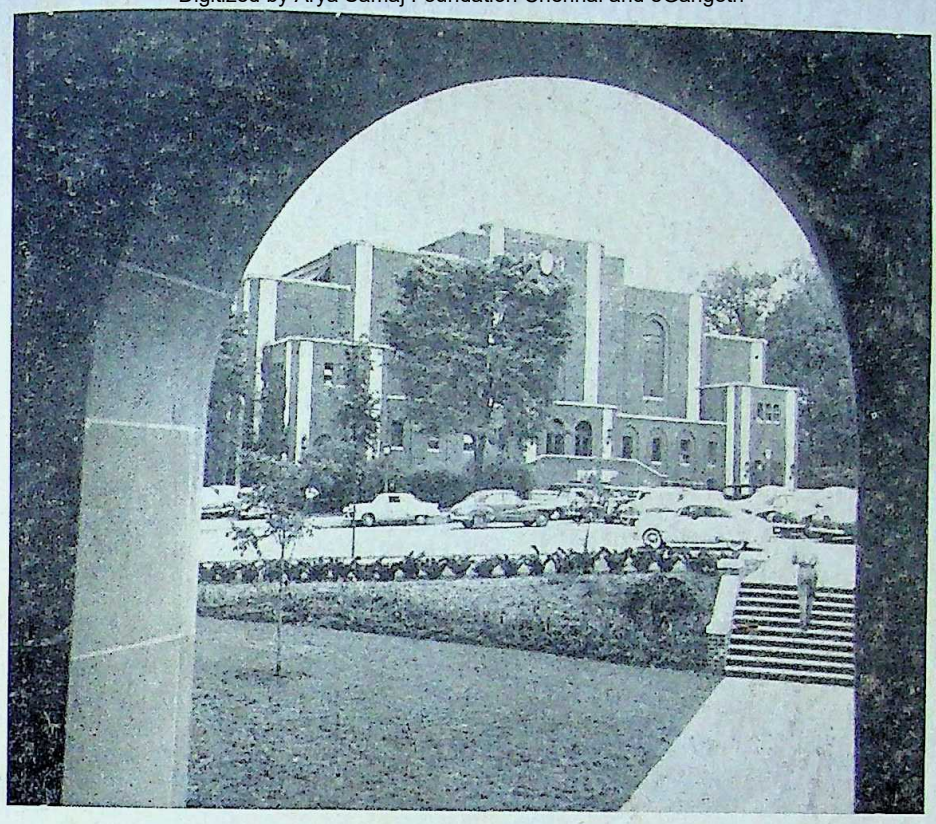

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The U. S. Pasture Research Laboratory and Green house of the Pennsylvania State College where experiments for observing the growth and behaviour of rye grass are conducted

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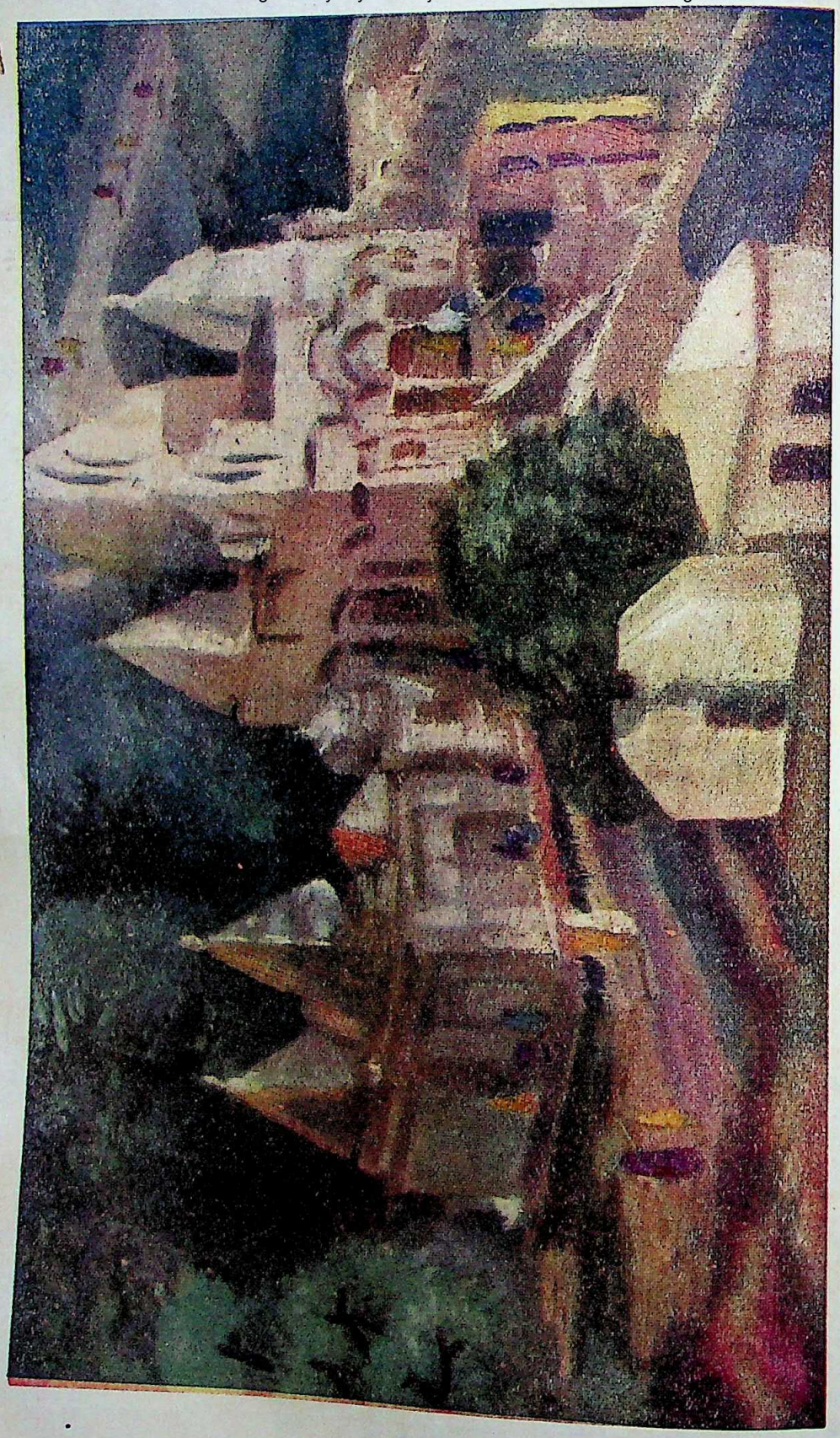

BRAHMAKUNDA, RAJGIR
By Bimal Roy

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER 1952

VOL. LXXXXII, : No. 4 WHOLE No. 550

NOTES

The A.-I.C.C. Meeting

The much publized A.I.C.C. meeting is over. The most strange part of the meeting was that little emphasis—if any at all—was laid in its deliberations on matters purely concerning the common citizen. Apart from laying down some abstract principles, Pandit Nehru seems to have thought that the woes of the people were too sordid a matter for discussion amongst the elect. Of course he has repeatedly reminded his followers about their necessity for maintaining contacts with their people. But even there, he could consider the people only in the terms of the electorate, as for example, in the following exhortation :

"Addressing a convention of Congress legislators, the Congress President, Mr. Nehru deprecated the idea that the party had two wings, one parliamentary and the other doing extra-parliamentary work. Each was complementary to the other and they must function as a whole.

Every member of Parliament or of State Assemblies must function in the respective body but, even more important, he had to function in his constituency. If he forgot the constituency he was doomed because he would gradually become 'rootless.'

Referring to the amendments to the Congress constitution which the Working Committee had finalized earlier in the day, Mr. Nehru said it had been proposed that members of Congress parties in Parliament or in Assemblies should become ex-officio associate members of Congress committees. He thought this was a proper approach to the problem because it gave them better opportunities of working together.

Mr. Nehru reminded the legislators that the Congress had its sanction 'in the grass roots among the people, in factories and fields.' In the measure Congressmen added to that sanction by their work in their constituencies as Congressmen, 'we add to our own strength and our own organization.' There was a dual function to perform.

The present task of the party was to canalize its various activities. Their primary sanction came from the people, from the service rendered to them, and the confidence inspired in them. All this depended on the results which Congressmen produced. Every party was judged by results and not by the long manifestoes and tall promises they made.

'The party must hold together firmly, as otherwise it will be shattered to pieces by various opposition forces that are arising. We have to hold together in Parliament and elsewhere, and more so, in the whole of the Congress organization and function dynamically. We have to devise measures of doing parliamentary work effectively, unitedly and progressively, and profit by each other's experience. We have to do all this within the organization and not as a separate show.'

The convention passed two resolutions, one dealing with the reorganization of the party's parliamentary machinery, and the other recommending that a journal be run to publicize the party's activities."

It will be noted that even here the emphasis is on the duty of the legislators to the Party as a whole, and not to the country or to the people.

Pandit Nehru's attitude to other vital problems is also equally vague and academical. He seems to think that sermonizing coupled with procrastination is the essence of state-craft. The lesons implied by the fall of Mr. Asquith, of the famous "Wait and See" policy, and of Mr. Neville Chamberlain—with his prayers for 'Peace in our Times'—seem to have no significance for him. For example, with regard to the bitter controversy between Bihar and Bengal, over the districts arbitrarily taken away from Bengal, as a punishment for the anti-Partition movement, and ceded to Bihar by the autocratic British Raj, we find the following item in the daily press :

"The Congress President deplored the Bengal-Bihar controversy and said it was unfortunate it should have generated so much bitterness and anger. After partition, West Bengal had suffered much. A large

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number of refugees from East Bengal had migrated there, and he well understood the difficulties of West Bengal. But what amazed him was that two States of the Indian Union were criticizing each other as though they were two different countries.

Disputes or differences, if any, between the two States, must be settled peacefully. For a proper understanding and settlement there must be a cordial atmosphere."

We are astonished at the above statement. Does Pandit Nehru ever listen to the speeches of fellow Parliamentarians? Or does he ever read the *Harijan*, the only accredited mouthpiece of the man in whose shadow he has attained his present exalted position? We append below an extract from the *Harijan*, with the note of the late Kishorelalji attached to it for illumination :

"The following speech was delivered in Hindi in the House of the People on the 12th July 1952 by Shri Bhajahari Mahato, M.P., (Lok Sevak Sangha, Manbhum), from Bihar in connection with the resolution regarding linguistic redistribution of provinces :

"I am a resident of Manbhum. My mother tongue is Bengali. I do not know English altogether. My knowledge in Hindi also is almost nil. Having got the luck of jail life in the British regime I took the opportunity of studying Hindi to a little extent. Thereafter outside jail I was trying to learn Hindi. But the overzealous Hindi fadists having made the situation in Manbhum so disturbed for the purpose of forcibly foisting Hindi on Manbhum that we are now busily engaged in facing the repressions following in its wake, and there is no peaceful situation there for the study of Hindi. Though my knowledge of Hindi is very meagre, I am trying anyhow to express myself in Hindi as it is our national language. I hope you would excuse me for the mistakes I commit in doing so.

The question of linguistic redistribution of provinces is very important in regard to Manbhum, as there is going on a reign of repression on this issue. We have never seen this question of linguistic redistribution of provinces with an outlook of provincialism. We in Manbhum have all along worked with amity towards all the communities and sects. We were in the Congress and have built the same in our district. And under the leadership of Atul Babu we were working in that way all the while ; but we were compelled to quit the Congress. So we have always viewed the question of linguistic redistribution with the outlook of administrative facilities in the light of Gandhiji's teachings and judgement, and not with an outlook of provincialism. Yet we ourselves have never raised this matter, for we thought that the leaders of India would themselves take steps in this regard. But now we are appealing to the leaders that they should not tarry over the question, but should finish it without delay. Because the unsettlement of this question has brought about such a situation in Manbhum that if it be allowed to continue longer, a revolution is bound to arise amongst the people of Manbhum.

Whenever the demand for redistribution of provinces on the linguistic basis is raised, it is attributed to provincialism. But those who lay the charge of provincialism are the persons who are endowed with the administrative power and who themselves, having thus got opportunities to be in power, indulge in provincialism. Our provincial Government is destroying the language of the people of the regions which speak the tongue other than Hindi in order to foist Hindi on them, so that those regions may not go out of the boundaries of the State on the question of redistribution on the linguistic basis. It itself is thus indulging in provincialism.

It is said that the provinces of Bihar and Bengal should settle amongst themselves the problem of the linguistic question concerning Manbhum and such other places. I do not understand how the question may be settled by the complainant and the accused. In the matter of Kashmir, the U.N.O. asks Pakistan and Hindustan to settle amongst themselves. But the Prime Minister of India says that it is not possible; the people of Kashmir would themselves decide their own matter. Yet the Government of India is saying like the U.N.O. "Let this problem of Manbhum be decided by Bengal and Bihar themselves." Like the demand of the Prime Minister regarding Kashmir, we are also demanding that the people of Manbhum be given the right to decide their own future. Though our Lok Sevak Sangha had its own decision regarding the principle of the formation of the provinces on linguistic basis, it has left the matter to the people of Manbhum for their own decision.

The situation of Manbhum is today like that of Pakistan. As oppressions are being committed on the Hindus in Pakistan, similarly the Government of Bihar are behaving invidiously towards the Bengali-speaking people of Manbhum and are oppressing them like Pakistan. It is imperative to settle this issue soon. Inquiry should be made to see if the Government of Bihar is discharging its responsibility of administration in Manbhum properly or not. When the Government is indulging in provincialism and committing oppressions on the language issue, the administration of Manbhum should be taken from the hands of the Government till the issue of language be settled. The Bihar Government has so oppressed the people of Manbhum, that we, the people of Manbhum, are ready to live under any other administration in India, but not under the administration of the Bihar Government, we want to be relieved from it.

NOTE : *Of the various political parties, which took part in the last elections, my information is that the Lok Sevak Sangh of Manbhum led by Shri Atul*

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Chandra Ghosh was one of the cleanest in its methods. Out of 11 or 12 seats, it captured 7 in the Bihar Assembly and 2 in the House of the People, and it did this by its sheer popularity among the people without any large funds. I have known Atul Babu personally for a long time. There is no narrow provincialism in him. The trouble in Manbhum is to a very large measure due to the narrow outlook and high-handed methods of the Bihar Government. If Bihar wants to retain Manbhum within its boundaries, it must stoop to conquer the Bengali-speaking population of that district by love and just dealing. In most of the problems relating to border regions, the impression left on my mind is that the Central Government and the Working Committee have adopted the policy of yielding to the bully among them, or of trying to shelve the question as long as possible. This weakness is bound to injure their reputation.

K. G. M.

Famine and Want

Meanwhile the State of the Union is going from bad to worse. The hold experiment made by Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari in Madras is being foiled by nature's vagaries, together with some amount of intransigency by man. We append below the words of that much-harassed old guard.

"Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister of Madras, said that economic conditions in the State had deteriorated so badly that it might be necessary for the Government to declare the whole State a famine area.

"Every district was demanding the establishment of gruel centres, he said. Even the district of Tanjore was no exception. He wondered from where the money would come to provide relief against the threatening State-wide famine.

"The achievement of independence, he said, would be incomplete without thorough decentralization of administration. Sizable areas should be enabled to govern themselves in all respects. But they were in the midst of great difficulties. He himself was in the position of presenting addresses to others for more money. The Chief Minister was replying to an address at a reception by the Chingleput District Board asking for greater allocation of funds and enlargement of powers for the District Boards.

"Given time and peace of mind, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, he could draw up a scheme for decentralization of administration, but he had neither.

"It was officially learnt that widespread failure of the south-west monsoon and the prevalence of acute drought had been reported to the Madras Government from the districts in Rayalaseema and about ten others in the State. The failure of the monsoon—the sixth consecutive in certain districts and seventh in others—had increased the Government's commitments to undertake urgent relief measures to provide employment to agricultural labour thrown out of work. The south-west monsoon usually commences in June and lasts till September."

Foreign Policy

At the A.I.C.C. the same old rigmarole about our foreign policy has been reiterated. We fail to see what was the occasion to lay so much emphasis on what can only he called a negative policy at the best. The foreign reaction to that, so far as the democratic bloc is concerned, can be best guaged by the following news item that appeared in the daily press:

"A British Foreign Office spokesman said that he had no comment to make on the All-India Congress Committee's resolution calling for a meeting of the world's big Powers. The resolution passed at Indore on September 14 called on the nations to meet 'to take some immediate steps towards a solution of the major problems of the day.'

"Lord Llewellin, leader of the British delegation, criticized what he described as India's 'policy of non-involvement in world disputes' at the closing session of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association conference. He said Britain could not forget its involvement in the defence of small nations and freedom in 1914 and 1939, and what it had cost. If the U. N. was to succeed it could not 'merely stand cheering on the sidelines.'

"In the past a Russian invasion over the passes into India had been a concern of the British General Staff, he said. It might happen in the future and, if it did, he hoped the U.N. would not adopt any policy of non-involvement.

"Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar of India replied that he wanted to clarify India's 'position on non-involvement.' If democracy were threatened, India would certainly be involved, he said, but she did not wish to enter any bloc. He said India preferred to decide each issue on its merits as it arose. He favoured admission of Communist China to the U. N. and did not believe China was inseparably attached to Russia.

"Mr. McDermott, State Department spokesman, said, the Department was waiting for clarification of a resolution of the Congress Party in India, calling for talks between the USA, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and China. He declined to comment on the resolution, saying he had seen several different versions in news reports."

The why and wherefore of the British spokesman's utterances can be well analysed by the following remarks of Dr. Taraknath Das, who is on a visit to India at present:

"Dr. Taraknath Das, Wattumull Foundation Travelling Fellow and Lecturer, delivered an address at the Calcutta University Institute hall on Monday on 'Free India's position in world affairs.' Mr. Justice J.

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P. Mitter presided. Dr. Das discussed at great length the various stages of the Indian freedom movement from 1857 to August, 1947 when power was transferred to India. He referred to partition as the culmination of the British policy of divide and rule and said that, as a result of partition, India's national defences had been weakened both in the east and the west.

"In the disturbances which followed partition about one million people were killed, property worth crores of rupees was destroyed and 10m people rendered homeless. He said that minorities in India were enjoying greater political and cultural rights than anywhere else, including America. Dr. Das condemned the South African Government for its racialism. He was critical of India's foreign policy and spoke of the dangers inherent in a policy of neutrality. India, he said, held the balance of power between China and Russia, China and Japan, and Russia and Japan. In peace and war, India's position was of supreme importance. Under present world conditions, her neutrality would affect the democratic forces."

Medical College Strike in Lucknow

In September, 1951, a boy died in the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Hospital in Lucknow immediately after an anaesthetic was applied before an operation. The Chancellor ordered an enquiry into the circumstances leading to the death of the boy and a committee of three was formed. The committee with a dissenting vote by the Director-General of Health Services found the two doctors attending the boy guilty of utter callousness and negligence of their duty. Accordingly, Surgeon S. N. Mathur and Dr. Bahl were called upon to resign their posts. The provincial branch of the Indian Medical Association protested against the Chancellor's action. One thousand students and members of the teaching staff of the college also went on strike protesting against the decision of the Chancellor. The strike was called off on September 18.

The Lucknow University Executive Council has recommended the authorities to fine all the students of the Medical College numbering 1,000, a sum of Rs. 5 each for taking part in the agitation, the *Leader* reports, "The Executive also recommended immediate suspension of the hospital house staff who had participated in the agitation pending orders of the Chancellor."

Mr. C. B. Gupta, Health Minister of the State, visited the hospital on the 18th September. According to the *Leader*, "He was reported to have told staff members that strong disciplinary action would be taken against those who threatened to stop work and against the striking students if they did not go back to their classes." Earlier he told a deputation of seven members of the local branch of the Indian Medical Association that "Chancellor's decision in the matter was irrevocable and had to be implemented."

"He deprecated the spirit of trade unionism in the medical profession and said that the docotrs ought to have taken serious view of the demonstrations and strikes by students during the past two days when they had paraded the city's main streets along with some teachers 'shouting slogans' and abusing the Chancellor, Health Minister and the authorities of the university.

"The Association, he said, had passed resolutions only protesting against the Chancellor's action without 'bothering' to know the circumstances in which the decision had to be taken, rather than denouncing the students' 'hooliganism'."

The authorities made arrangements for 40 army doctors to take charge of the hospital in the event of a stoppage of work by the staff.

Of recent, reports are coming from many places which indicate a growing indiscipline among the students. As the *Leader* puts it, "Much of the indiscipline among students results from their participation in active politics. They want to be leaders even before they have prepared themselves for leadership mentally and morally. . . ."

The U. P. Government has finally decided to deal with this growing indiscipline amongst students with a firm hand as the following news indicate :

"After discussions at Cabinet and other levels, the Government has decided to deal firmly with indiscipline in the State's educational institutions and a number of orders have been issued to that effect.

"In Farrukhabad, the Rastogi Vidyalaya, the students of which are reported to have taken the law into their own hands, has been ordered to restore discipline. The Government grant to this institution has already been stopped. Withdrawal of recognition is also being considered. The District Inspector of Schools and the District Magistrate have been asked to locate the culprits and rusticate them.

"In Chandausi, where some students are reported to have pulled the alarm chain of a train and to have beaten up a travelling ticket examiner, the Government has asked the Director of Education to submit a detailed report. Meanwhile, the grant of the institution has been stopped.

"In Janghai, the Government has ordered the closure of the Intermediate College the students of which are reported to have indulged extensively in travelling without tickets and in destruction of railway property. The Government has informed the Principal of the college that the institution will have to be closed unless specific assurances are forthcoming that such offences will not be repeated.

"In Jaunpur, where students are reported to have forcibly taken possession of a building, the District Magistrate has been asked to evict the students, by force if necessary.

"Meanwhile, *PTI* reports that seven of the 1,000

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students of the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Medical College, Lucknow, who had led an agitation against the university authorities, have been suspended. These students have been asked to show cause why they should not be expelled from the college. The rest of the students have been fined Rs. 5 each by the university authorities for having taken part in the agitation."

Kashmir

The latest joint conference on Kashmir has proved infructuous, as expected, as the following news item indicates :

"Mr. Gopalaswmi Ayyangar, India's Defence Minister and leader of the Indian delegation to the joint conference on Kashmir, said in Geneva on September 11 : 'I have been satisfied with the manner in which the discussions have been held, though it is a matter of disappointment to me that better results, especially with reference to basic issues, were not achieved.'

In an interview with the special correspondent of *PTI* he added : 'The main thing for which this conference was convened was the settlement of the character and quantum of the forces on either side of the cease-fire line. That question was really not solved, though an attempt was made to define, if possible, the principles on which these matters could be decided. But even this attempt did not quite produce the agreement that seemed, in the early stage of the discussion, hopeful.' The question of local authority in the 'Azad Kashmir' area was understood to have been raised by India at the conference."

In Kashmir itself the position is hardly less complicated, although the following news item shows that Shaikh Abdullah's plans are going ahead:

"Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir has signified his intention of abdicating in favour of his son, Yuvraj Karan Singh. This decision is a sequel to the visit during the weekend of Mr. C. S. Venkatachar, Secretary, Ministry of States, who conveyed to the Maharaja the advice of the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru.

"The Maharaja temporarily withdrew from the State and handed over power to the Yuvraj, who was to act during the Maharaja's absence as a constitutional ruler. Yuvraj Karan Singh formally took over from his father in June, 1949."

Unofficial Western circles have forecast that the deadlock will continue in Kashmir until both India and Pakistan accept the principle of partition in Kashmir.

Iran and the Near East

In Iran too the deadlock continues. The Persian Premier as yet does not seem to have decided to work for a bold solution. He is between the devil and the deep sea and therefore can only fall back on refusals and demands as the following news indicates :

"The Persian Prime Minister, Dr. Mossadiq, got a unanimous vote of confidence from the Majlis. Sixty-one deputies, including the Deputy Speaker who was in the Chair, were present.

"Asking the House for the vote, Dr. Mossadiq made a five-point proposal in reply to the Churchill-Truman offer and announced that he was prepared to go to The Hague International Court on the question of compensation to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company if certain conditions were agreed upon beforehand. At the same time he said he was prepared to break relations with Britain in order to vindicate Persia's rights. He declared that the Churchill-Truman offer was 'totally unacceptable.' The offer agreed to grant Persia $10m if she agreed to refer the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's compensation claim to the International Court and to open negotiations with the company on marketing Persian oil.

"Dr. Mossadiq said the proposals he would make were the last basis on which Persia might accept a settlement. He was prepared to go to the International Court to settle compensation, if the A.-I.O.C. did not agree to Persian courts settling the issue, provided the following conditions were agreed upon beforehand:

1. Compensation would be payable only in respect of the A.-I.O.C. installations at Abadan.

2. Disputes and claims by either party between 1933 and 1947 to be settled in accordance with the 1933 oil agreement.

3. Claims and disputes between 1948 and nationalization in April, 1951, to be settled under the supplementary oil agreement of 1949.

4. No claims by the A.-I.O.C. after nationalization to be admitted.

5. The A.-I.O.C. agrees to pay forthwith to Persia £49m 'which it owes Persia,' the payment to be made in U.S. dollars."

The State of Lebanon too is in a ferment. A *coup d' etat* on the lines of Egypt has followed there.

"President Beshara el Khoury of the Lebanon, resigned his post amid allegations of Government corruption and handed over power to the Army. His resignation, which came on the third day of a general strike called by the Opposition against political corruption, makes the Lebanon the third Middle East State to come with the rule of the Army within a year. The others are Egypt and Syria.

"Some sources said the ex-President left the Lebanon by air for France, but this report was later found to be erroneous.

"General Shehab, Army Commander, since the French evacuation of the Lebanon in 1946, immediately on assuming power, issued a ban on demonstrations and appealed for public order."

In the midst of all this turmoil our ship of state is being sought to be steadied and brought into harbour by a new tug. How that will function has been described at length in the *People* of New Delhi, in

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its September 20 issue, by Dr. P. N. Soni. We give the following extracts to show the plan :

"Old ways of imparting knowledge are too slow, they happen to be dull," says the report on the *Malmo Seminar*, published by Unesco. This was a gathering of World Experts. They should know what they were talking about.

But is it possible to knit up and arouse quickly through modern techniques, a loose and despairing mass of people ? Has it been done before ? If not we are just lotus-eaters, wasting your time by promising you a slice of the moon.

The history of modern propaganda answers with an emphatic, positive *yes*.

Think of Germany. Sunk to the brink of despair. Crushed by the treaty of Versailles. And then came Hitler. He was the Hero. But Dr. Goebbels was the star performer. His was the genius that harnessed Audio-Visual Aids, utilised modern techniques and the latest instruments for the Grand Central purpose of making the German people, strong, united and aggressive.

Russia has outstripped Germany in the art of publicity and propaganda. The state runs institutions specialising on mass publicity methods. The directors of Culture are experimenting all the time on the most effective means of adult education. Tape recorders and 16mm movie projectors work incessantly in the villages, homes and community centres. All factory workers and labour centres get their evening relaxation with well-thought-out programmes. Says the shrewd and practical Stalin, "The Cinema in the hands of the Soviet power represents a great and priceless force."

America has even advanced further. The new Bell and Howell. Model 202, 16mm sound projector is self-contained. It also houses a dubbing device. Any sound film can be adapted to the local dialect of Hariana, Rohtak, Moga, Majha and Fazilka. The original sound can be suppressed and the new commentary made semi-permanent or permanent. The same film can be used again by demagnetising the scotch tape and making it ready for a fresh commentary.

But it requires men with a flair for exciting programmes. Appointing I.C.S., I.A.S., P.C.S. men or political big shots for this adaptation is the one sure way to wreck the scheme. We have General Cariappa telling the students of the Presidency College, Madras that films are silly, stupid and naughty. He made an earnest appeal to boys and girls to refrain from seeing them. Does the good General believe that you can stop a swollen river by throwing in a thousand sand-bags in its path ?

"It will be the business of the Bharat Sevak Samaj to ask the Planning Commission to allocate a few lacs to set up an independent non-party audio-visual unit in charge of a practical psychologist, who knows the Indian conditions and the work.

"If the Bharat Sevak Samaj gets no equipment for this great drive, then we will know it is a bastard baby. An orphan left to the storms. This acid test of funds will call the bluff. At any rate the public should know where it stands *vis-a-vis* the new schemes."

"Here are the eight big avenues of activity. I have commented upon some aspects and given concrete details. I leave it to others to send their plans and suggestions on any item that attracts them. Only a congenital idiot would undertake to comment on all the aspects. He would prove beyond all doubt that he was a jack of all trades , in short a mere dabbler. In a national, creative and constructive scheme we should keep these sly birds with tarred feathers, at a safe distance.

(1) *Economic Development* : (*a*) Construction-building, roads, wells, bunds, houses for community purpose, etc. (*b*) Assisting the development of co-operatives and Panchayats. (*c*) Assisting the development of cottage and village industries. (*d*) Austerity and savings drive. (*e*) Protection of crops and (*f*) Cattle improvement.

(A) Roads

An Engineer with trained P.W.D. coolies can do all the coaching and teaching necessary.

The villagers and other people don't have to be coaxed to join in. Set the example, wield the axe, dig the road and laugh at the sweat.

After a week's suspicious watching the others will clamour to join in.

Chorus songs may be sung while the workers steadily swing the shovels.

A movie of this pilot project is essential. This film with the sound dubbing and the songs can then be shown within a radius of the surrounding 400 villages. It will create the right type of atmosphere for public co-operation on which Shri Inamdar, an old worker, lays so much stress.

(B) Panchayats

Let us face it frankly. The village panchayat is, today, a great farce. Countless jokes are made about it and taunts are flung at it. Why ? Because the panchayat comprise a lot of foolish illiterate people led by selfish greedy sharks. It depicts the old problem which worried Goldsmith : Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey, Where wealth accumulates and men decay. We must get a better selection. Academic degrees are no test of sound sense. The illiterate villager can teach us a lot. The shrewdness of the jat is proverbial.

The village has to be gathered at one spot. Trust the tape recorder, with the local *kawali* singers to do that. Lectures by pompous parrots are not wanted. We must draw out the villagers into a healthy discussion.

Leaders must realise that it is futile to thrust axioms of virtue down resisting throats.

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We must teach them without tears through fables and stories.

Now like sunlight, you can't take the panchayat and its work for granted. They have to be gently taught and made to practise the broad principles of discussion and debate at their council meetings."

"Co-operative Societies : Their advantages can be driven home through excellent films which explain this idea through concrete pictures.

(C) Cottage and Village Industries

Our villager is notoriously lazy. He works like a mule for 4 months in the year and then time hangs idle on his hands. So he gets busy in thinking, cracking walnuts and heads, gambling, spending spare time in jail, and when out, producing kids.

New horizons can be opened for him by showing him films on vocational training, industries and crafts. He can thus choose the trade that appeals to him most and seek further information about it.

(D) Austerity and Savings Drive

I am against cutting down meals. All this talk about 'miss a meal' is rubbish. A cheap publicity stunt that has paid good dividends to its authors. Wasting food or preventing waste is a different thing altogether. Where is the austerity drive when you are asked to give up the wheat ration, and stuff your belly with sweets, cream and butter and fruits, until the belly bursts.

(E) Protection of Crops

Extermination of rats, insects and vermin. Here is a sharp focus target for all of us. Traps, poison pills and Gammexene powders can be supplied to the workers, and a record kept of the pests and vermin killed.

Have you ever given a thought to the naughty monkey?

He easily accounts for 10 per cent destruction of crops. Do you know that our food shortage in spite of the huge baby crop is only 10 per cent?

So long as we continue to cloak him with religious sentiments, and allow him the upper hand, we may safely bid good bye to crop protection schemes.

Godowns and Moisture : Think of the grain, cereals, rice and flour bags ruined and yearly consigned in the godowns. These things rarely come to light. Who would publicly cut off his nose to spite his face? Moisture seeps in from the ground. The rain pours down the walls. The white ants get through the window. Remember it is a free country where everybody must have his merry fling. Public godowns or Government granaries are not your father's property. So why bother to take the precautions. We must dissipate these clouds of false freedom. Heads of volunteers must cement the floors and lay their bricks for making secure these community vaults. Then there will be no need for us to go abroad with a beggar's bowl asking for aids and alms."

Pakistan and USSR

The Karachi *Dawn,* organ of the Pakistan Government, blamed India for the deadlock in the talks on Kashmir held in Geneva, in an editorial on September 16. The paper charged the United Nations, the United States and the United Kingdom for inaction and asserted that U.N. Kashmir representative Dr. Graham was "not quite a free agent." The editorial said :

> "The time is opportune for the Soviet Union to take a bold initiative in the Security Council on the Kashmir question with a view to ensuring to the people of that long enslaved territory, the right of free choice in a wholly impartial plebiscite."

The Soviet Union was reminded that she stood to lose nothing by making such a move even though her proposals are defeated.

Commenting on the suggestions made by the *Dawn,* the *Leader* writes that though Pakitsan will make an excellent camp follower to Mr. Stalin, "he cannot fail to remember that in February, 1951, the United States and Britain submitted to the Security Council a resolution containing the demand that foreign troops should be sent to Kashmir. Kashmir would have been reduced to the status of an Anglo-American protectorate if this resolution had been enforced. India and the USSR opposed it but Pakistan welcomed it and denounced the USSR representative for opposing the proposal. Chaudhuri Khaliquzzaman said :

> 'The Soviet has chosen to give this blow at a very critical time and its consequences are bound to be fatal to our cause' . . ."

In view of these antecedents, concludes the *Leader,* the USSR is not going to be favourably disposed towards the Pakistani suggestion.

In this connection the following comments, with its extracts from the *Dawn,* are very cogent :

"What is life like behind the curtain of secrecy Russia has dropped between herself and the free world?

A prominent tuberculosis specialist from Lahore, Dr. Riaz Ali Shah, got an unusual opportunity to probe this question recently when he visited Russia with a Pakistani medical mission. His impressions have been recorded in a series of aritcles written for *Dawn.*

Ali Shah notes he found few traces of the Islamic religion, despite Rusian assurances that religious liberty is guaranteed by the constitution of the USSR. He bases his conclusion upon personal visits to Alma-Ata, a city in the Kazakh Republic, and to Tashkent, leading city of the Republic of Uzbek.

'Although Alma-Ata has been a Muslim town for centuries, not a single mosque was in sight,' Ali Shah says, adding : 'Whether the Muslims have come to hate their mosques so much as to have demolished them, or they have disappeared because of the ravages of time or politics, I cannot say.'

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Describing the mission's visit to Tashkent, Ali Shah says : 'We learned that one mosque still exists in the old town which is opened for prayers on Fridays only, but in spite of our repeated requests we could not see it.'

Religion may have been abolished in Russia, says Ali Shah, 'but a new religion has taken its place with Lenin and Stalin as its prophets.'

Summarising the variance between Russia's proclaimed benevolence toward religion and the actual conditions he found, Ali Shah says : 'I was told that religious liberty was assured in the constitution of the USSR, but Marxism is a compulsory subject in schools and colleges and no other religious teaching is permitted.' Ali Shah says he found a pronounced tendency among official Russians to encourage campaigns which ridiculed Americans and their craftsmanship. He thinks the tendency 'rather absurd' in view of the considerable amount of American medical equipment being used in Russia today. He also notes that 'the Russian ambassadors in Karachi and Kabul prefer American cars instead of their own.'

Blended with this antipathy toward America is the close check Russian officials keep on news from the free world, Ali Shah says. He cites the following experience of the Pakistani mission during a visit outside the Moscow area : 'We were anxious to hear Radio Pakistan and tried to tune in the radio set of the guest house. It was a strange coincidence that here as well as in the Hotel Metropole in Moscow the knobs for adjustment of the overseas short wave stations were missing. Only Radio Moscow could be tuned in.'

Ali Shah says that this enforced xenophobia among Russians was also evidenced in the fact that the mission was 'not allowed to see the private lodgings of factory workers, doctors or nurses . .. Nor were we asked to tea or a meal by any doctor or other Russian citizen.'

Ali Shah notes that unfavourable comments about Russia have little chance of appearing in the Russian press. He points out that on the day before the mission left Russia it gave a frank account of its impressions to the Moscow press. The interview was not published."

Adversity makes strange bed-fellows, we know, and following the stoppage of stock-pile buying, there is a slump in the export trade of Pakistan. And there is also a disturbance in her food supply.

People Starving in Sind

The *Bombay Chronicle* of September 16, 1952, published a *PTI* despatch from Karachi quoting the report from the *Dawn* that people were starving in Umarkot (Sind). Umarkot—birth place of the Moghul Emperor, Akbar—is in Tharparkar district.

China in the Toils?

Our amity with China and her people, has lasted over a millennium and a half almost, ever since the days when our Buddhist monks under Kumarajiva went to China, to spread the Message and the Law, over the land route. As such, we cannot break off just because China is in the control of a group whose political viewpoint is not at all fours with ours. This is a puzzling matter for the Westerners, but most Asiatics, in whom the call of kinship and friendship establishes stronger bonds, would easily understand.

Matters are different when another great nation, which is partly Asiatic in its cultural heritage and geographical situation, is concerned. This nation has imbibed Western imperialism too deeply, ever since the time of Peter the Great, to be regarded with much complacence.

Latterly the close relationship between the two has caused some uneasiness, specially as China has pushed her frontiers right up to our borders. We still have no active cause for suspicion, but the latest news from China, regarding her negotiations with Russia, at Moscow, has increased that uneasiness. Regarding the negotiations, the *Newsweek* of New York made the following forecast in its issue of September 1 :

The Russian-Chinese negotiations promised to bring results more quickly than the other Moscow developments. What were they about? Moscow revealed only that Chou and his aides had conferred with Stalin and top Soviet officials. Nonetheless, it was possible to put together a reasonably definitive picture of the chief issues in the negotiations :

The Korean war naturally would be a topic of discussion. But it seemed unlikely that it was the chief topic or that it was the reason for calling the meeting. No North Koreans participated in the talks, and Korea was not mentioned in a Peking radio broadcast on the agenda. If either the Russians or the Chinese planned surprise measures to broaden the war, then the talks certainly would have been secret. Nor was there any sign that the Reds had a solution to the impasse in the armistice negotiations. However, a major peace propaganda drive may be under consideration. Next month a so-called "Asian and Pacific Peace Congress" will be staged in Peking.

Japan is now officially rearming in virtual alliance with the U.S. This might be construed as bringing into force the 1950 Russian-Chinese treaty. It provides for mutual action against aggression by Japan or any powers allied with Japan. So far, however, the Reds have contented themselves with using Japanese Communists for instigating riots and other violence while Japanese businesmen were wooed with trade offers. The Peking Peace Congress may try to put new pressure on the Japanese.

The Changchun Railway, Dairen, and Port Arthur will certainly be the subject of negotiations as to whether the Russians relinquish their interests as per

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promise or whether they retain some control in return for economic or military aid. Few observers can see the Soviets voluntarily relinquishing such installations as the Dairen submarine pens.

Sinkiang, Tibet, and Inner Mongolia are buffer areas between China proper and the Soviet Union. The question must arise as to whether they eventually will become puppets of the Russians as has Outer Mongolia.

Economic help to China, in the opinion of most observers, was one of the two chief reasons for the Moscow meeting. The 1950 agreement provided for Soviet aid to China for five years at a tiny $60,000,000 per year. China presumably has had to pay, in some form or other, for Russian armament used in the Korean war. That conflict has put additional heavy strains on the Chinese economy. Also, a convulsive campaign against businessmen brought commerce and industry close to a standstill for most of the first half of this year.

The latest news, as released by *Tass* on September 15, and quoted below, show that the *Newsweek* forecast was substantially correct :

"Russia and Communist China have agreed, in an exchange of Notes, to 'the extension of the common use of the Chinese military and naval base of Port Arthur' on the Yellow Sea, 200 miles west of Korea.

"The Soviet news agency, *Tass*, which announced this, also announced that agreement had been reached between the Russian Government and the Chinese delegation led by Mr. Chou En-lai, the Premier, under which Russia would hand over without payment full ownership of the Chinese Changchung Railway. The Changchung Railway, over 1,000 miles long, runs from Lupin (Manchuli), close to the Russian border with Manchuria, down to Dairen and Port Arthur on the Yellow Sea, west of Korea. It runs within 100 miles of the Manchurian-Korean border.

"*Tass* said, the Sino-Russian talks covered 'important political and economic questions.' The discussions were held 'in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding,' the agency said. 'They confirmed the resolve of both parties to use all efforts to strengthen and develop friendship and co-operation between the two countries and at the same time to further, in every way possible, the preservation and strengthening of peace and international security. The Soviet Government and the Government of the Chinese Republic have now taken measures to carry out this agreement and with this aim in view have agreed to form a joint Soviet-Chinese commission. The joint commission must complete the transfer of the railway not later than December 31, 1952, the agency said.

"The text of Mr. Chou En-lai's Note to M. Vyshinsky was given by *Tass* as follows :

'Conditions dangerous to the cause of peace and favourable to a repetition of Japanese aggression have been created as a result of Japan's refusal to conclude a multi-lateral peace treaty after she had concluded a separate peace treaty with the U.S.A. and several other States.

'Japan has thus no peace treaty with the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union, and obviously does not desire it.

'In view of the above and with a view to preserving peace, also on the strength of the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Aid between the Chinese People's Republic and the USSR, the Government of the Chinese Republic suggests and requests the Soviet Government to agree to defer the date of the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from the jointly operated Chinese naval base at Port Arthur as provided in Article 2 of the Sino-Soviet agreement regarding Port Arthur, pending conclusion of peace treaties between the Chinese People's Republic and Japan and the Soviet Union and Japan.

'In the event of the Soviet Government agreeing to the foregoing proposal of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic, the present Note and your Note in reply shall be treated as an integral part of the agreement of February 14, 1950, between the Chinese People's Republic and the USSR regarding the naval base of Port Arthur'."

The position of Japan was clarified in the following news-release which appeared in the daily press on September 17 :

"In Tokyo, a Japanese Foreign Office spokesman said that Japan was 'ready at any time' to conclude a peace treaty with Russia 'if the terms were the same or better than those of the San Francisco treaty.' The spokesman, Mr. Kakitsubo, was commenting on the Chinese-Soviet agreement.

"Of Moscow radio's reference to Japan's 'refusal' to sign a treaty with Russia and the People's Republic of China, the spokesman said : 'We have never refused to sign a treaty with Russia because Russia has never asked us to sign one'."

It is to be seen as to how far the Dragon can keep itself out of the suzerainty of the Bear.

Is China Self-sufficient in Food?

The recent food exports of China to India and other friendly countries has given the world an idea that the Chinese People's Government has been able to solve the most vital problem affecting that State. But the following extracts, taken from an article in the *People* of New Delhi in its September 20 issue, gives a totally different picture :

"Dr. Kumarappa was simply swept off his feet at the spectacle of the new opulence. Ex-Ambassador Panikkar lectured to the Congress M.P.s on how Chinese Communists solved their food problem. Mrs. Pandit told the U.P. Congress legislators that within a short time China has increased her food production

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so much that from a deficit country she has become an exporter of food.

In all such utterances, the claim to speak and write and propagate for China is based not on a study of Communism in general and of Chinese agricultural developments in particular, but on short trips to that country organised by her rulers and so filled with fete and receptions that there is hardly any time left for studies.

Physical locomotion can never replace painstaking study of facts, and sifting, comparing and evaluating of evidence. Globe-trotters are not the best judges of a country's affairs.

Increased food production in China is a myth, but it is one of those myths which overtakes the world from time to time and are believed in spite of all facts to the contrary. A study of Chinese economic literature reveals a deficit instead of a surplus. The following table gives the production in successive years :

Index Number of Food Production in China

	Per cent
1931-37	100
1946	91
1947	92
1948	94
1949	89
1950	87
1951	93.0

The figures are quoted in a U. N. publication, *Statistical Yearbook*, 1951, and *World Economic Report*, 1950-51, but they are confirmed by Chinese Communist sources as well. According to *China Reconstruct*, May-June issue, a Chinese propaganda publication, we have the following :

Chinese Food Production

	1936	1950	1951
Foodstuffs	100	87	92.8
Rice	100	96.5	99.4
Wheat	100	80.4	88.5
Soya bean	100	58.9	63.3

These figures speak for themselves. Food production in 1950 and 1951 is lower than production in 1930s under Chiang when the Sino-Japanese war had not broken out and the country still enjoyed a measure of peace.

If production is again rising—though not reaching the pre-war level yet—the reason is not Chinese Communism, but conditions of peace that have returned as a result of the Japanese defeat in the war.

In fact, the above figures do not reveal the full deficit. Figures for 1950 and 1951 are unverified Communist claims. They also include figures for Manchuria which is now called the North East.

Pre-war figures exclude Manchuria, Jehol and certain other areas. It is significant that the main increases claimed have taken place in the North."

"No wonder with a larger population to support on a lower level of production, consumption standards have fallen below pre-war. According to *Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East*, average food supplies available for human consumption and the energy-value that food represents are as follows :

Per Capita Food Consumption

China (22 provinces)	Cereals kilogram	Calories
1934-38	171.6	2226
1948-49	165.1	2172
1949-50	153.0	2020

The figures reveal that average consumption has been declining. The figures do not say that these quantities are availed by the consumers, but are computed on the basis of available supply of food and equitable distribution. Inequality which is prevalent even under Communism depresses these figures still more so far as the masses of people are concerned."

"The Communist surplus export is as spurious as their food self-sufficiency. The fact is that in a dictatorial country, where people cannot give a damn to their rulers, it is possible for grain production to fall and grain export to rise. We have the example of Soviet Russia. From 1929 to 1933, while grain production was falling catastrophically causing a widespread famine, Soviet authorities continued to export grain in ever larger quantity. In fact, in 1928 on the eve of the new harvest when the peasants were not yet collectivised and Communist control over them was not complete, the Soviet Government was forced to import 12 million poods from abroad. But all this changed as soon as the collectives were instituted. Grain began flowing in the coffers of the Government.

Because China is a police state, she has been able to 'solve' her food problem while we have failed. What is the nature of the food problem ? It is a city problem. Enough food does not come forth from the rural side to feed the urban areas.

In India, Communists preach rationing in the towns, and the abandoning of procurement in the villages. They agitate for a low selling price in towns and high price for the farmer. In this vote-catching campaign, other political parties also join. In a Communist country, where all opposition has been silenced no such difficulties arise. There it is possible to organise forced deliveries out of the peasants at confiscatory prices to any amount.

We have the example of Soviet Russia. In 1928 and 1938 production of grain was about the same (if we make allowance for the change in the method of computation introduced in 1932), that is, about 74 million tons ; while the Government share during this period increased from 630 million poods to 2,300 million poods, or 375 per cent."

It does seem somewhat strange that China could solve her food problem so much quicker than the Soviets did, taking into consideration the immensely greater pressure of population of her soil. But enthusiasts and biassed professors have a method of their own in proving the unlikely.

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The Soviet Fifth Five-Year Plan

The Soviet fifth five-year plan is made public some eighteen months after the completion of the first post-war plan, although its ultimate targets have remained secret. The plan envisages a rise over the five years of about sixty per cent in national income and seventy per cent in the gross output of industry. This comes to about average annual increases of 10 per cent in the national income and 12 per cent in gross industrial production. The pattern of development of Soviet basic production has not undergone any radical change in the new plan. The output of heavy industry, like that of coal, electricity and pig iron will increase on an average during the four years slightly more than last year. The average annual rise in oil production—about 7 million tons—is considerably higher and only in steel there has been a fall in production from about 4 to some 3½ million tons. Among the basic industries, steel seems to be the only one where a temporary stage of diminishing returns has started and the rate of expansion is substantially slowed down—least for pig iron and most for crude oil. Possibly steel production capacity has outstripped its supply of raw materials. But the output of electricity and that of oil are increasing substantially. The Soviet plan is vigorously maintaining the rhythm of development in heavy industry. The following comparative table will give an idea about the rate of growth of Soviet industries.

Per Capita Production

(kilograms)

	1951					1955
			West			USSR
	USA	UK	Germany	France	USSR	planned
Coal	3500	4500	2480	1250	1384	1730
Oil	2050	1	29	7	208	325
Electricity*	2468	1199	1070	850	500	756
Pig iron	426	197	223	206	109	159
Steel	635	317	281	232	154	206

The per capita output, however, tells only a part of the story. It is important for the standard of life, but for economic potential. In potential resources of coal, oil, electricity, pig iron and crude oil, the USSR comes next to the USA and holds the balance well against the combined current output of the United Kingdom, France and Germany.

The fifth five-year plan aims at reducing slowly the West's advantage in economic potential to such levels as to counterbalance its strategic importance with overwhelming production.

Planned economy is the order of the day and it presupposes elimination of competition—competition with similar products on institutional basis. Of course, there is competition in planned economy—but it is qualitative. Competition in planned economy is complementary and is directed towards improving the rate of productivity and the quality as well. Although there has been no novel departures in the fifth five-year plan, there is a certain shift in emphasis: a fuel-saving campaign and the substitution of electricity for other fuels; plans for speeding up the production of timber and building materials; efforts to achieve self-sufficiency in non-ferrous metals through the development of home deposits and of synthetic substitutes, and great emphasis is placed on the output of the engineering industry. The heavy industry receives greater attention, yet the consumer goods industries are not being neglected. If the output of producers' goods is to rise by over 80 per cent in the five years, that of consumer goods is to increase by over 60 per cent. There are still more ambitious plans for agriculture. For 1955 the new plan envisages an output of between 175 and 187 million tons of grain. That is, for the next three years the Soviet grain harvest should increase on average by at least 15 million tons a year.

The previous plans owed their success to a large extent to a continued expansion of the industrial labour force. Thus by 1950 industrial production rose by 73 per cent than in 1940, and during the same period the number of workers and employees increased by somewhere between 6,700,000 and 8,800,000 or by 20 to 30 per cent. Under the new plan, the number of workers and employees is to be increased from 39.2 million to 43.7 million, or by only 15 per cent. Consequently, productivity will have to rise by about 50 per cent in actuality and not merely on paper, if the plan is to be completed.

Priority of development will now be given to the Urals, Siberia, the Volga area, the Far East and Central Asia. A salient feature of post-war Soviet development is the eastward shift of industry. An indirect indication may be assumed by the intended expansion of the production of non-ferrous metals, since their deposits are located chiefly in the Urals or further east. During the new plan, the 'output of nickel is to rise by 50 per cent, that of tin by over 75 per cent; copper production is to be nearly doubled, that of zinc is to increase one and a half times, while the output of lead and aluminium is to be increased even by higher percentages. The rapidly growing chemical industry is to help by providing Ersatz non-ferrous metals and synthetic rubber.

The Soviet Union will by 1955 produce twice as many woollen fabrics, and twice as much sugar and fats as in 1940; the output of cotton goods will exceed the prewar level by three quarters and the output of shoes by a half. These are large increases even allowing for the growth of population. The Soviet consumer will have during the five-year period about 20 per cent more of clothing, shoes and sugar. The plan refers to closer co-operation with the countries of the Soviet bloc and to the development of relations with all countries which wish to develop trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Russia at present

*K. W. H.

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is not importing consumer goods from outside and it remains to be seen whether she really intends to buy consumer goods from the West or whether the gap between domestic production and the promised supplies is to be accounted for only by Czech shoes and Polish textiles. It may however be pointed out that the planned supply of consumer goods may fall far short of the promised land of plenty of the Communist millennium or even of the American standard. Russians could, however, make quite favourable comparisons with most European countries and if the targets are reached it will almost look like plenty to the Russians who have not yet forgotten the appalling conditions of war and its aftermath.

Grow More Food Schemes

The Grow More Food Enquiry Committee, which was appointed by the Government of India in February 1952, has submitted its report to the Government. The Committee has referred to the basic fact of the enormous volume of unemployment and disguised unemployment existing in the agricultural economy of India and the pressure of steadily increasing population on the soil. It points out that in unirrigated areas the cultivator can find work in farming operations for three to four months a year and in irrigated areas, the period of employment is from six to eight months a year. The result is that nearly four-fifths of the agricultural population is unemployed or under-employed for roughly two-thirds of the year and the remaining one-fifth is idle for about four months a year. Besides this colossal waste of man power, the Committee refers to the large number of agriculturists who are surplus to the land and are attached to it merely because there are no other alternative occupations. Moreover, there is an annual addition to the rural population by about three millions every year. The Committee observes that the solution for this evil, so deep-seated in our economy, has to be sought in the concurrent adoption of a two-fold programme: firstly, rationalisation of agriculture, that is, maximisation of production in terms of yield per acre by steady improvement in agricultural methods and promotion of intensive cultivation, and, secondly, drawing away of surplus labour force from land into cottage industries, small-scale industries and large-scale industries and tertiary occupations. The Committee further states that the movement for village development will gain the requisite momentum only if a portion of the vast unutilised energy in the countryside is harnessed and utilised for the benefit of the country.

The above observations of the Committee with regard to the predominance of agriculture in Indian economy and too much dependence of the people on the limited output of the soil make no new suggestion. It is more than obvious that there should be shift in the pattern of our occupation by transferring a large number of people from primary to secondary and tertiary occupations. These suggestions are too old to require any further explanation. What is required is realisation of these points in fact. The problem is who is to do that and how that can be acquired. It is a pity that a country where seventy per cent of the population are cultivators goes abegging in the countries of the world with a beggar's bowl seeking charity in foodgrains. The primitive system of our cultivation, lack of agricultural finance, lack of secondary occupation, too much dependence on lands and low fertility of the soil are some of the major drawbacks of Indian agriculture. What is required is a revolutionary change in our entire agrarian system and redistribution of land with planned cultivation based on large-scale mechanised farming. The other sectors of the economy should also be reorganised so as to absorb surplus people from agriculture. These are imperative needs of Indian economy. But how that can be achieved? That is the problem which defies all solution unless the entire might and resources of the State are brought together to force a speedy solution. We have had too many committees, too many reports during the last half a century—but little effective action. Even the Grow More Food Campaign itself is a failure. Herein lies the weakness of a democracy which flourishes on the ruins of a conservative and reactionary bureaucracy whose spirit still pervades the entire structure of our Government. A report on planned economy becomes meaningless unless a new spirit resuscitates India into a granary of the East. Why not? India's potentiality in natural and economic resources are surpassed in the world only by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. A country so rich in resources is so poor in realisation and the numerous *reports* and *committees* are the banes of democracy where red-tapism dies hard even in the changed structure! No amount of explanation will conceal the fact that India's economic ills are being treated with half-hearted measures and haphazard plans which do not strike at the roots. The plan to make India self-sufficient in food production has been pushed back to 1955 as it is said that nature and man conspired to defeat the Government's earlier efforts in that direction. The target of self-sufficiency is continuously being shifted from year to year because of the floods in Assam and drought in Bihar, and the like. But it should have been remembered that in a tropical country like ours, such events are normal attendants of our economic life and sufficient allowances should have been made for that. Nature is made a scapegoat for man's failure. Giving its verdict on the Grow More Food Campaign, the Committee observes that it has not fully achieved the results expected of it. It is a poor consolation to note that the two main reasons for its failure are the narrow and restricted scope of the campaign and the various changes in emphasis made from time to time in its objectives. It is grati-

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fying that the Committee realises that the food problem is a much wider one than mere elimination of food imports. It is the problem of bringing about such large expansion of agricultural production as will assure to an increasing population progressively rising levels of nutrition.

The Committee recommends that the Grow More Food Campaign should be enlarged so as to become a part of a wider plan for development of village life in all its aspects on a permanent basis. At the commencement, the campaign was directed towards achieving self-sufficiency in foodgrains. A few years later shortage of industrial raw materials became acute, an integrated programme of production of foodgrains, cotton and jute was announced. Other additions followed in quick succession—the "key village" scheme for improvement of livestock; emphasis on fisheries' development; the extension movement; "land transformation," etc. All these indicated a recognition that the programme of integrated production would not stand by itself. But no significant changes were introduced in its operation. There was a failure to realise that all aspects of our agricultural economics are inter-related and improvements could not be split up into a number of detached programmes working independently. Moreover, the finances and supplies in shape of fertilisers, good seed, etc., available for the campaign, were inadequate. Even these resources were distributed too thinly over large regions, instead of being concentrated in the favourable areas.

The Grow More Food Campaign has touched only a small percentage of our population and has not aroused widespread enthusiasm so as to become a national movement. It was regarded as a temporary campaign for the achievement of self-sufficiency and as such the larger holders were induced by subsidies and other forms of assistance to take up improved agricultural technique. The administrative set-up was on temporary basis and unless the scheme is placed on permanent basis, there is little hope for the future.

Trade, Not Aid

The Bretton Woods twins—the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development recently held their annual meetings. These twins were to have been the means to a new expansionism, as well as a new security, in the trade of the nations. The achievement so far of these institutions have belied the hopes that were raised at the time of their formation and inauguration as well. At that time the late Lord Keynes remarked that they would be useful to the people of the world, provided they are not turned into political weapons by major countries of the world. Exactly that prophecy has now come to be true and they are now regarded as more or less the national preserves of the U.S.A. The return to free trade is now a far-away objective and the International Monetary Fund has not been able to solve the problem of persistent post-war trade deficits of a large number of countries. The IMF is designed to function as an international clearing house and also as the lender, in the last resort, in case of adverse balance of payments position. But its operations so far are not so hopeful and for various factors it has not been able to prove itself worthy of the task entrusted upon it. Gradually it is fading into isolationism and no wonder if it goes the way of its former counterpart, the Bank for International Settlement, (Basle). This declining importance is all the more evident by Mr. Butler's absence from this year's session. He remained in London in order to prepare for the economic discussions at the coming conference of Commonwealth Ministers. It suggests that the of Commonwealth Ministers. It suggests that the in the British Government's view, than the international financial meeting.

The IMF has failed so far to restore the free trade among the nations and what is being done by it is mere extension of short-term accommodation to help member countries to meet their international obligations on current trade account. Of course, that is one of its main functions. But the Fund was expected to restore the free trade as laid down in the Havana Trade Charter. Instead, the changing pattern in international trade, namely, the bilateral trade, has become a common feature in the commerce of nations. International payments arrangements on barter basis has minimised much of the importance of the International Monetary Fund. Further, most of the member countries do not see eye to eye with the various opinions held by the IMF. The general devaluation in 1949 marks a turning point since when the Fund's influence is on the wane. The devaluation has been an ill-considered and ill-advised step and anyway it has failed to achieve the object for which devaluation was made. Devaluation was a mere stop-gap device and it has worsened the situation rather than improving it. Further, the IMF is more or less a detached onlooker in the worldwide adverse trade balance and as a result, countries do not now much turn to it in their adversity, but fall back on their own resources to tackle the problem. The Fund's gold policy is also a failure in so far as the official price of gold is not adjusted with the market price or *vice versa*. The pegging of gold price has not cured the inflation.

The IBRD, however, is doing some useful services to the member countries within its limited spheres.

Development Programme for Jute Industry

'Recently problems of jute industry were discussed at a meeting convened by the Planning Commission where representatives of the Indian Jute Mills Association and of the Ministries of Commerce and Industry and Food and Agriculture were present. In

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the course of the discussions, the capacity of the 112 jute mills in India was estimated at 12 lakh tons per year on the basis of single-shift operation and 48-hour week. Actual production was below the installed capacity in post-partition era. The production was 892,000 tons in 1950-51 and 900,000 tons during the eleven months ending February 1952, as against 1,140,200 tons in 1945-46. The importance of export markets for the jute industry was indicated by exports of jute manufactures which came to 809,000 tons valued at Rs. 270 crores in 1951-52.

The main difficulty of the jute industry just after partition was the shortage of raw jute supply as India lost the most important jute-growing area. High prices charged for Pakistan jute as a result of devaluation of Indian rupee after September 1949, also added to the difficulties of the industry.

For overcoming the problem of raw jute shortage, the Five-year Plan contemplates an increase in the production of jute within the country and domestic supplies are expected to icrease to 53 lakh bales by 1955-56. The supply of jute would be supplemented by another 10 lakh bales of mesta at the end of the planning period. The representatives of jute industry stressed the importance of the yield as well as improving the quality of Indian jute. Improved quality of jute is essential in view of the need for maintaining the industry's position in the export markets, particularly in the U.S.A. Improvement in quality could be achieved by more intensive propaganda among the cultivators in West Bengal and Bihar. *A drastic shake-up of the officials in control in West Bengal is also indicated. There is much rottenness there.*

In a recent statement by Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh, the Union Minister of Agriculture, it was revealed that India's production of raw jute has increased considerably. In the five years after partition, India's jute production has increased from 1.7 million bales from an acreage of 650,000 to 4.8 million bales from an acreage of 2 million. This is a remarkable achievement, no doubt. The factors which are responsible for this spectacular increase are subsidized supplies of good quality seed and fertilizers; practical demonstration of their usefulness to cultivators' propaganda in favour of line sowing and for the control of disease and pest in the jute plant; and removal of control over the prices of raw jute. Another stimulant for the increased output of this commercial crop is a good steady price with an assured offtake. For this some credit should go to the Indian Central Jute Committee. Dr. Deshmukh gave assurance about the adequate supplies of raw jute for the future and of the industry's escape from the catastrophes which threatened to overwhelm it a few years ago.

The future programme of the jute industry aims at a production target of 11 lakh tons of jute manufactures in 1952-53 and 12 lakh tons by 1955-56. The domestic consumption of jute manufactures was estimated at 175,000 tons in 1952-53 and 2 lakh tons by 1955-56. Indian jute industry would have to face severe competition in foreign markets from Pakistan and the modernised mills on the Continent and in the U.K., and it was generally agreed that the country should aim at an export target of 925,000 tons by 1952-53 and of 10 lakh tons by 1955-56.

Bharat Sevak Samaj

The people of India will soon be provided with a forum for rendering service to country through a broad-based, non-political, voluntary social service agency, the establishment of which has been proposed in the near future by the Planning Commission. The organisation shall be called the "Bharat Sevak Samaj." The membership to this body will be open to all adults irrespective of caste, creed, sex, religion and party affiliations. Those who profess faith in violent or subversive activities or communal hatred cannot be taken as members to this organisation.

The functions of the Samaj would be to approach the people "in humility of spirit and with the intense desire to bring about, with our common labour, that joint effort which can shake and break up a mountain of inertia." The genesis of the idea of the Bharat Sevak Samaj may be traced to the Draft Outline of the Five-year Plan which emphasises the need for willing, intelligent and effective public co-operation if the Plan is to succeed. The Commission observes that the fulfilment of a plan of economic development rests very much on the capacity of the community to transmute this common social outlook and the deep aspirations of the people for progress into a living force and its use for constructive purposes. The Bharat Sevak Samaj would be a volunteer institution through which this living force could be canalised into constructive effort. Although the proposed organisation will not be tied to the Party in power, but since whatever it can accomplish would strengthen the foundations of the State and further the fulfilment of its obligations to the community, it will be found worthy of the fullest recognition and support by the Union as well as by the State Governments.

The range of activities of the Samaj will comprehend all aspects of the community welfare. In the initial stages of its existence only urgent tasks will be undertaken by it, and the food problem must be given the highest priority. Other activities will include organisation of public opinion against anti-social practices, formation of community centres, organising the youth for the service of the community, improvement of relations between the people and the Government by striving for quicker redress of public grievances, prevention of disease, anti-malarial campaign, etc.

Fullest possible decentralisation will be a cardinal feature of the Samaj. The basic unit will be the village and the subsequent tiers will be identical with

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the administrative divisions in the country. The organisation and the activities of the Samaj will follow the following principles :

(1) A common platform for the service of the nation will be provided irrespective of caste, creed, or political belief or affiliations.

(2) Any use of the organisation or its activities for political or communal purposes will be strictly forbidden.

(3) The principle of decentralisation will be applied to the utmost extent, the basic unit for the purpose of administration being a village or a compact locality in a town. Care will be taken to secure full play for the initiative and enthusiasm of the people in each local area. Control and direction of the work of the branches will be exercised only for the purpose of co-ordination, efficiency and economy.

(4) Every endeavour will be made to secure the fullest co-ordination and collaboration between the Samaj and the official or non-official agencies working in the same field.

(5) Funds required for activities in any particular areas will be collected in that area, as far as possible.

(6) The principle of co-operation will be applied and developed as fully as possible in the activities organised by the Samaj. Community centres will be established wherever possible and organisations of producers as well as consumers will be encouraged to give expression to this principle in every aspect of group life.

Rise in Industrial Production

"Industrial production in India, according to an official review, was buoyant in the first half of this year. At the end of April, the latest month for which indices of production are available, the general index of production was 133.3 against 117.4 in 1951. This is stated to have established a record for the post-war period, being 33.3 per cent higher than in 1946. If the same trend continues in the second half of the year, production in 1952 is likely to show a further appreciable improvement over the previous year.

"Taking into account actual output in the first half, production in the full year, it is stated, can be estimated as follows: Cotton piecegoods, 4,330m yds. (against 4,080m yds. in 1951); jute manufactures, nearly 1m tons (873,000 tons in 1951); cement 3.4m tons (3.2m tons); steel, 1,100,000 tons (1,072,000 tons); and paper, 134,000 tons (131,000 tons). Besides this prospect of improvement in the private sector, various nationalized industrial schemes have also made progress during this period. Production in the Sindri fertilizer factory is increasing. The target of 100,000 tons of ammonium sulphate per day is expected to be reached within this year. The Vishakapatnam shipbuilding yard has started a big programme of shipbuilding.

"Construction work on the Machine Tool Factory at Bangalore is proceeding apace. Arrangements have been made to set up oil refineries. Steel companies are actively pursuing proposals to expand production."

A note of caution should however be sounded. These are half-yearly figures and there occur many snags which may impede the uniform rate of production for the rest of the year. The textile and the sugar industries have been behaving rather strangely for the last few years. A good period of production is generally followed by closing down of some of the mills and factories on the ground that there has not been sufficient offtake. This is most unhappy as the seller is allowed to dictate the price and the supply as well at his convenience and to his advantage. It is rather premature to estimate the volume of annual production on the basis of half-yearly production. State industries will, no doubt, maintain their rate of production.

It may also be pointed out that production in some private sectors has recorded a decline, as, soda ash, diesel engines, sheet glass, woollen manufactures, etc. The fall in the production of soda ash will affect the manufacture of paper and its supply may on that account suffer.

If production really increases, the authorities should take steps so that domestic consumption does not suffer. It is now-a-days a practice to allow export to sterling area countries by starving the domestic market, and although the apparent gain from export is very negligible, the internal consumption suffers giving rise to black marketing and inflationary tendencies. Adequate supply to internal needs will lower the prices and ultimately the export prices will also come down.

In this connection the hopeful note sounded by the Commerce and Industry Minister, as quoted below, should be noted :

"Our industrial production is on the whole satisfactory. The improvement in recent months has even led to some economic journals to predict that, if this rate is sustained, much larger resources will be available in the private sector for financing the Five-Year Plan," said Mr. Krishnamachari, Central Minister for Commerce and Industry, at a Press conference.

"Despite transport difficulties, which have been increasing of late, cement production has continued to go up. Production in 1951 was 3.19m tons, and during this year the monthly average has been 284,755 tons. We expect the improvement to continue.

"Steel production, too, has not been unsatisfactory, where, of course, substantial results can be expected only after the equipment of the steel works has expanded. We have approved expansion plans of both the main producers, and we have every reason to expect that substantial assistance (about $40m) will be available from the World Bank to finance these expansions. The Government also proposes to afford substantial assistance to both producers from the Equalization Fund. This assistance will be on easy terms.

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"Considering the world situation, our exports have fared reasonably well. During the last two or three months, exports of cotton textiles have been satisfactory, but it is too early to say whether this trend will be maintained.

"We are carefully watching the price situation and are making efforts to bring them down to reasonable levels wherever we think they are capable of being reduced. The commodities now under consideration are automobile spares and motor tyres. We also intend to appoint a committee to look into the whole question of the import, manufacture and distribution of pharmaceuticals.

"Returns are coming in steadily from all firms who are employing non-Indian personnel. The last date is the end of the month. We expect to have a full picture by the end of the year." He added that he proposed to study the returns before he could say whether any problem existed. The question of finding a remedy only arose when the problem had been studied.

He revealed that the Rajaram Rao Committee's report on tea had been received. "We are examining it and hope to publish it and our decisions very soon. An immediate visible improvement in the situation cannot, of course, be expected. There are signs of a fundamental malaise, and long-term measures have to be advised. Only a much bigger home market can import more stability to the industry. For tea, I intend to unify the legislation on the subject, investing the board with increased powers."

Steps taken by the Government to rectify India's balance of trade position are beginning to be successful.

It is understood that during the last week or two India has been accumulating some sterling. This constitutes a reversal of the position which obtained during the first six months of the year, when the sterling balances recorded a fall from Rs. 781 crores to Rs. 683 crores.

The change is all the more remarkable as the revised import policy announced in June has not yet begun to have full effect.

All the same, the curve of monthly deficits has been showing a steep fall since March when the adverse trade balance, the highest since the beginning of 1952, amounted to Rs. 39.86 crores.

The deficits for the subsequent months are: April Rs. 37.19 crores; May Rs. 28.69 crores; June Rs. 10.40 crores; and July about Rs. 5 crores.

While a detailed analysis of the causes which have contributed to this transformation has yet to be worked out, it is known that India's greatly reduced import of raw jute from Pakistan during the last few months is partly responsible.

River Valley Projects

The *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay in its issue of September 5, struck the following cautious note:

"Opinion is slowly moving towards a critical view of the river projects and multi-purpose schemes. Many have been feeling that the vastness of many of these enterprises prevents any effective control. Now other defects have made themselves felt. The situation of the bulk of these schemes has, we are informed, given rise to a general feeling that the North is being benefited while the South is neglected. Within a State like Bombay, there are accusations of linguistic favouritism. Apart from this, the execution of these projects will involve a good deal of time and money and financing them will have to be done from taxes. So far as the citizen is concerned, he cannot be expected to go on indefinitely depriving himself of ordinary comforts in the doubtful hope of ushering in a better world after him. There are many little ways in which immediate improvement could be effected and building up of confidence achieved before passing on to these ambitious projects. Moreover, our ministers and official spokesmen are for ever warning us not to depend so much on our Government; but these vast schemes influence the pattern of life in the country and they cannot quite avoid leaving an impress of active State intervention. It has been also computed that after one of the projects has been completed, it will need crores again to start growing crops or for grazing cattle. The expenditure on many of them, therefore, marks the beginning of an endless drain. As Louis Fischer, now back in India, said the other day, even Soviet Russia did not venture on any extensive industrialisation or mechanisation of agriculture plans until she saw her people fairly settled."

The Government of India is in the hands of people who are getting experienced the hard way—hard for the tax-payer and the common citizen. They have launched into schemes without thinking for a moment about the efficiency and integrity of those in whose hands they had put the execution and administration of the plans.

As time passes, the results show up in a poor light. The prospects are bleak.

Dudhwa Feeder Tank Project

News from Nagpur dated September 8 said that the Government of India have been approached to grant a subsidy of Rs. 53,20,000 and a loan of Rs. 43,60,000 for the construction of Dudhwa Feeder Tank and remodelling of the Mahanadi Canal in the Raipur district.

These two will cost about Rs. 150 lakhs so as to provide irrigation to an eventual area of 3 lakh acres of rice included in the Five-year Development Plan of the State.

The Mahanadi Canal System designed to serve an area of 2,40,000 acres is at present irrigating an area of

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3,10,000 acres which is all that is possible with the present storage and channels available.

With the additional storage at Dudhwa, remodelling of the canal system and rehabilitation of the abandoned channels it will be possible to serve an additional 90,000 acres. The additional yield due to irrigation is estimated at 18,000 tons. The scheme, it is emphasised, will yield quick results and is of very high priority. The work is programmed to take about five years for its completion.

Madhya Pradesh is already a surplus area in food-crops, and this small scheme will add to her capacity for better life all around.

Ideals of Education

In the *Subodh Patrika*, organ of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay, a writer with the pen-name of "G.L.C." had the following in its September 7th issue :

"We are told that education is useless unless it is intimately connected with life and its various problems. We agree, but what constitutes life and what are its various problems ? If by education is meant training for a profession or trade and nothing more, our conception of life would be a narrow one and its problems would be confined to the problems of the belly. But we know the scope of education is much wider than this and that education aims at something much higher. In an outspoken essay on 'The Functions of a Teacher,' Bertrand Russell describes teachers as guardians of civilisation, and hastens to declare that civilisation, in the more important sense, is a thing of the mind.' He, therefore, believes that it is the duty of the teachers to give their pupils 'a liberalising mental training.' Leaving aside the legitimate claims of what is known as technical education, which is a special type of education meant only for those who wish to acquire skill and proficiency in certain professions, we must remember that the aim of all general education is to give the child this liberalising mental training which sharpens his mental processes, gives him accuracy of thought and of discernment, and widens the scope of his vision. If technical training and the imparting of knowledge and skill in a profession were the only or even the chief aim of education, then the functions of education would be confined to vocational subjects like engineering or commerce, and such subjects like Literature and Mathematics and the social studies like History and Geography and Civics, and at the higher stage, intellectual studies like Philosophy or pure sciences would be useless."

What Grants Committee Should Do ?

On the question of distribution of grants the Conference of Inter-University Board which was concluded in Madras on 7th August last said that the University Grants Committee should visit the different universities, distribute grants that might be made available for specific objects, report on the progress made in respect of such grants and suggest to the Inter-University Board and to the Government ways and means by which co-ordination might be achieved as between the different universities.

The grants might include, among other things, grants for the opening of new courses, teaching grants intended to increase the salaries of the teachers in various fields with a view to attract the best type of teachers and to retain them in the teaching profession, grants of libraries, laboratory equipment, for the acquisition and improvement of playing fields, and generally, the physical and extracurricular activities of students, grants for buildings for the staff and for students, amenities and special grants for research and research publications, etc.

The Grants Committee might also investigate particular problems of university education by means of sub-committees. The committee should be empowered to set up committees for various purposes consisting of experts in the different fields and get these committees to visit the different universities, if necessary, and to make recommendations upon specific proposals which they are required to report on.

The terms of reference for the proposed University Grants Committee, the conference suggested, might be similar to those of the Grants Committee of Great Britain. The Committee should maintain close liaison with the Inter-University Board and meet them periodically in an informal atmosphere for exchange of views on a wide range of topics concerning the universities. It should be empowered to distribute grants provided by the Central Government to the different universities, taking note of the development of each university and the national purposes which the universities might be called upon to serve.

The conference was also of the opinion that the Inter-University Board, consisting of the Vice-Chancellors of Indian universities, should function in a more intensified manner, so as to enable the universities to appreciate fully the problems of universities in general and of individual universities in particular.

The board should be, in the main, a body to assist the universities in the co-ordination and maintenance of standards by advising them wherever necessary by appointing sub-committees or special committees to investigate particular problems, to visit the universities and to make reports thereon and place such reports before the Inter-University Board and the university concerned.

While not interfering with the autonomy of the universities which were statutory bodies with special duties and responsibilities developing upon them under the Act, the conference said the views of the Inter-University Board should be taken into consi-

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deration when large questions of policy were concerned and it should be the endeavour of the universities to implement those views.

Where a question would arise as to the propriety or otherwise of any action taken by a university or where a Government, Central or State, would feel it desirable that any question pertaining to universities in general should be considered, such Government should acquaint the Inter-University Board with any such problem and the Inter-University Board should make enquiries and report thereon to the universities and to the Government concerned.

The conference pleaded for substantial grants from the Central Government to discharge satisfactorily the enlarged functions of the Inter-University Board.

The conference wanted that the Inter-University Board should be given an opportunity to consider and place before the State and Central Governments its views on any proposed legislation regarding the constitution of a university. It suggested that the opinion of the Board might be communicated to the President of the Union before he gave his assent to such Acts.

Certain universities now functioning had been constituted under Acts of the States which were not exactly in unison either with the recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission report or with older Acts of many of the universities. The conference wanted the Inter-University Board to address such Governments to consider the possibility of revising these Acts and bringing them into conformity with the general provisions of some of the well-known Acts of older universities.

Twenty-one out of 29 Indian universities were represented at the conference. Among those present were the Vice-Chancellors of Bombay, Baroda, Allahabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Mysore and Madras Universities and representatives of Calcutta, Aligarh, Utkal and Delhi Universities.

The Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Inter-University Board, Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, placed the resolutions before the conference which were adopted unanimously. Mr. K. K. Handiqu, Chairman of the Inter-University Board and Vice-Chancellor of Gauhati University presided.

The resolutions passed voice universal Indian sentiment in the matter of higher education. But this must be broad-based on mass education which is the concern of the States. In West Bengal, Sri Pannalal Basu, the Education Minister, has been stressing the point in his public speeches and private talks that if during his tenure of office, the officers under him, cannot help him decrease mass illiteracy, he and they deserved censure. 10 per cent decrease would satisfy him. Other States Ministers are moved by the same sentiments. But what we have been afraid of always is that the bureaucrats, whether in official buildings or in non-official organizations, resent criticism and make a dead set against their critics. The bickerings that follow result in endless argument and correspondence, slowing down progress all round.

Dr. Kumarappa's Allegation

That several hundred people had died due to food scarcity during the last two months in the tehsils of Pharendra and Maharajgunj in U.P. and that certain Government officials, particularly police officials, had tampered with official records to hide these facts, was revealed by Dr. J. C. Kumarappa and Pandit Sunderlal, in a joint statement on the food situation in Gorakhpur District.

Both of them visited the scarcity-affected areas of Gorakhpur District and made an on-the-spot enquiry. They visited several test work centres in Pharendra and Maharajganj tehsils, the worst affected areas. The total number of labourers engaged in all these fifty or more centres was about 20,000 while those applying for work in that area numbered nearly one lakh.

The statement adds, "We have not the slightest shadow of doubt that in the above-mentioned two tehsils alone, during the last two months or so, at least several hundred people died due to scarcity of food."

The statement charges Government officials, specially police officials of Gorakhpur with having approached the people who had reported the deaths of their dear ones as due to starvation and threatened them with dire consequences unless they got their reports amended. "We also came across cases in which there is *prima facie* evidence of tampering with public records. We have seen such records where *bhukh se margaya* (died of hunger) having been apparently changed into *bukhar se mar-gaya* (died of fever) or the word *bhukhmari* (starvation) as the cause of death having been changed to *bukhar* (fever). We submit such cases deserve immediate, full and fair enquiry," the statement adds.

"From our short visit to these relief camps we came to three conclusions," adds the statement. "Firstly, the Government had correctly realised the people's distress in so far as they started some relief measures. Secondly, these measures are still very inadequate to meet the extent of the distress. Thirdly, a good deal more of human sympathy is needed in those in charge of these works."

U. P. I. adds: Dr. Kumarappa and Pandit Sunderlal have also suggested development of cottage industries like spinning and weaving of cotton and wool, and digging of canals, wells, etc. The villagers, they said, should be persuaded to grow food crops in the place of commercial crops. "There should be a right type of land reform and redistribution of land on a fair equitable basis so that no tiller of the soil should remain without a plot of land on which he has full ownership rights. Mechanised collective farming

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or forced co-operatives will give no real relief to the people," they said.

A copy of the joint statement on Gorakhpur famine has been sent to Prime Minister Nehru, Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Central Food Minister, Pandit Pant, Chief Minister of U. P. and Mr. C. B. Gupta, U. P.'s Food Minister.

The above report was wired from Allahabad by the special correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* on September 9. We are not as concerned with the allegations as with the spirit which inspired these. In his zeal for the Gandhian way, the Wardha professor has become an irresponsible propagandist, adding strength to Communist fifth-columnists and other anti-national factions by his thoughtless statements. We remember his speech at the Indian Association where peasants were advised to burn paddy and thus defeat the purpose of Government rice procurement. And now come these allegations. It is up to the Government to challenge Dr. Kumarappa to prove his case.

Call to Sacrifice

The following comments of the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated September 9, on Doctor Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's discourse to Calcutta Congress people are so appropriate that we make no apology in reproducing these :

"What Dr. Radhakrishnan has seen is that the Congress has lost some confidence and affection amongst the people. What he has not observed is that much of this is due to dissensions within the party and to a watering down of the principles which the Congress has advocated for decades. Nor does he take note of the fact that Congressmen have shown little interest in keeping close touch with the people. We do not suggest that all of the programme formulated during the years of opposition can be applied to the changed conditions of today. But a great deal of it surely holds true. It is rather pointless to tell Congressmen that they must recapture the spirit of the days of struggle ; nor can we pretend to be enamoured of the incessant call to sacrifice. No nation can grow to its full stature on a succession of sacrifices. The appeal has to be made on some other ground. The emancipation from social prejudice and economic servitude, like national independence, is desired not because of any mystic quality in freedom itself but because only with this can the people of a nation grow to their full stature. Sacrifice conveys an impression of a cramped thwarted personality, and, when it is consciously indulged in, it ceases to be a virtue, becoming a vice instead. It is this point of view needs stressing—that we must shake off our economic and social bonds because a country which is not richly endowed cannot afford the luxury of keeping down vast sections of the people."

Dr. Sarvapalli is a philosopher donning the toga of the politician. And as is the latter's weakness—he goes the easy way to develop character. Sacrifice may appear to be a hard way ; but the orgy of Congress successes during election has created a false impression of the organization's strength. Human nature follows certain immutable principles. In India, our saints and sages have always been emphasizing their truth. In modern India from Rammohun Roy to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the need for ending social disabilities and economic inequalities has the inspiration of all reform movements. And there is hardly anything new that the Congress organization and its leadership can point out to us.

Further, Dr. Radhakrishnan is a new-comer to the political arena. He has no sacrifice on his credit side as Congress people understand it and had practised it during the last 45 years and more. And, therefore, he is least competent to talk of sacrifice to a people whose representatives had made the greatest sacrifice in making New India.

Norman Angell's Diagnosis

The author of the *Great Illusion* must be over the three score and ten years now. In the August 4 issue of the *New Leader*, U.S.A. weekly, he diagnoses the malady that has weakened the war-time amity between Britain and the United States :

"The belief in the innocuousness of Soviet power, as compared with that of Britain, determined very largely the military policy and strategy of the Western Allies during the war. All the pleas (put forward chiefly by Churchill) for a strategy which, at war's end, would leave the Allies in a position to block Soviet westward expansion were vetoed as a manifestation of evil power politics. What, mainly, was behind that veto ? Behind it lay certain assumptions about political morals and the proper use of military power. These assumptions are still playing a part in decisions we are now being called upon to make, decisions likely to affect the course of the cold war. They are therefore worth re-examination. It is certain that no crude Anglophobia of the Bertie McCormick type actuated Roosevelt. He gave innumerable proofs of his friendliness to Britain, taking some political risk at home in so doing. He was the host of the British King and Queen, welcomed Englishmen of all sorts. He has been described by Churchill as the greatest friend that Britain ever had. His statue stands today in London, together with that of Washington and Lincoln.

"It is evident that the conviction of Roosevelt and others about the wickedness of British imperial power is rooted in something deeper than mere nationalistic animosity. It springs from a profoundly sincere moral impulse, which, ever since the Revolution, has dominated American political thinking in international affairs ; from the assumption that the government of one people by another, which imperialism or colonialism involves, has the quality of sin, is a violation of elementary human right, of a rule invariable and inviolable, constituting a moral absolute. The view has been that any people anywhere struggling to be in-

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dependent are right, and that any power attempting to forestall their independence is wrong. The road to peace, runs the argument, is for all nations to be completely independent and sovereign ; colonialism is the main cause of war. Roosevelt was particularly emphatic on this last point and gave it as his main reason for preferring the growth of Russia's power to Britain's. Russia had no colonies and was therefore not 'imperialist.'

"Quite a number of American writers on politics, notably George Kennan, have shown how very much American foreign policy is dominated by this moralistic approach. There is usually in the criticisms the implication that the moral assumptions just indicated are sound enough in themselves, but that international politics are a domain in which the writ of morals does not properly run. I suggest, however, that the trouble arises not from any attempt to apply sound moral principles to international politics, but from the fact that some of the principles which we invoke with such assurance and dogmatism as based upon the highest morals, are not in truth sound moral principles at all, but moral, ethical and social fallacies."

We understand this diagnosis. But when Norman Angell challenges the "assumed right of a nation to be completely independent," we make an assumption that is wholly invalid. Human progress during the centuries has been the creation of this "assumed right." And Britain should not have fought for her "complete national independence" during the last two World Wars, according to Angell's logic. The chief difficulty between national independence and international co-operation has yet to be removed. Angell's article does not help do it.

Turko-Jugoslav Relations

Threatened by the growing Stalin imperialism, certain East Europe countries have forgotten their ages-long enmity and been forced to join forces to repel the common enemy. This fact is recalled to us by the report in the *Tan-Yug Bulletin*, the Yugo-Slav Information weekly, dated September 7, of the Press interview granted by Marshal Tito on August 20 last to a group of Turkish journalists. In an hour's talk, many questions were asked and answered. The report is reproduced below :

"Referring to Turko-Yugoslav relations, Marshal Tito said that it is necessary to emphasise that much time has not passed since the relations began to improve rapidly. Improvement of relations has especially come about owing to the international situation and identical interests of these countries in the preservation of their independence.

"These relations are today at such a stage that various measures should be undertaken not only in the political and economic but also in the military aspect. This will especially be easy in relations between Yugoslavia and Turkey, because there is nothing to separate these countries. Co-operation is possible between countries with identical interests though with different internal systems. The first concrete expression of this improvement of relations and the undertaking of joint measures are mutual visits of representatives of countries. Personal contact plays an important role in rapprochement and that mutual understanding and realisation of reality can help to facilitate more correct decisions than those based on propaganda. Marshal Tito concluded that the most important factor which orients the two countries is the ensurance of independence and this is equally important for Turkey and Yugoslavia.

"By agreement reached in Ankara, Yugoslavia is to export textiles, timber and other industrial products valued at 13 million dinars up to the end of August next in payment of a loan recently granted by Turkey for the acquisition of 100,000 tons of wheat. The wheat will help alleviate the consequences of this year's drought."

Kishorelal Mashruwala

Kishorelal Mashruwala, Editor of the *Harijan* and a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi died on September 9 ; he was cremated on the 10th morning at Gopuri by the side of the late Jamnalal Bajaj's *samadhi*. He was only 62 years of age. Many of his fellow-workers have said that he was more of a thought-leader than a practical reformer. We are of opinion that this estimate was wrong. He combined in himself the qualities of his Master, Gandhiji, a burning passion for right conduct and a sense of what is practical and possible. And to give shape to the ideal no sacrifice was too great for him. Since the beginning of the Gandhi era, Kishorelalji has been a companion, fit and bold, as faithful as Mahadev Desai or Vallabhbhai Patel. He was connected with the Gujarat Vidyapith, with the various Satyagraha movements, and suffered imprisonments therefor. A victim to asthma for years, indomitable courage upheld him during the years to devote his best to the service of man, which was service to God. Our sympathies we tender to his family.

By his death the field of journalism is deprived of a shining light. Truth, candour and idealism is scarce today in the newspaper world. The initials K.G.M. stood for all that, without fear or favour.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, "The Modern Review" Office and the "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from 25th September to 8th October, both days included.. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,
Editor

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AGRICULTURAL PROLETARIAT

Its Present Conditions and Future Prospects

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.com.

"The most important factor of production is man himself. Human machinery must be raised to the highest level of efficiency and maintained in good condition if we are to exploit natural resources God has placed at our disposal. Any amount that we spend in equipping our man-power is an investment which would more than repay what we spend."—Sir Jogendra Singh

India is principally an agricultural country, but it would not be an exaggeration to say that of all the major problems in our rural economy those relating to labour have received the least attention. Agricultural labour constitutes an important proportion of our rural population. It lives in most appalling conditions and surroundings. The landless labourers are poverty-stricken and have hardly enough means for two square meals and clothing to cover their bodies. Social amenities are unknown to them. Proper housing facilities, free medical aid, minimum living wage are no less important to the rural labour than to industrial workers in the city. The entire mass of labour in the rural areas today remains unorganised and the small efforts made in the direction by public-spirited persons and institutions have met with little success, with the result that their voice is never heard beyond their huts. From the social reformer, the politician and the research worker agricultural labour and its problems have not received the attention they deserve. Illiteracy, lack of enlightenment and the resulting suspicion come in the way of successful efforts towards their study, organisation and amelioration.

Estimates of the Strength of the Rural Labour

The Census Superintendent in 1882 gave the number of landless labourers as 7½ million and it increased to 18.71 million in 1891, 21.5 million in 1921 and 33 million in 1931. Since the consolidation of British rule in India, the number of agricultural proletariat has been increasing decade by decade, owing to the increasing pressure of population on the land reinforced by de-industrialisation, creation of land monopoly, persistence of low technique of production, subdivision and fragmentation of holdings, destruction of rural industries and increasing pauperisation of the peasantry. The following table makes this fact clear.[1]:

Type of cultivators	*(in millions)* 1911	1931	*Percentage of increase (—) or decrease (—)*
Non-cultivating landlords	3.7	4.1	— 18.1
Cultivators (Owners or Tenants)	74.6	65.5	— 12.3
Agricultural labourers	21.7	33.3	— 53.4

In fact, every circumstance which has weakened the economic position of a small holder has increased the supply of agricultural labourers, *viz.*, the loss of common rights in rural economy, the abandoning of collective enterprise, the sub-division of holdings, the multiplication of rent-receivers, free mortgaging and transfer of land together with the decline of cottage industries have been swelling the supply of agricultural labourers.[2] The creation of absentee landlords is equally responsible for the growth of the landless class. The following table shows this fact[3]:

Year	Percentage of urban population	Percentage of gainfully occupied in agriculture, etc.	Agricultural labourers (lakhs)
1901	9.9	65.8	201
1911	9.4	71.1	259
1921	10.2	72.0	217
1931	11.1	74.7	249
1941	12.8	....	...

The number of labourers employed on the field per 100 cultivators varied in provinces from 2 in Assam, 10 in the Punjab, 12 in Bengal, 16 in U. P., 33 in Bihar and Orissa, 40 in Madras, 41 in Bombay and 59 in C. P. and Berar according to the figures of 1911. These variations are due more to differences in the social system than to the fertility of the soil and the density of population.

The Census of 1941 does not refer to the latest position in regard to the occupations in India. However, both official and non-official quarters are emphatic in their view about the increase in the number of agricultural labourers.

Dr. R. K. Mukerjee places the present number between 60 to 70 million, of whom about 30 million are landless labourers. In addition to this according to him, there are about 25 million unemployed adult workers, including small tenants-cum-labourers.[3] The validity of this statement is supported by the fact that 50 per cent of the holdings in U. P. are less than 2 acres. Tarlok Singh estimates that there are 1.54 million potential surplus agricultural workers in India (including Pakistan)[4] for whom non-agricultural work should be provided.

With the increase of rural labour, the economic condition has become awfully bad, *e.g.*, according to Dr. M. N. Desai, the labourers on non-irrigated lands receive Rs. 25 per annum per head and those on the

1. *National Planning Committee : Report on Land Policy and Agriculture*, p. 39.

2. R. K. Mukerjee : *Land Problems of India*, p. 215.

3. R. K. Mukerjee : *The U. P. Information Freedom Number*, 15th August, 1947.

4. Tarlok Singh : *Poverty and Social Change.*

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irrigated lands receive Rs. 31 per annum per head in Gujarat. Their condition is aptly described as :

> "To say that they are breathing will be more appropriate than to describe them as living in this world."

Classification of Agricultural Labourers

The term Agricultural Labour on a composite basis of classification includes members from all the classes who are engaged in the actual cultivation of land. It gives rather a high pyramid of social stratification. At the top are the cultivating owners of the capitalistic type who perform only skilled work, while the lowest stratum comprises landless workers who perform unskilled work and receive poor remuneration. Thus the term 'agricultural labour' represents the labour of the following classes: (a) Cultivating Owners, (b) Tenant Cultivators, (c) Landless Farm Labourers, (d) Field-workers (unspecified).

This classification would exclude rent-receivers (non-cultivating owners and tenants), artisans and general labourers employed in public works and urban industries but residing in villages.

(*a*) The cultivating owners have their own lands, tools and cattle, and with the help of family hands they cultivate their lands. Hired help is also employed. If the holding is too big, it is sublet to landless labourers on produce rents, in which case the cultivating owner becomes a rent-receiver. Cultivating owners are the cultivators of *Sir* land and *Khudkast*.

(*b*) Tenant cultivators are either statutory, occupancy or non-occupancy, and cultivate rented holdings of land belonging to hereditary landlords. They work with their own cattle and tools, and depend on their family hands with casual hired help. This class forms the bulk of actual tillers of the soil, but exclude those occupancy tenants whose entire holding is sublet in small plots to under-tenants, and who depend on the differential rent obtained by such subletting.

(*c*) The third class of agricultural labourers include those workers who have no land (owned or rented) and no capital, but hire out their labour to well-to-do tenants and landlords. They return themselves as agriculturists whose principal, and in many cases hereditary, occupation is cultivation of non-cultivating owner's land. Their labour is skilful and is always in demand for such operations as ploughing, sowing, irrigating, marketing, etc. All family hands contribute their share to the family budget and therefore, for various agricultural operations, most of the female and child labour is drawn from this class. Under casual employment they receive cash wages, but in permanent employments their daily wages are supplemented by a customary grain allowance at harvest. Often they have to move from farm to farm in different cropping seasons but are seldom forced to leave the village for lack of employment.

(*d*) The last group represents the miscellaneous labour which requires no special skill or experience beyond what a coolie may be expected to acquire in the ordinary course of his career. This class is always mobile because its demand or supply is closely regulated by agricultural and industrial seasons. They have no land and no capital, and their labour is not specialised; therefore, during the agricultural season they lie at the mercy of well-to-do cultivators, and in the off-season depend on urban factories for a livelihood.

Agricultural Serfs

At the bottom of the agricultural ladder in India are those labourers whose conditions are not very different from those of serfs. Agricultural serfdom is most prevalent in those parts of India where the lower and depressed classes are most numerous. In fact, the ethnic composition of the village, which governs the social stratification, is responsible for the survival of the slavish conditions.[5] Thus in Bombay, Madras, Malabar, Cochin, the C. P., Central India and Chota Nagpur, where we have a large aboriginal population, the condition of the agricultural labourer is very much like that of a slave. An official report describes serf labour in the following terms :

> "The average agricultural labourer is not infrequently compelled in times of stress to mortgage his personal liberty. In return for a small sum of money which he may happen to need at the moment, he agrees to serve the man from whom he has borrowed. The money is not repaid, nor is it intended to be repaid, but the borrower remains a lifelong bond slave of his creditor. For his work he merely receives an inadequate dole of food and to all intents and purposes is in the position of a medieval serf."[6]

This agrarian serf labour is regularised in such a manner that some of the regions have a special name for it, *e.g.*, Hali in Gujarat, Kaimuti in South Bihar, Janouri in North Bihar, Gothi in Orissa, Pannial Pathiram in Tamilnad, Gassi-gullu in Andhra, Bhagia in Hyderabad, Sanwak and Hariya in Oudh, Harwah in Central India States, Jeethan in Karnatak and Barsalia and Shalkari in the C. P., Haliyas and Chyoras of Kumaon, Chakar in Orissa, Dublas and Kolis in Bombay.[7] These serfs serve in their masters' households. They may have received money for their marriage expenses giving an undertaking to serve till they pay off their debt. They are fed and clothed by their masters. On the East Coast of Madras, similarly, many of the agricultural labourers are Pariahs who are known as Padials. The Padial is a serf who has fallen into hereditary dependence on

5. R. K. Mukerjee : *Land Problems of India*, p. 226.
6. Quoted by Dinker Desai in an article on "Agrarian Serfdom in India" in the *Indian Sociologist*, July, 1942.
7. R. Mukerjee : *Op. Cit.*, p. 227.

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a landowner from whom he has borrowed money. The money may have been borrowed either for his own marriage or for that of his son or daughter. The borrower undertook to work for the lender until the debt was repaid. Such loans are, however, never repaid, and the Padials themselves are in a way attached to the soil, go with the land when it is sold or the owner dies.

In Madras, the Padial's wages are paid in kind equivalent to Rs. 3 per month in terms of money. In Orissa, there are three kinds of labourers : (1) The Chakar or Baramasiya labourer engaged for 12 months with board and lodging and Rs. 24 in cash, his ancestor may have obtained a loan from his employer ; (2) The Naga Muliya, who also works as a yearly servant, but receives instead of board and lodging 4 seers of paddy and a plot of land to cultivate free of rent ; (3) The Danda Muliya, who is employed for a short period on specified wages. In Bihar, there are the Kamias or bond-servants who having borrowed money bind themselves to perform whatever menial services are required of them by their masters. These depressed castes who have no land or security pledge their labour, whenever they want a loan, and not only their own labour but that of their dependents also. Very often it happens that the joint wages of the Kamia and his wife are not sufficient to feed them and their children.

Forced Labour

Conditions of forced labour seem to prevail all over the country. Writing about the aboriginal population of the Thana District one officer reports:

> "All jungle tract tenants who cultivate by 'Khad' (*i.e.*, those who pay fixed rent in kind, and not a crop share) are liable to be called upon to work for their landlords—if they refuse or procrastinate they are liable to assaults or beatings . . . I was told on credible authority of men being tied up to posts and whipped. Such occurrences I can vouch for. There are also rumours of men in the past having been killed."

This system of exacting forced labour from cultivating tenants exists in almost all the provinces. Dr. Lorenze describes various forms of *begar* prevailing in North India. They are (*i*) Beth Begar under which labourers are forced to perform agricultural operations for 2 to 5 days, *e.g.*, ploughing (Hal Beth), weeding and watering (Kodal Beth), harvesting the crop (Dhan Beth) or threshing the crop (Miseni Beth), (*ii*) Chakran Begar under which labourers living on landlords' land have to work for 2 or 3 days in lieu of the rent, (*iii*) Perjanta Begar under which in time of emergency the villages have to render 3 to 12 days labour to the landlords.

Apart from *begar* or *veth* (forced labour), there is a system of levying *abwabs* or illegal exactions which survives in Bengal and Bihar. It has reduced the cultivators to semi-serfdom. Sometimes these exactions take the form of the marriage fees, sometimes they are taxed for carrying on certain trades. These exactions deprive the peasantry of a large portion of their already meagre income. The *abwab* is employed not only as an engine of financial extortion but of physical oppression. "In Rajshahi," according to a Settlement Report, "landlords wield a sort of sovereign power dispensing justice and imposing taxes." According to another report, "In some of the remoter parts of Pabna, the Zamindars' agents still assume summary but unauthorised magisterial functions, fining and, at times, imprisoning those whom they convict." Added to all this is the process of gradual expropriation of the cultivators by moneylenders driving the aboriginals into the ranks of servile tenants liable to forced labour and to the payment of illegal exactions. Agrarian serfdom thus lingers on in India—a relic of the Middle Ages which might be regarded as one of the darkest blemishes in the economic life of present-day India.

Demand for Rural Labour

The demand for labour in agriculture is highly seasonal. There is a peak demand for labour in the harvesting season and next to that in times of transplanting and weeding most of which are done by women. Men are required mainly for the operations of ploughing, levelling, digging trenches, forming beds and bunds, hoeing and irrigating, all of which require strenuous physical labour. Generally speaking, for crops grown on dry (rain-fed) lands, or on wet lands (canal-irrigated) more women are required than men. It is only on 'garden lands' with wells from which water is lifted by bullock power that more men are required than women.

The labour hired in fields depends upon the size of the holding and the nature of cultivation or crops raised, *e.g.*, in the Kanam tract of the Baroda district for a farmer with a holding of 25 bighas producing cotton, juar, tur and a few other pulses and with members of the family including the farmer, to work in the fields there was no necessity to employ hired labour. But on another holding of almost equal size in Surat made of 2 bighas of irrigated land raising vegetables, 5½ per cent bighas of paddy land and 17 bighas of grass land and with 9 members of the family including the owner to help in cultivation paid labour came to about 10 per cent of the total required. The period of employment in the year varies from 5 to 7 months in the regions raising dry crops to as high as 9 to 10 months for irrigated crops.

Generally, the members of the families of the farmers supply most of agricultural labour needed on the fields. Labour is hired only occasionally during busy seasons and the percentage of such labour ranges from 10 to 20 per cent of the total labour required

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during the year. Instances are common in which although higher labour may be necessary during certain important field operations, poor farmers cannot employ outside labour for want of resources to pay wages with the result that crops suffer damage and the yield to the farmer from lands comparatively becomes low. Besides, under a peculiar system (most prevalent in the Bhil tracts of the Bombay Presidency and the Mewar State) friends and relatives mutually help each other on the fields. The friend or relation so helping gets ½ lb. of boiled maize every day at noon and takes his or her morning and evening food at home.

Supply of Rural Labour

The ample supply of rural labour and the multiplication in the number of landless labourers have brought about agrarian unsettlement in India. They hang about the countryside and add to the already existing inefficiency of agriculture. They are an obstacle to the introduction of improved methods of cultivation. Speaking at the Agricultural Labourers' Conference in 1940, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya said :

> "A series of intermediaries has come into being between the Government and the ultimate cultivator who spends the day between slush and mud, who works now with a starving stomach and now with a half-appeased appetite, who knows no rest in storm or sunshine, who oftentimes has no dwelling site which can be called his own. He grows our paddy but starves. He feeds our milch cows but never knows anything beyond *kanjee* and water, he fills our granaries but has to beg each day rations for the rest of the year. He digs our wells but must keep off from them when they are full. He is a perpetual hewer of wood and drawer of water for those who fatten on his labour and rise to wealth and plenty. His condition is appalling and heart-rending."

The State and the public have done almost nothing to alleviate the economic position of the mainstay of rural parts. The administrators, politicians and the economists have not done anything in spite of their schemes of improvement of agriculture and rural development. The labour is no doubt plentiful but it gets seasonal work and it is without work half the year round. The rural labour supply is so great that it can cultivate land on any term even beyond the cultivators' paying capacity.

Recruitment of labour in all agricultural operations and rural Indian pursuits has a direct and complementary relationship with caste groups. In many cases not only does caste determine the nature of occupation, but different kinds of occupation give birth to various sub-castes hitherto unknown.

The outstanding features of labour supply in agriculture are summarised below :

1. Owner cultivators and high class tenants generally belong to high castes whose hereditary occupation has been cultivation, *e.g.*, Brahmins, Rajputs, Thakurs, Kayasthas, Tagas, Saiyids and Pathans.

2. Farm-hands are recruited both from high and low castes. Usually they belong to the caste of the employer. The majority of this class considers agriculture as its principal, though not hereditary, occupation. *e.g.*, Kunmis, Vaishyas, Gujars, Ahirs, Jats, Sheikhs and Pathans.

3. Field-workers are recruited mostly from lower castes which have agriculture as their subsidiary occupation, *e.g.*, Julahas, Lodhs, Chamars, Kumhars, Telis, Khatiks and Koris.

4. Landless floating hands are recruited from the lowest rung of the social ladder. They are recruited mainly from Doms, Dusadhs, Bhuiyas, Pahariyas, Dhimars, Ghatwars, Kols and Koris.

High Percentage of Female and Child Labour

There is everywhere to be found a large number of female agricultural workers engaged in spheres of work which man cannot efficiently perform. In the U.P., higher castes have a smaller portion of female workers as they consider it derogatory to their social status to allow their women to work on fields. Lower castes, on the other hand, have more women and children workers which not only supplement the scanty income of the family, but, assist the higher castes in return for wages. In Chota Nagpur, the Munda, Ho and Oraon women do most of the work on their own fields and hire their labour for public works and ordinary coolie work in the neighbouring towns. "In the Punjab, the hill-women of Rathi, Kanet, Dagi and Koli castes, seem to be real amazons and among the plain-dwellers, the Meo women of Gurgaon have an equal share in the men's work in large numbers."

For certain agricultural operations, where women workers have assumed superiority over male workers, *e.g.*, weeding, sowing, grinding and transplanting, wages are fairly high, though they still do not reach the average rate for male labourers. It seems, therefore, the women are preferred to men, not because of their comparatively greater efficiency but because of lower wages they demand. The rates of wages for work where woman labour is preferred are as follows :[8]

Kind of work	*Wages*	*Available employment (in the year)*
Sowing	0-1-6 to 0-2-6	35 days
Weeding	0-2-0 to 0-3-6	40 ,,
Transplanting	0-2-0 to 0-3-0	20 ,,
Reaping	0-2-0 to 0-2-6	30 ,,
Miscellaneous	0-1-6 to 0-2-0	60 ,,

The employment of child labour is very common in agriculture. There are certain agricultural operations like weeding, husking, spreading manure, watching crops and carting in which children are frequently employed for very low wages. The child labour is recruited from the age group of 10 to 15 years.

Recruitment of Rural Labour

In various parts of the country, particularly in Gujarat, the farm servants needed for agricultural and

8. Lorenzo : *Agricultural Labour Conditions in Northern India*, p. 43.

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allied work in addition to the casually hired are recruited under the *chakar* (or servant), the *bhagia* (or corn-share) and the *hali* system. Under the *chakar* system, the period of employment is from six to twelve months. The servant is paid in cash as well as given food three times a day, a pair of shoes, one head-dress, two dhoties and shirts, *bandies,* etc., whereas under the *bhagia* system the labourer employed is given one-fourth or one-fifth share of the total produce of the soil excluding fodder. In respect of *bhagia* aided cultivation employment of additional hired labour for sowing, harvesting, etc., during busy seasons is necessary, and cash expenses on this account are shared by the farmer and the *bhagia* labourer in proportion to their share in the produce. The *hali* system of recruiting labour is peculiar to Surat and parts of Broach south of the river Nerbada. The *hali*, in the first instance, is required to work as an apprentice for at least a year with a view to create faith in his would-be master about his sincerity to stick to him faithfully and attend to his work with regularity and care. He is usually paid in kind and his wage amounts to 4 seers of paddy or 2½ to 5 seers of jowar according as the paddy or jowar is the main crop. A *hali* works for 6 to 10 months in the year according as the master raises irrigated or dry crops. During the period of idleness the *hali* obtains advances from the master both in kind and cash, approximately amounting to Rs. 10 to 15 and about 15 maunds of jowar. The *hali* makes good only a part of the loans by working over the fields and during harvesting days; the rest the master writes off. The female *hali* works in the fields for about 4 to 6 months in the year and receives the wage in grains equal in quantity to that received by her husband.

Experience has borne out that the *bhagia* system works smoothly and that the relations between the farmer and the *bhagia* are on the whole cordial although there is not much to say against the servant system, except for the bitterness that it gives rise to between the employer and the employee when the latter bargains either for higher cash wage or more and better allowances in kind. There is nothing in favour of the *hali* system except that it permanently attaches the labourer to the master by settling him on his land and thus ensures a regular supply of labour to agriculture. The method of recruitment is demoralising and harmful to both the parties. It breeds inefficiency, irresponsibility, and carelessness in the worker. Being always conscious of his inferior position and as a result of the insulting treatment he receives at the hands of the master, the *hali* never feels enthusiastic about his job. Moreover, the *hali* puts in more work on a piece wage system than under time wage with constant supervision. Although the master feels that he is assured of a cheap supply of labour under this system, it recoils on him like a financial "boomerang." The grain wage of the *hali* is poor in comparison with the minimum requirements to maintain his family and he has to resort to unwholesome means of stealing the crops from the fields to make up the deficit.

Working and Living Conditions

The conditions under which labourers on land have to work are far from uniform. They are not easily amenable to standardisation or regulation. The workers do not belong to or grow into, a homogeneous group as factory labourers do. Their work involves more dispersion than congregation. They cannot be effectively organised into a trade union.

Hours of Work

Hours of work vary from place to place, season to season and from crop to crop. Practically all the work has to be done in sunlight. Invariably the early cool hours of the morning and occasionally the moonlight nights are utilised for the arduous work of lifting water by the bullock *mhote* or the Persian wheel. Cattle threshing is taken up in the early hours of the morning. Animals have to be fed before milking or taking out for work early in the morning. In Bengal, the hours of work for field labourers are from 6 A.M. to 1-30 P.M. and again from 3-30 P.M. to 6 P.M. In Madras, field labourers are sometimes required to work with two intervals from 4-30 A.M. to 6 P.M., but the regular hours of labour are from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. In Bombay Presidency men are engaged for one year work from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M. In C. P., the hours are from 4 A.M. to 11 A.M. followed by afternoon work for cattle. In the rains regular hours are from 7 A.M. to 6 P.M. In most parts of India there is usually a recess of one or two hours at midday for food. Everywhere the hours are adjusted to summer and winter conditions. Sometimes the agricultural labourer is required to work 24 hours a day including night watch.

On the smaller farms, different kinds of work have to be done by the same farm servant in the course of the day involving waste of time in changing from one to another. The small holder and his wife often work longer hours than labourers, and they have little sympathy with hired labour demanding reduction of hours or increase of wages. Hours of work in agriculture are not too many and the nature of the work is not so tedious as in the factory. Labourers on daily wages generally work for 8 hours per day with a break of two hours during mid-day. Piece workers doing strenuous work often retire sooner, earning more.

Wages and Methods of Payment

Labour always flows from agriculture to other remunerative occupations so long as they are available. Together with the long working day the low wages in agriculture are a direct cause why many good

9. L. E. Howard : *Labour in Agriculture*, p. 280.

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workers desert agriculture for other occupations.[9] The wage levels in industry and agriculture for some countries before the war are given below :

Wages per week in pre-war conditions

Country	Year	Unit	Industrial wages		Agricultural wages	
			Males	Females	Males	Females
Canada	1939	$	22.08	13.44	8.15	5.44
U. S. A.	1939	$	35.72	22.80	8.96	—
Britain	1938	Sh.	69.00	32.50	34.58	34.58
France	1938	Fr.	297.12	164.16	150.96	106.80
Germany	1940	RM	34.13	22.94	10.32	8.52
Italy	1935	Lire	84.48		54.72	34.64
Japan	1935	Yen	14.49	4.43	3.51	2.64
Australia	1939	Sh.	104.50	57.00	83.42	—
Newzealand	1939	Sh.	93.30	93.30	65.00	—
U. S. S. R.	1935	Rub.	45.30	—	37.22	—
India	1939	As.	88.46	—	27.50	—

The agricultural labourers as a class get lower wages than the industrial workers. The factors responsible for this may be traced to the following reasons : *Firstly*, the absence of any legislation forbidding child labour. This is responsible for increased labour supply in agriculture and a lowering of wages. *Secondly*, land monopoly as it is prevalent in India, results in the formation of a 'labour' reserve under the Zamindar, the Malguzar, the Thikadar and the Mahajan, who advancing them substantial loans obtain a permanent grip over them. Debt bondage is the principal cause of low wages. The mobility of labour is also thereby checked. *Thirdly*, the unorganised scattered nature of agricultural labourers and the seasonal character of agricultural operations reduce their bargaining capacity. *Fourthly*, the concentration of land in the hands of upper castes, whereas the agricultural workers come mostly from the depressed classes ; thus social and economic exploitation go hand in hand. *Lastly*, they have not trade unions to fight for wage increase and better conditions of work.

The method of wage repayment differs from class to class and from region to region. Both the cash and crop wages are paid on daily or monthly basis. In case of purely crop wages the agricultural season is also taken into consideration. That is, the payment is made in harvesting season ; which is either quarterly or half-yearly. Thus the time-lag factor in the wages does also operate. While fixing the rate of crop payments the need of the worker's family is also taken into account. The rate of wages also differs with the nature of jobs, *e.g.*, ploughing, threshing, weeding, reaping, shading, cattle-grazing, irrigation, etc. Further, the wages of female labourers are lower, but no such distinction is made when payment is in kind. Wages are also paid in cash, *e.g.*, the lowest wages in U.P. are found in the eastern part ranging from 2 to 4 annas per day and the highest are found in the western region which offers from Re. 1 to Re. 1-8 per day. Sometimes these wages are supplemented by wages in kind, *e.g.*, *chabena*, grain parched or boiled, *sharbat* of an inferior quality of gur-cane juice, and tobacco are very common.[10] Here the wages of ploughmen are uniform. "Generally speaking," observes Dr. Mohindra Singh,[11] "whenever the land held by a Harwah family exceeds 1 bigha, we are sure to find two or three members of the same family working as Harwahs." If they have to work in the afternoon as well then they get *sidha* (meal). When flour is given, the quantity is half a seer plus salt. If food-grain is given, then the quantity is more.[12] But the Harwah does not enjoy the occupancy rights over the land that he gets in lieu of his services which is always the marginal land. He also gets cash wages on a monthly basis Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 in the East; Rs. 2 to Rs. 10 in the Central; Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 in the West and the maximum is Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 in the districts of Nainital, Almora, Agra and the hilly tracts of Dehra Dun.[13] The agricultural period of employment is nine months and the working hours are from sunrise to sunset. But in the harvesting and sowing seasons the hours are much longer.

While in Madras, the farm servants on the garden lands are paid by the month in grain which may just suffice for a small family, a little cash (Re. 1 or Rs. 2) is also paid for sundry purchases. The farm servant on wet lands, a Padiyal is paid by the day a stimulated quantity of grain enough to keep his family free from starvation. He is also entitled in addition to a small share of grain at the harvest time. He receives some cash by way of tips for drinking on occasions of heavy work and is also given clothes and other pre-requisites on some festive occasions in the year. Casual labourers are paid by the day wages in cash for certain kinds of work. But for harvesting almost invariably they are paid in kind according to the yield. The share for labour varies with bearing in case of crops like cotton and groundnut.

In Gujarat[14] with the exception of the Matar Taluka where payment in kind is generally made the payment of wages in cash is also common. The normal rates of wages per day prevailing in various districts of Gujarat are : Ahmedabad 3 to 4 annas ; Broach 4 to 5 annas ; Kaira 4 to 6 annas ; Pane Mahals 3 to 4 annas ; and for Jowar, Cotton tract 3 to 4 annas ; an irrigated tract round Surat City 5 to 6 annas ; and Southern Taluka 2 to 4 annas. In Surat, in the 'Kanam' tract and the Broach district special rates prevail for picking cotton which come to 8 annas in the former and 6 annas in the latter for one maund of 'kapas.' In Surat, where grass area is ample, the special rates of payment prevail for harvesting hay. The rates for cutting 100 bundles, weighing

10. Sridhar Misra : *Rural Wages in U. P.*, p. 21.
11. M. Singh : *Depressed Classes*, p. 24.
12. *Rural Wages in U. P.*, p. 74
13. *Ibid*, p. 44.
14. M. B. Desai : "Rural Labour in Gujarat" in the *Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics*, 1944.

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bout 11 lbs. each when dry and bundling 1,000 of hem are 1 anna and 5 annas respectively for *hali* abour and the consolidated rate for both the opera- ions for outside labour is Re. 1-8 to Rs. 2 for 1,000 undles.

Along with cash wage the practice is prevalent of iving a *roti* and a little *dal* in the Bhil tract of the unch Mahals twice a day during heavy operations ike harvesting groundnut and once during light work n Kaira and once in the irrigated region round about urat City. The system of paying wages in grains also revails in all the districts, and the quantity of grains llowed per day is 5 to 6 seers of either bajri, jowar r paddy in Ahmedabad ; 3 seers of jowar normally nd 10 to 15 seers during harvest time when labour is n great demand in Broach ; about 5 seers of bajri or addy in Kapadvaj and Matar Taluka in Khaira ; seers of either paddy, maize, barta or banti in the unch Mahals and 3 to 4 seers of jowar in the Cotton owar track and 2½ seers of jowar and 4 seers of paddy n the Southern Talukas in the Surat district. In he Bhil tract of Ahmedabad and the Hansod Mahal f Broach for harvesting an acre of wheat, the wage mounts to 12 to 16 seers of wheat, while in other egions bundles are paid for harvesting 100 bundles, ach bundle yielding about 4 seers of wheat.

Housing Conditions

Agricultural labourers occupy the worst quarters nd the worst huts in the villages. Men sleep on the ot or in open air for six months in the year. But the ut gets so overcrowded in the rain and winter months hat the inmates may be said to be couched rather han housed. Floors and walls get damp. There are no indows or chimneys for the foul air to escape from he huts. In certain cases even sunlight does not enetrate in the interior so that it is always dark side. These conditions lead to all sorts of fever, articularly relapsing fever which rages for months. fant mortality is high.

Numerous cases have been found where the mates sleep along with cattle and livestock. In aunpur, the huts generally consist of only one dingy om with kitchen, dormitory, parlour and in many ses cattle-shed combined.[15] In village Hatwa Gorakhpur), Mr. Mathur found that "a hut measuring × 12 × 5 ft. was occupied by 45 persons and a goat nd the inmates were thin, diseased and dirty."[16]

In villages, Sheikhdhir (Bahraich), it was found hat two bullocks, fishing tackle and four members of Oriya-caste labourer's family were packed into a dark nd stingy house measuring 14×14×7 ft.[17] Too often, herefore, a village family has for a home a dwelling which is scandalously below its needs, besides being leaky and unhealthy.

> "To many peasants," observes Dr. Mukherjee, "the huts are simply places where one can stretch his legs and sleep in the night, and in several instances the loss of privacy blunts all sense of shame and decency. Men and women, young and old, sometimes may be seen packed together along with cattle and goats in winter, and the home that should radiate noble social and aesthetic influences, is a den of misery and disease where people breed and die like fruit flies."[18]

In brief, labourers habitually live in conditions of filth and dirt around them and with disease and debility hanging like a sword above them suspended by a hair.

Indebtedness

The employment of labour in agriculture varies from six to nine and in some cases ten months of the year in different regions and in spite of unemployment in the rest of the period the labourers are able to maintain themselves from what they earn. What little indebtednes they incur during normal times is for marriage and such other social purposes. Though the amount of debt seldom exceeds Rs. 100, the chances for repayment are slender as there is little opportunity for saving even if he gets a little cash working as a casual labourer in the fields of others when he has no work on the land of his master. Rare cases there are when the brother or the son of the borrower migrates or emigrates and remits some savings to pay off the debts.

The share-tenant also borrows from his landlord for the purchase of cattle, which he has to repay when he has to leave. He bears the risk of loss by death or deterioration of cattle. He also borrows from the landlord for the maintenance of his family in the off-season. The dues are deducted at the harvest from the share to which he is entitled. Often there is little grain left for him to take home and the round of borrowing goes on as ever.

The casual labourer cannot get any loan without paying a high rate of interest. He borrows mostly from the itinerant lender who lends money and grain and sells cloth on credit and recovers the dues with a high rate of interest at harvest time when wages are higher than can be spent immediately.

Co-operative Credit Societies organised for the depressed-class labourers at various places have not been developed fully in spite of special aid control by the State partly because of the utter lack of leadership among themselves. Their low earnings and their addiction to drink render the work of redemption from debt extremely difficult.

Family Budget

The income of the rural class with the exception of the hired labourer, represents a combination of

15. B. Misra : *Over-population in Jaunpur*, p. 55.
16. Mathur : *Pressure of Population in Gorakhpur*, p. 48.
17. Lolenzo : *Agricultural Labour and Marketing in Oudh* (1934), p. 67.
18. Mathur : *Op. Cit.*, Introduction by Dr. Mookerjee.

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almost all kinds of income. As a rule, the net spendable of rural classes is low because of the possibility for direct appropriation of many of the items of living (such as food, rent and fuel from nature). Similarly, many items of expenditure do not enter the budget. In Switzerland, 61 per cent of the total income of a rural family was in cash and rest of the income was derived from natural products either given them by their employers or secured from their farms.[19] In America, Hawthorne found that 38 per cent of the farmers' needs were supplied by the farm. But in India conditions are quite different. The Kamia labourers get only food and housing but no cash; the landless field-worker or the unspecified labour receives only cash wages but no allowance while the cultivating labourer supplements his money income by appropriations from his farm.

The most striking feature of these budgets of Indian agricultural labourers is the high percentage of total expenditure on food alone, being more than 60 per cent, against 39 for U.S.A., 55 for Russia, and 56 for Holland[20] which is an index of the low standard of living of the workers.

In the case of well-to-do tenants this percentage is not so high as in the case of landless field-workers who stand on the lowest rung of economic ladder.

It is striking to note that percentage of expenditure on psysiological and basic requirements (*e.g.*, food, clothing, rent) is the highest whereas the percentage of expenditure on non-physiological and secondary requirements (*i.e.*, social and religious recreation, education of children, etc.) is almost negligible in the majority of the cases. Moreover, the percentage of expenditure on non-physiological and secondary requirements is higher in the case of urban industrial workers than in case of agricultural workers in rural areas, which again is a sure index of the low standard of living of agricultural labourers when compared with their context in urban areas :[21]

	Percentage of expenditure on	
	Physiological and basic requirements	Non-physiological and secondary requirements
Average agricultural labourer (Rural)	89.9	11.1
Average Industrial worker	73.8	26.2

The food taken by the labourers is far from satisfactory. Many do not get the required quantity nor get the requisite quality. It is said that if epidemics slay thousands every year, malnutrition kills millions. Their diet usually consists of inferior cereals like jowar, bajri and millets with some pulses. Green vegetables are taken only on festive occasions. Ghee and milk are rarely included in the diet. They take their daily diet at about 12 A.M. in the noon and the meal in the evening after returning from the field. Often millet or barley, bread and chillies and some salt are taken. The labourers as a class are more addicted to drink than others. They drink country liquor made of rotten barley and mahua seed. Whether the liquor injures health or not the addicts are economically at a low level. Whatever they earn they spend away, more at the Kalal's shop than for the household. This results in deterioration in their financial status and their children and womanfolk suffer privation.

The portion of basic foods to energizing foods consumed by various classes of agricultural labourers in some Provinces of Northern India is as follows :[22]

1. *Food Budget of well-to-do cultivators showing the percentage of Basic Energizing Foods* :

Province	Total of food consumers	Basic foods	Percentage to the total	Energizing foods	Percentage to the total
	oz.	oz.		oz.	
Punjab	58	31	53.4	27	46.6
U. P.	42	20	47.6	22	52.4
Bengal	36	19	52.8	17	47.2

2. *Food Budget of landless agricultural labourers and field workers showing the percentage of Basic to Energizing Foods* :

Province	Total of food consumed	Basic foods	Percentage to the total	Energizing foods	Percentage to the total
	oz.	oz.		oz.	
Punjab	49	40	81.6	9	18.4
U. P.	33	29	87.9	4	12.1
Bengal	28	22	77.8	6	21.4

3. *Food Budget of Agrestic serfs showing the percentage of Basic to Energizing Foods* :

Consumers	Total amount of food consumed	Basic foods	Percentage to the total	Energizing foods	Percentage to the total
Sewaks (Oudh)	21	21	100	—	—
Kamias (Bihar)	22	20	90.9	2	9.1

It will be seen from the foregoing statements that the amount of energizing food consumed by well-to-do tenants comes up to the standard and we can safely conclude that this class is well-fed and efficient and maintains a high level of living, because the effective consumption of energizing foods is greater, yielding a higher chemical value and excess of protein. On the other hand, the effective consumption of energizing foods in the case of field-workers hardly exceeds 18 per cent of the total amount of food consumed. In the case of agricultural serfs, like the Sewaks of Oudh and Kamias of Bihar and Chota Nagpur, the consumption of energizing food is almost nil. Their food supply, therefore, does not perform a correct compound so as to obviate any chance of malnutrition and conse-

19. Sorokin, Zimmerman : *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vol. III, p. 371.

20. *Ibid*, p. 372.

21. Lorenzo : *Op. Cit.*, p. 120.

22. *Ibid*, pp. 125-126.

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quently of disease, ill health or premature death. The fact is that field workers and agrestic serfs are underprovided with protein, the former due to poverty and ignorance of dietetics and the latter due to circumstances beyond their control. It follows, therefore, that these two classes of labourers are verging on a very low standard of living.

The labourer and his family fall an easy victim to several diseases due to malnutrition and unhealthy conditions of living as they are usually underfed, ill-housed and ill-clothed.

Between hookworm and malaria at least 20 per cent of the working days may be lost by the labourers. Owing to his extreme poverty he has no fund on which he could draw in case of sickness or when he is out of work. Poverty, stark poverty, stares him in the face. He is born in the meshes of poverty, lives in grinding penury and often dies in distress. The life story of a rural labourer in India is a tale of unmitigated woe. It is time that immediate steps be taken to change the lot of rural labourers.

Efficiency of Labour

The working and living conditions of the labourers as sketched above cannot be conducive to efficiency of work. It has often been remarked by writers that labourers in India are generally inefficient and extraordinarily unproductive compared with the British agricultural labourers. But efficiency is a complex affair, not easily measurable except in simple operations, and it depends not only on qualities of strength and skill, industry and intelligence of the individual workers but on conditions of soil, animal power, implements, direction and incentives to work in the shape of wages and other benefits. Unless these factors are isolated and careful experiments are conducted it is difficult to speak of comparative efficiency of labour.

It is, however, accepted on all hands that our labour is inefficient and might do better under more favourable conditions. A marked difference occurs between different classes of workers in one and the same tract and in similar tracts.

Better equipment, animal power and implements should add to the efficiency of the labourer. Today there are in use a variety of implements and tools of different sizes and shapes, evolved in course of years to suit different conditions of soil and climate and crops and perhaps different types of people too. It is, therefore, necessary that systematic studies should be made of the fatigue produced by several implements used and of the possibility of reducing the time and number of movements involved in doing any kind of work on the farm. Further, the location of the worker in relation to the work, the best attitude of body and feet to the work must be determined.

(To be continued)

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THE MULTI-PURPOSE RIVER-VALLEY PROJECTS IN INDIA

By N. P. BHOUMICK,

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I. Contribution in Easing India's Food Problem[1]

The haunting spectre at all the present-day discussions is the problem of India's food-shortage. Not to speak of providing adequate supplies to assure the nation of a certain minimum standard of balanced nutrition, the nation is spending 58 per cent of her national income to keep the population out of the grip of actual starvation. From this angle the contribution of the ambitious multi-purpose river-valley projects is expected to be simply stupendous and can be classified under several heads :

A. Extended Irrigation

But before the effect of the development of multi-purpose river-valley projects over irrigation is delineated a brief resume of the present situation and requirements of the country might be helpful for proper appreciation.

Of the total area of 1,000 million acres about half of which lies in the Indian States, a little over a third is covered by forests, roads, railways, towns, etc., and is not available for cultivation. Of the remainder about 432 million acres are generally under cultivation but over 250 million acres either lie fallow or are under cultivation but produce much less compared to the production of other places in the world. India as situated geographically and with her natural rainfall spread throughout the entire sub-continent, requires for successful cultivation or for increase in the area of cultivable land, irrigation in one form or other all over the country where average rainfall is below 50 ins. This is so in the whole of Punjab and United Provinces, in part of Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and all over the whole of Deccan Plateau except a fringe along the Western coast, Table I will clearly show our staggering position with regard to irrigation.

1. The reader is advised to read this section in conjunction with "Food Problem in India" by N. P. Bhoumick in *The Modern Review* for August, 1950.

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TABLE I[2]

Irrigation Statistics of India (figures in thousands of acres—figures related to 1947-48)

States	Nett Area: According to survey	Nett Area: According to village papers	Classification of Area: Forests	Not available for cultivation	Other uncultivated land excluding current fallows	Current fallows	Cultivable area included in "other uncultivated land excluding current fallow"	Nett area actually sown	Total area irrigated
Assam	55497	33400	4207	4248	16994	1881	....	5234	1123
Bihar	45023	44326	6612	6525	6580	7083	....	17691	5320
Bombay	73853	58006	8934	7213	1963	6075	364	33821	1583
Madhya Pradesh	83408	82550	23179	6248	19732	5365	8030	28025	1740
Madras	81772	80796	13550	14318	12222	10244	294	30462	9809
Orissa	38492	20142	2606	6556	3218	1245	....	6517	1693
Punjab (I)	24019	23281	769	6172	2438	1814	3	12088	4296
Uttar Pradesh	72148	71403	7951	11572	10203	2797	661	38880	11079
West Bengal	20090	19549	1709	3026	1930	1142	....	11742	2072
Hyderabad	52683	52927	6171	8397	1142	13364	....	23853	1339
Jammu and Kashmir†	57825	8002	1759	2805	905	275	....	2258	786
Madhya Bharat‡	29609	19340	2427	3946	3537	1738	3367	7692	331
Mysore	18853	17385	1957	5728	1567	1709	....	6424	1159
P.E.P.S. Union	6463	6463	116	469	824	701	....	4353	1718
Rajasthan§	82191	20669	655	4223	4544	2862	10	8385	1503
Saurastra*	13411	1397	7	155	222	....	....	1013	54
Travancore-Cochin**	5859	5350	1616	495	329	72	....	2838	945
Vindya Pradesh***	15744	1610	203	315	440	192	....	460	70
Ajmer	1546	1562	47	596	295	181	....	443	105
Bhopal	4429	4451	1004	916	839	130	....	1562	19
Bilaspur	290	285	36	29	97	45	....	78	8
Coorg	1020	1012	331	250	226	42	....	163	6
Delhi	367	366	....	73	53	15	....	225	49
Himachal Pradesh	6784	1877	534	310	297	134	181	602	8
Kutch	5415	4974	108	1407	1200	1608	599	462	49
Total	806997 ****	581123	86488	95992	91632	60715	245271	13509	46941

NOTE: Figures for Bihar relate to 1946-47 (undivided India).

† These figures relate to 1942-43 since subsequent figures are not available.

‡ Includes figures for Gwalior, Indore, Rajagarh, Narsingarh and Barawani.

§ Includes figures for Marwar, Bikaner, Bundi, Alwar, Bharatpur, Dholpur, Jaipur, Jhalawar, Kotal, Kishangarh and Tonk and relate to the year 1940-47.

* Includes figures for Bhabanagar only.

** Figures for Travancore unit relate to 1946-47.

*** Includes figures for Orchha and Nagod only.

**** Includes 10,216,000 acres in respect of Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Manipur and Tripura States.

2. *Statistical Abstract, India*, 1949, Vol. II, Office of Economic Adviser, Government of India, pp. 1322-1326.

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For maturing the same crop in the different parts of the country not only a varying quantity of water is required but also a varying frequency of irrigation. In some places nothing will grow without artificial irrigation as in Bhawalpur while in others not only irrigation is necesary but quick drainage of the rain water is to be effected for preventing the plants being damaged by submersion as in the Hirakud area in Orissa, and in some parts of Travancore-Cochin. In between these extremes, there is a wide range of water requirements for maturing of different crops. At some places irrigation works are required as a standby and used in times of drought as in the case of Bengal and in others for supplementing inadequate and erratic rainfall whereas in some other places irrigation is a necessary complement of cultivation and is required all the year round.

Below many irrigation canals and nearer to the river banks where the slope of the country is gentle, as has already been stated, there is the danger of soils getting generally water-logged. In such situations expensive measures have to be undertaken in order to lower the water-table, by what is known as sub-soil drainage canals and distributaries. But if these areas can be supplied with cheap power not only the problem of removing water-logged conditions will be solved to a great extent but it will also supply this water for irrigation of more crops and thereby result in more revenue which would have otherwise been lost. The best example of such irrigation by pumping will be found in the Imperial Valley near California (U.S.A.) where round about a million acres of fruit gardens are being irrigated by pumping. Most of the area in this valley is below sea level and there is o possibility of any drainage ; water is therefore pumped, year after year, to meet the needs of this fertile valley. Thus by pumping 16,000 cusecs are raised through a lift of some 300 ft.—the water required for the irrigation of 1,200,000 acres of semi-arid land. This is a very important point with regard to India.

Thus, while due to extreme scarcity of water our lands produce much less than it should have been otherwise and many culturable lands are going out of cultivation, most of our water wealth is running to woeful waste causing incalculable damage in man, material and property and eroding millions of acres of lands round about the course of most of our rivers. How much of our enormous water-wealth is being allowed to waste may be gauged from the figure that the mean annual run-off of Indian rivers on a very conservative basis, is of the order of 2,000,000 cusecs (sufficient to submerge the entire peninsula under 2 ft. deep water) of which only about 133,000 cusecs or a bare 7 per cent is being put to beneficial use. In addition to the 2,000,000 cusecs running off the surface of the country, vast quantities of water, yet unestimated, are flowing down to the oceans under the subsoil, of which only about 30,000 cusecs are being used so far.

Hithertofore, our irrigation schemes were mainly confined to diversion of available supplies during the critical period, which determined the scope of a project. Flow during the dry months being practically negligible in most of our rivers there is very limited scope for *rabi* irrigation unless supplemented by supply from storage reservoirs or supplies made available from the underground sub-soil reservoir by having recourse to pumping with cheap hydel-power.

The supply available from our Indian rivers during the critical period is generally very small, and hence it is rather difficult to draw up "Productive" Irrigation Schemes based on such supplies. The only way out is to store the surplus supplies during wet months and to release as and when required in the dry period. This storing can be done by construction of dams across the rivers in their upper reaches but such structures will call for a capital outlay which is prohibitive if confined to irrigation only. In a multi-purpose project, considerations of flood control and irrigation weigh decisively in selecting both the location and the design of the project. The water stored in the reservoir or lake that is formed by the damming of the river is primarily to meet the irrigation needs. The power generated, in a way, is a by-product of the irrigation, since without calling for additional capital outlay in the construction of dam and the water used for it being surplus over irrigation needs, it augments the revenue-earning capacity of the schemes as a whole. As a consequence the otherwise generally uneconomic (strictly from the point of view of direct financial return) flood control and irrigation schemes become handsomely economic.

Even a purely hydro-electric scheme assists perennial irrigation. The water which is kept stored upstream for power generation, is discharged throughout the year in the river which satisfies the irrigation needs of the land round about the river. Thus it will be seen power and irrigation are complementary to each other either in single or multi-purpose projects.

Now we shall come to the question which is frequently asked even by the austere people : Accepted we need power for irrigation, but, for that should we incur such large capital outlay and develop Hydro-electricity ? Can't we instal Diesel Engine generating sets at selected places and distribute the power from them to a net-work of lift irrigation system, or, alternatively, oil-engine driven pump-sets ? The data compiled by Madras and U. P. Governments on all such experiments provide the convincing answer and in the words of Mr. Rohatgi:

> "For tube-wells that are small scattered units pumping continuously, Diesel Power directly applied to pumps are particularly unsuitable, as an engine driver with an assistant during periods of

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demand would be required at each unit, and either the engine would have to stop every day for rest causing loss of irrigation at times of demand, or two engines have to be installed at each tube-well. The annual charge for a state tube-well run by individual Diesel engine would be more than double that of an electrically operated tube-well. Diesel engine generating sets can, however, be employed in units of 150 to 300 k.w. to produce electricity at a central place to serve a group of 15 to 30 tube-wells by means of short H.T. lines. But in this case also the generating cost would be high, and the cost per inch-acre watering would work out to nearly double that of State tube-wells worked by Hydel-grid."

Another important fact that underlies the advantages and cheapness of Hydel power in irrigation, over its only possible alternative, namely, Diesel power, is the replacement of Diesel engines by Hydel power even in a large-scale and almost centralised undertaking as the de-watering of water-logged areas in Travancore-Cochin State.[3 4 5]

B. Flood Control

According to a communique, published by the Union Government, at least six million tons of food were lost through natural calamities in India in 1950. This is besides the loss sustained in property and life both human and animal. The peculiarity with most of the Indian rivers is that while during the greater part of the year there will be little or no water, with the roaring torrents of the monsoons coming down the hills and pleatues the rivers become sites of terror, completely uprooting signs of any life in the near vicinity. The incalculable loss sustained by the community can be best appreciated in the light of a few practical examples. Last year an attempt was made by the West Bengal Government to assess the damages caused by the last flood in Damodar to the public, the Provincial and the Central Governments. At current prices the total loss amounted to Rs. 7,96,00,000. The available records show that on an average we can count on a major flood in the Damodar Valley every ten years. Notwithstanding, there are minor floods, localised, which occur almost every year during the monsoon. There are also tracts of fertile land which, though otherwise cultivable, cannot at present grow crops because of the annual rise in the flood water level. Once these minor floods are controlled, something like half a crore of rupees worth of extra crops should be available every year. To quote another example, according to a preliminary estimate prepared by Mr. J. Shaw, Executive Engineer, the money value of damage caused by the Mahanadi River to the adjoining areas during a period of 29 years between 1910-1938 was about 3.5 crores. The maximum losses due to extraordinary floods in a single year have been sometimes as high as Rs. 66 lakhs. The losses chiefly occur by damage to or destruction of crops, heavy cattle mortality, deterioration of field due to deposits of sand and other evil effects. The Koshi (Bihar's River of Sorrow) generally starts flooding in the month of July and causes havoc every year in an area of about 35,000 sq. miles in Dharbhanga, Purnea and Saharsa districts. The last flood submerged nearly 500 villages with a population of about 4 to 5 lakhs and it was estimated that properties and standing crops worth about Rs. 3 crores and a half were damaged. It is however important to keep in mind that all the above are but very modest estimates, and no calculation is possible of the loss and damage to human lives entailed in all these floods. Another important aspect of the flood sufferers was the condition of their cattle wealth specially in an area where agriculture is the mainstay of approximately 90 per cent of the population. Cattle wealth suffers a serious depletion as a result of floods and diseases in their wake.

But this is only a fringe compared to the colossal destruction caused by floods to lands when viewed in the background of agriculture. It is estimated that all flowing rivers of our country, the scouring and scavanging action of which is at their peak during the spate, carry away millions of tons of suspended earth material to the sea. This material constitutes the principal food-producing ingredient of the soil. It is obvious that the subcontinent of ours is poorer every year by millions and billions of tons of this material which is so vital to the vegetation.

We quote below the soil and silt which was carried away by one of the torrents, *viz.*, the Jaba Khas and measured by the Punjab Irrigation Department during the two floods of 1936 for rainfalls of 3.70 ins. and 2.70 ins., the entire catchment of which (water course) is 62 sq. miles.

Table II

Vol. of flood in cusecs	Total silt content (per cent)	Silt content coarser than 0.075 mm in dia (per cent)	Silt carried in one hr.	
			Total (tons)	Coarse (tons)
11 200	1.15	0.18	23,000	3,600
27,750	2.04	0.30	102,000	15,000

These figures show how rapidly the carriage of silt increases with intensity of run-off, and furthermore the reason why the ravine districts in the alluvial tracts instead of being the granaries of the country have become the temporary abode of gipsies, an emblem of beggary which has scarcely any parallel with any population in any part of the world, and very aptly the Indian rivers are called "rivers of sorrow."

It is seldom realised that from a hard rock to the soft soil is a far cry and that the process of conversion

3. P. K. Menon : "Hydel-power & Irrigation," *Indian Journal of Power and River Valley Development*, Vol. 1, No. 5, April 1951.

4. D. P. Rohatgi : "Electricity and Irrigation," Transactions of World Power Conference, 1951.

5. Rural Electrification in Madras State, Electricity Department, Government of Madras. Transactions of World Power Conference 1951.

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of the former into the latter takes some centuries. So once this soil is removed from an area, it becomes unfit for supporting any vegetation and remains so for a long time. The floods of one season can take away the good work of centuries of the natural agents of decomposition and weathering which are responsible for the formation of the soil. However, in more details and exactitude we are coming to this point later on.

Reservoirs as merely flood-moderators to protect agricultural land are seldom economical as the cost of their construction will be disproportionate to the value of the land protected. Even in U.S.A. their use in the past has been restricted to cases where the property protected has a very high unit value such as big cities and industrial areas. The flood control system of the Miami district in the U.S.A. which has proved successful, would never have been economically feasible had it not been for the high valuation of property, the great density of population and the importance of industries located in the flood area.

Again, since there is no regularity in the quantity or the period of occurrence of floods, such reservoirs are seldom reliable. The American experience has incontroversibly demonstrated that to control a river from the onrush of flood water it should be controlled all along its courses right from the beginning to the end and not at a point or two in between. The cost involved thereupon, is all out of proportions, unless the river is schemed out for multi-purpose development. Other methods that have been suggested to counteract the evil are more related to soil-conservation and this is being dealt with in the next section.

(To be continued)

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FOOD ECONOMY OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE

By S. N. KAUL

Inspired by the Indian food policy the Jammu and Kashmir Government also felt ambitious to attempt to make the State self-sufficient in food. Various measures were adopted. Land was transferred to the tenant, tractors were employed, foreign seeds were introduced, rotation of crops tried, consolidation of holdings is started, co-operative farming introduced and the 'Grow More Food' campaign started. Even *mujwaza* of maize is raised in Kashmir to feed the population. All these attempts failed to show any signs of significant improvement in the situation.

The Government has not so far succeeded in procuring the targeted production. Compulsory levy is required for self-sufficiency purposes. During the last 4½ years the Kashmir Government subsidized the sale of imported foodgrains to the extent of 155 lakhs. In 1951-52 alone subsidy to the tune of 66.37 lakhs has been paid. For 1952-53 the Centre's allocation of 16,000 tons will be raised to meet the food shortage. Although the Government is doing something in almost all the directions, but since it is not coordinated and planned, it does not show significant success. This is mainly due to the fact that the factor of population is not taken into consideration while assessing the requirements of land and its produce. This, being a stupendous task demanding first and imperative consideration, has to be tackled earnestly and on all fronts.

The population of the State has increased from 25,43,952 in 1891 to 43,82,680 in 1951, *i.e.*, by about 75 per cent. According to the present ration scale of over 20 seers of *shali* per head per month, the State needs 2,62,96,000 maunds of food-grains annually. To produce this at the rate of 5 maunds per acre, the State must have 52,59,176 acres of arable land. Against this the State has only 30,00,000 acres of cultivable land throughout the State, out of which 23,00,000 only are cultivated. With this data of natural resources and the leaping increase in population, the food position in the State will always remain unsatisfactory and dependent on outside help. The State can under these circumstances be rightly said to be over-populated, unless adequate attention is paid to check the growth of population by some sort of birth-control, etc. The Government of Jammu and Kashmir State should, therefore, be equally ambitious in this direction, if they really want to solve the food problem in Kashmir.

In certain difficult matters Kashmir has given a lead to India. A similar lead from them is expected in this direction also.

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS : THE WRONG APPROACH

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By MANKUMAR SEN

Community Development Projects, in the context of the Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Agreement, have naturally evoked considerable interest, and no less considerable criticism. We do not propose to analyse the terms of the agreement, of which a fairly broad introduction, as visible in the principal clauses of the agreement, will be found in the editorial columns of July, 1952 issue of this journal.

In recent history, Gandhiji's outline of village Republican Rule as against centralized city-centred administration and a broad-based, balanced community life stands out in unequalled glory. His basic approach to community re-organisation, or in other words, resettlement of the society on the fundamental human values, such as, universal love, truthfulness, non-exploitation and co-operation, is the decentralization of political power and economic organization with village republic as the basic unit. This ideal has, broadly, had its recognition in the Indian Constitution, though hardly the beginning of the beginning has been made in actual performance.

Planning Commission's Recommendation

India's first Planning Commission too, in conformity with the objectives of the Constitution, has stressed the need of community organization as "the most effective means of social betterment and the key to the successful development of social welfare programmes." The Community Development Projects, as initiated by the Government of India under the Indo-U.S.A. aid programme owe their origin to the recommendation of the Commission. In their Draft Report, the Commission has placed their viewpoint and proposals in the following manner :

> "The essence of the technique is that regional groups containing a manageable number of families living in close proximity in well-defined areas are organised as *democratic units* co-operating for the furtherance of common interests. Community organization should generally be created, sustained, and managed by the regional community. In the initial stages, however, such a movement may be sponsored by the State and it would be one of the major tasks of social service agencies to organise and strengthen the development of regional democratic communities and equip them for initiative, leadership, and local organization for creating community programmes, having as their main elements : (1) Community recreation and fitness programmes ; (2) Fundamental education and cultural development; (3) Economic welfare through co-operatives; (4) Woman and child and family welfare ; (5) Environmental planning and development ; (6) Youth welfare ; (7) General and social welfare activities ; and (8) Effective organization of the social and economic life of the community through co-operatives and panchayats, etc."

This 8-point proposal may not seem very concrete and definite, rather they may be construed as catchy slogans of welfare ; but one thing the Commission has made reasonably clear, and that is the initiation and organization of "democratic" Community Units. And that such organization should be made effective through co-operatives and panchayats (village republics) has also been stressed, though perhaps not as emphatically and distinctly as one may desire.

The Projects

The development programme, as initiated by the Government falls into two separate but closely interlocked parts. The first is the programme to be supervised by the Community Projects Administration, with the financial assistance provided from the Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Fund. The projects planned for under this part of the programme consists of 3 main types, *viz.*, (1) The basic community development projects, (2) the 'composite' development projects and, (3) 'training centres' for instructing village workers. In the 'basic' projects, the primary emphasis has been laid on increasing agricultural production. The Planning Commission in their circular letter to the State Governments describes the different stages of the programme thus :

> "300 villages with a total area of about 450 to 500 square miles, cultivated area of about 150,000 acres and a population of about 200,000 will constitute one project area, which again will be divided into three development blocks, each consisting of about 100 villages and a population of about 60,000 to 70,000. The development block, in turn, is divided into the field of operation for a village level worker."
>
> "In actual practice, however, local conditions and administrative considerations will largely influence the size of the area selected for a community project or a development block," it has been added.

The second part of the programme is that which is sponsored by the Ford Foundation and directly supervised by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture with financial aid from the foundation. The projects in this case, however, cover a smaller area and consist of only 100 villages each. It may be interesting to have a tabular picture of the distribution of projects in the States :

Distribution of Community Development Projects

	Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Fund and Community Projects Administration.		Joint Auspices	Ford Foundation and Food Ministry	
States	Community projects	Blocks	Training centres	Development projects	Training-cum-Development projects
Part A	32	16	16	3	4
Part B	11	2	6	4	1
Part C	2	8	3	3	—
Total	45	26	25	10	5

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Thus, for the immediate period 45 Community Development Projects and 26 development blocks under the Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Agreement, and 10 development projects, 5 training-*cum*-development projects and 25 training centres under the auspices of Ford Foundation are to be adopted.

Administration : Objects

The projects under the Indo-U.S.A. Technical Co-operation Agreement are to be managed by a central committee, which includes members of the Planning Commission and high-level officers of the Government of India, the actual execution of the responsibilities having been vested in an administrator, who works under the general guidance of the Central Committee. It is to be noted, in this respect, that, under Clause 7 of the Agreement, "no recommendation of this Committee involving the allocation of expenditure of funds made available by the U.S.A. Government can be given effect to without the concurrence of the Director" (Director of the U.S.A. Government Technical Co-operation Administration in India).

The Planning Commission has stressed that 'the central object of a Community Project is to secure the fullest development of the material and human resources of an area.' The character of the projects will be rural-*cum*-urban and the main lines of activity on the rural side will comprise the following :

(*a*) Agriculture and rural development ;
(*b*) Cottage and small-scale industries ;
(*c*) Education, including vocational and technical training ;
(*d*) Health ; (*e*) Housing ; and (*f*) Communications.

Some elaborate references to the West Bengal Plan were made by Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of the State, in his two press statements of November 29, 1951, and February 11, 1952. Fifty to sixty villages comprising one block, a population between 30,000 to 40,000 covering an area of approximately 75 square miles will come under each block in West Bengal. The Chief Minister said :

"Our present intention is to take up 8 projects during the next four-year period ending 1955-56. One Development Block will be taken up in each Project area in the first year, *i.e.*, in 1952-53. In the second year, these 8 Blocks will be completed and 29 new Blocks will be taken up. In the third year, these 29 will be completed and another 27 Blocks will be taken up. The fourth year will see the completion of the work in the last group of 27 Blocks, thus completing the four-year target of 64 Blocks covering all the 8 Project areas. To make each of these Blocks a relatively self-contained unit the Government have contemplated one township at the centre of each Unit or Block, and this township will have rural-*cum*-urban character. That is, this central town and surrounding villages will form one Organic Unit. *The township will have all the fundamental urban amenities* and will *yet* retain a *rural character* in most aspects of life. The idea is to effect a reciprocal interchange of goods and services, as between the central town and the component villages. Also concerted measures will be undertaken to effect an all-round improvement of the living conditions in the villages by the introduction of better agricultural practices, expansion of cottage industry, opening up and maintenance of internal communications, provision of better sanitation, public health and educational facilities. The agencies for providing most of these services are proposed to be located in the urban centre within easy access of the villages within the Block and *Branch offices of Government Departments concerned will be established in the township for this purpose*. It has been estimated that within the 8 projects, 32 towns will be established."—(Italics ours).

Rural-Urban Relationship

Those who know how to read between the lines will have ample food for thought in such new town-making schemes. It is crystal clear that the present-day dominating position and exploiting nature of towns with their numerical strength augmented will virtually remain intact, despite which, we are told, these new towns, with the usual array of Government offices, will retain a rural character and there will be a 'reciprocal' inter-change of goods and services between these towns and the surrounding villages ! Also in administration the *status quo* will be maintained, there being no bold conception to build up a democratic unit from the bottom, the village. Also the fundamental issues like re-distribution of land to the actual tillers, resuscitation of village industries with fullest independent status and facilities for the marketing of their products are yet to be settled. It is the height of optimism, in our opinion, to think that a township comprising 1,000 working families (out of 1,500)—almost 90 per cent of which will belong to the lower-strata middle class—can have the buying power, even if the desire be there, adequate to consume the village-made articles of the surrounding areas. As regards the villages, the economic heritage of the country conclusively shows that the immediate needs of the villagers can better be met in local arrangement than elsewhere. Beginning from the plough up to the production of cloth by home-spinning and weaving method and practical education in a basic style, the village or group of villages can be successfully made the nerve-centre and the basic constituent unit of the society and the State. Unfortunately the cart appears to have been put before the horse : while self-contained village unit is the original idea, the Projects bid for new townships on the miseries of villages. It is a cruel joke to ask for reciprocal behaviour from the villages until and unless urgent long-felt measures to lift them from the present rot have been adopted. However, we deliberately refrain from any extensive study of the West Bengal Plan in so far as reports on the similar (working) projects elsewhere are a pointer to the real state of

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affairs and also the danger that may lie in the womb of future.

The Etawah Experience

We are told that in planning the community projects all over the country the Planning Department of the Government of India have pinned their faith in the achievements like Etawah and Nilokheri townships. The Planning Commission in their circular letter to the States *inter alia* asserts :

> "Valuable experience in the integrated development of an urban area, in relation to the surrounding rural area has been gained at Nilokheri ; in intensive rural development work, much has been done in Etawah in Uttar Pradesh as well as in other States. The rural-*cum*-urban Community Projects which are now proposed are designed to combine the results of these recent experiments."

Let us see what is the experience and result gained : We do not mean to minimise, in any way, the gainful aspects, if any, of these projects ; our object is simply to spot-light their basic weakness, which, unless set right in time, may cause the whole scheme tumble down like a pack of cards ere long. Conditions developing at Etawah strongly support our apprehensions.

The Eetawah Project came into being in November, 1948. The Project is intended to cover 197 villages, of which 97 were taken up only in September, 1951. These 97 villages surround Mahewa, a small rural town at a distance of about 18 miles to the east of Etawah, the headquarters of the Etawah District, Allahabad Division, Uttar Pradesh. The area covered by now is 61,400 acres with a population of 79,000. From the District Development Officer down to the peon, no less than 125 persons are directly employed in the project. So far a sum of Rs. 15,11,000 has been spent on the Project during the last three years. *The recurring annual expenditure is of the order of Rs. 3 lakhs of which about one lakh is spent on superintendence alone.* This is no figment of our imagination, we gather these facts from reports by eminent Indians whose integrity and authority is above board. A team of Sarvodaya workers led by Prof. Thakurdas Bang of Wardha made an on-the-spot study tour of Etawah of which a report has been published. Says the report :

> "When we enquired of Mr. Mayer (the leading spirit behind the Project) about the period for which such expenditure would continue he replied, 'for ever and ever'."

Principal S. N. Agarwal of Wardha, a member of the delegation, also reports exactly the same thing :

> "When we inquired from Mr. Albert Mayer, the Planning Expert of the U.P. Government, as to the period for which the huge recurring expenditure would have to be continued, the reply was, 'for ever and ever'."—(*Congress Sandesh*, June 30, 1952).

Sri Agarwal further points out the inherent weakness of the Scheme in the following words :

> "The shortcoming of the project lies mainly in not paying sufficient attention to village and cottage industries as means of subsidiary employment to agriculturists. The type of primary and secondary education that is being imparted to the children in the area is of the old pattern. Unless basic education is introduced in the elementary schools of the compact area, it would be impossible to create the requisite atmosphere for social and economic reconstruction through hard and disciplined work."

The Bang Delegation's report is an indictment of the whole scheme and makes startling disclosures. In pointing out the people's apathy for the scheme it says :

> "The nature of seed, prohibitive prices of implements, heat content of chemical fertilisers and 'boss-like' or 'sahibana' attitude of the staff are some of the factors that have contributed to this apathy. The people have, as it were, an instinctive dislike for the Project which is due to the grim reality that *the Project has created far more problems than it has solved.* To be brief, the project has meant more unemployment. We met several poor landless laboures including Harijans whose fortunes have not only not improved but have tumbled down. The project may, therefore, prove a curse in disguise. *The future of the Etawah Project is dark and ominous. Its extension will prove all the more ruinous.*"—(Italics ours).

The report concludes :

> *"It is neither a plan of the people, nor for the people, nor by the people, but something imposed from above, having no secure foundation from below."*—(Italics ours).

And finally the Report advises the Government "to stop the Etawah hoax, give a hearty send-off to the ignorant experts knowing nothing about India and her people, return the foreign money already taken, cancel the unholy contract, and deliver the country to its rightful owners, the people." Neither Thakurdas Bang nor S. N. Agarwal belongs to group whose verdict can be lightly brushed aside or denounced as deliberate distortion. Both of the quotations above, bring in bold relief the following weakness or wrong-headed approach in the Project: (1) The old bureaucratic style of education among the local people persists ; (2) the principle of employment and more employment, which is the criterion of any realistic National Project, has not been taken in all seriousness ; (3) agricultural implements and materials are beyond the purchasing power of the local folk; and (4) the administration runs in a bureaucratic fashion, being an imposition from above and not an evolution from below. Thus all the four basic faults that during the British regime, alienated the people of the country from any and every Development Plan, are dominating the Etawah Project too. Is it then too much to repudiate the Project as 'ominous' and 'ruinous'? We do not think any Democratic Government can play the double roles of Dr. Jekyl

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and Mr. Hyde,—to pronounce pious wishes of national development and yet follow, in the main, condemned centralized methods of production, education and top-heavy administration which can break even the camel's back. The American loan is ostensively designed to improve our agriculture. It naturally follows that 'training of the Indian peasants in Indian agriculture by American experts' is not the end, nor the beginning of the end, but is only the beginning of the beginning! Bountiful supply of machines, artificial manures, etc., are to follow swiftly! In fact, a fertiliser agreement within the perview of the Indo-U. S. A. Technical aid programme was signed at New Delhi on May 1, 1952, under which America has agreed to supply about 108,000 tons of fertilisers, for which it would provide 10,650,000 dollars (about Rs. 5.06 crores) out of its promised contribution of 50 million dollars (Fund A). Mainly towards inland transportation of these fertilisers the Government of India will spend Rs. 44 lakhs or 0.92 million dollars, out of the Fund B. The *American Reporter* of May 14, 1952, assures us that the aim of this fertiliser agreement is to increase India's food output by an additional 200,000 tons! And we have the blessed revelation too that even when Sindri runs in full swing India's dependence on foreign imports of ammonium sulphate still remains! Thus India possesses neither the capital (though a plenty of capitalists!), nor the agricultural expert, nor the implements, nor the fertiliser, and nothing of the kind for India's agricultural and rural development! But is it a fact or a fiction? Is there no resources, or no bold and scientific efforts to explore and apply them properly?

Different Conditions : Different Treatment

The powers-that-be seem to have ignored the totally different sets of circumstances prevailing in U.S.A. on the one hand and India on the other, and have made a rush for American models and methods. America contains barely 6 per cent of world's population as against roughly 20 per cent of the world's total cropland. Obviously she has enough land to be wasteful in her agricultural methods without prejudicing her national interests. As soon as returns from land anywhere tend to be decreasing they easily shift on to new land of which they have plenty. Also to explore such large tracts of virgin soil they take recourse to mechanized method. One single fact that emerges from this circumstance is their capacity to carelessly draw on land without having to consider the loss of fertility and recuperative power of land. We have in India, an entirely different set of circumstances. To feed nearly one-fifth of the world's population, we have disproportionately small and strictly limited resource of land. Hence we cannot be wasteful in our agricultural practices. Every time we cultivate a plot of land, some of its elements go out, to restore which we have to rotate crops and allow time-gap between two sowings. This recuperation conditions the pace of our production and if we rush for intensive cultivation through mechanization, our land will soon be reaching the saturating or exhausting point, and having very small fallow lands to fall back upon, our position will become hopeless. We remember Mr. Norris Dodd, a man commanding knowledge of modern agricultural methods and their outcome more than many others and the successor of Lord Boyd Orr as Director-General of the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization to have warned us some time in the year 1949 against highly paid 'modern,' 'scientific and progressive' armchair technical experts. Mr. Dodd clearly advised us to limit mechanization to the breaking of virgin soils only and terracing to avoid soil erosion, avoid extensive use of artificial fertilisers, control soil erosion by preserving forests and extend tube-well irrigation. Indiscriminate mechanization will also increasingly drive out from land human power, *viz.*, the peasants who are already unemployed for many months of the year or miserably under-employed; our bullocks too will die out speedily. Again, since we have fuel for the motive power of mechanized cultivation much less than the needed minimum it has got to be imported, mainly from America. It is high time we keep in constant remembrance that Atom bomb or no Atom bomb Japan in the last war could not evade a crushing defeat due to petrol shortage alone. To 'rebuild' Indian agriculture on lines for which her dependence on vital foreign imports,—imports of tractors fertilisers, petrol, etc., becomes indispensible, is to conscientiously sow the seeds of a disaster.

Make Amends in Time!

The American Director, under the terms of agreement, has been virtually made a dictator, in the Community Development Scheme. He with his party possesses the longest rope, having all the rights and no responsibilities in making or unmaking the projects. Like Cæser's wife they are above suspicion, and have been granted immunity from legal proceedings in a Court of Law even if involved in malpractices. The outcome of the projects is sought to be, we believe, both permanent and truly helpful to the Indian people. In that case, the Community Plan, in outlook and approach, has got to be truly Indian. And administration, both alien and unaccustomed to Indian conditions, and injudiciously imposed from above, can hardly evoke genuine interest, enthusiasm, and wilful co-operation of the people. Such a plan or project, whatever its charming show of strength at the top, remains basically weak. Let us beware, be forewarned and make amends in time. Meanwhile we would request persons in responsible positions to refrain from utterances associating Gandhian ideology with these projects.

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SOCIAL HEREDITY OF PRESENT-DAY MIDDLE-CLASS BENGALIS

The Means of Its Orientation for Progress of the People

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The term "Heredity" has been defined in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as "the resemblance between an organism and its ancestors in so far as this resemblance is not due to similarity of environment." That is, Heredity is the resemblance between an organism and its ancestors due to qualities and characteristics acquired through protoplasmic continuity in the birth of the organism.

As applied to human beings the term may be conveniently divided into Physical or Inborn Heredity and Social Heredity. Physical Heredity includes well-marked Mendelian inheritance and other physical characters, acquired through birth. The size and form of the body, the texture of the skin, the colour of the eye, the functioning power of the vital organs and its effects on the character of an individual are all the result of Physical Heredity. It is static and almost fixed and cannot be easily changed, for it has been transmitted through a million years of evolution in human beings just as in other lower animals and in plants. Very slow change can only be produced in the elements of this inborn heredity in human beings in the manner in which it is attempted to be produced in animals and plants by breeders.

But by far the most important part of a man's make-up comes to him through the instrumentality of Social Heredity which means social and family culture. This term refers to methods by which one generation imposes upon the minds of the generation under its immediate control, the superstitions, beliefs, legends and ideas which it, in turn, inherited from the generation preceding.

Our conceptions of religion, politics, economics, philosophy and all other subjects with which we are concerned in our individual, family and social life are solely the results of the most powerful forces of environment and early training.

The inheritance transmitted through social heredity to different nations is very complex and depends to a great extent on geographical, religious, economic and material causes of many kinds. Like an individual, as a society advances in evolution, the gains of progress are accumulated and transmitted from generation to generation by social heredity. Beyond this point the mechanism of social heredity does not, in any way, resemble the mechanism of inborn heredity of an individual. The gains of progress of inborn heredity of an individual are held and transmitted to him at birth and exists in his body as it has come down from the past. But the gains of progress of social heredity are accumulated in the society through social culture which comes down from the past. They are outside of the body of the individual at its birth. In every generation the child has to acquire the social culture with a clean slate, from without. It is imposed upon him by the Society.

Let us now proceed to analyse the social heredity of the present-day middle-class Bengalis. From their infancy our children begin to see the colossal misuse of time and energy. Laziness of body and mind is the main characteristic of our people. This kind of physical and mental inactivity gradually grows out of frustration which is caused by general unemployment due to economic causes. Institutions of different kinds consisting of schools, colleges and training centres in all the branches of knowledge always grow, in our State in absence of definite plans for the expansion of suitable avenues of employment, and young people who acquire degrees, diplomas or training certificates in those centres of learning soon find themselves faced with economic bankruptcy. This economic miserableness initiates a mental attitude due to which we soon begin to form the habit of depending on a so-called all-powerful imaginary and supernatural power commonly called "Fate" about which we begin to hear from a very tender age when the mind remains in a plastic state and read so much in literature of all times and of all countries. The oft-quoted expression "Who will turn the stream of destiny" spreads its magical influence over our mental faculties and often discourages us from taking initiatives in new fields of activity for the fulfilment of an ambition, for we are never taught that we are spinning every day our own fate, good or evil, by our own thoughts and actions.

Thinking in this line brings in its wake the habit of expecting something and indeed substantial something without doing anything for its acquisition which makes us altogether forget the universal rule that if we desire to have a thing we must pay the proper price for it. We begin to play the game of chance in all the spheres of action neglecting the universal truth that speculation always swallows more of its victims than it enriches. We generally hope that we will get abundance by a single turn of our so-called wheel of

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fortune without caring to know that the wheel generally stops at a wrong place pushing its victims towards misery, want and disaster.

If we look at our educational institutions we observe that our boys and girls are taught from even the elementary classes, how to pass the different examinations by short-cut ways. As a result, these future hopes of the people are moulded in such a way that they generally become indolent and avoid to exert themselves to the full extent, in every sort of work. This is why they are converted into hopeless failures in their future life.

This expectation of getting something for nothing often prompts us to take dishonest and illegal means in different walks of life. It creates in our character negligence to discharge our duties and a hankering to earn money and secure a position of distinction by cheating others by way of black-marketing, excessive profit-taking and thousand other grossly unfair and anti-social means in trade, industry and commerce. Although the desire to accumulate money and property is to a certain extent a universal instinct yet this greed for money born out of selfishness and want of character has been aggravated by the second World War and big people of our country are taking all means, fair or foul, to amass wealth through ruthless exploitation of the masses. We see adulteration in food, drugs and other essential commodities of everyday life on a gigantic scale by all sorts of people.

Although the geographical position and atmospheric condition of our country enervate us to a certain extent in our daily endeavours, yet due to a dark economic future and disorganised social conditions we have developed a remarkable antipathy against arduous work. We do not feel any enthusiasm for any work or training to qualify ourselves for any job or profession and when we get a chance we cannot show any superior efficiency.

In the absence of a suitable occupation of our choice, time hangs heavily on us and negativeness and obstructiveness gradually but secretly establish their seat in our mind. We spend our time uselessly in talks and discussions concerning subjects which do not in any way come to our help in our respective field of activity. In order to create an alibi to minimise and hide our own guilt for our inactivity and want of effort in the proper line for the attainment of success, we engage ourselves in destructive criticisms of others, and put the blame for our failure on others' shoulders. We often challenge others to engage us in useless arguments about subjects which have no connection with our definite aim or object. This habit of whiling away time by destructive criticisms and finding faults of others without the slightest idea of constructive work may be observed clearly in gatherings of highly educated and cultured persons.

Want of occupation in the fields of our choice and a constant fear of poverty which always exists in our subconscious mind, also produce a kind of vacuum in our conscious mind and gradually develop in it a preference for easy-going life and a hankering for that sort of pleasure which can be enjoyed without the slightest exertion on our part.

For the last few centuries our people were debarred from taking the military line as profession. This is why the essence of discipline has completely evaporated away from our mind and we have altogether forgot its blessings. Self-control which is nothing but control of thoughts and actions, and subordination of individual interests to collective interest are the two healthy fruits of discipline and so its absence in our every-day life has developed in our character a sense of strong individualism for which we cannot work collectively with superior efficiency in any corporate body. This is why there are want of personality and leadership and the overnight growing, like mushrooms, of so many parties in the State. Want of personality, selfishness, greed, dishonesty, corruption and subordination of collective interest to individual interest are the causes for the failures of joint-stock companies, banks and other sorts of big business amongst our people.

Nepotism is another weakness in our character. Lack of self-control produces a sort of softness in our character. Tender-heartedness, subordination of collective interest to individual interest and expectation of something for nothing are all blended together and give rise to nepotism, which is universally practised in different fields of activities at the expense of individual efficiency. Thus more efficient and energetic persons seldom find any chance to show their superior qualities for which the country suffers in the end.

Due to the geographical situation of the State of West Bengal and the easy-going way of our living we are by nature highly sentimental. But our emotion is comparatively short-lived like the fire in a heap of dry straw which dies down in no time. This is due to our want of self-control. When we are charged with an emotion we cannot control our feeling and transmute it into creative energy which may produce healthy results beneficial to us or to the people as a whole. So it dies a natural death within a short time leaving in its tail exhaustion of the body and the mind.

Let us now proceed to see whether it is possible to change this Social Heredity of ours within a short period of time, say, within one or two generations. Social Heredity was for the first time changed in Germany during the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Then it was changed in Japan, Soviet Russia and Italy. It is now being done in the People's Republic of China. The method is the same everywhere. It is the instrument of the "Emotion of the Ideal." It is the creation and transmission, as part of the collective heredity, of that psychic element which consists of ideas and idealisms

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that rest on emotion and are conveyed to the young under the influence of psychic emotion through the medium of educational institutions, specially primary and secondary schools, religious institutions and festivities and the public press. This psychic emotion is the most powerful of all the elements in the Collective Heredity. The social progress rests on it.

The first remarkable feature of the emotion of the ideal is that it is a state of mind which is highly developed in the child for deep physiological reasons. The extraordinary intensity of the emotion of the ideal in the mind of the child and the part which this faculty plays in creating that capacity for sacrifice upon which progress of social evolution rests, must always be kept in view. It is the basal fact in the science of social heredity. The effect of training and example under the influence of the emotion of the ideal on the mind of the child is absolutely ineradicable. It coins a permanent impression on the character of the child which can never be effaced. It produces in the individual a *capacity for sacrifice* in the realisation of ideals which rises above self-interest and is entirely independent of the reasoning faculty of human mind and inborn heredity of the individual. This spirit of sacrifice has its spring and origin mainly in the collective heredity imposed upon the young through the emotion of the ideal powerfully awakened by teaching and example in the mind of the child which is in a plastic condition and which gradually grows harder with age.

It has already been mentioned that Germany for the first time created a history by changing the entire social heredity within a generation. The seat and centre of the vast experiment throughout the whole period of its performance are in the mind of the young. It was the German educational system which created the psychology of the whole nation. The grand achievement was acquired in the main through the initiatives of two persons—Adalbert Falk, the Prussian Minister of Education up to 1879 and Emperor Wilhelm II. Although in most of the countries, leaders of great national movements generally come from amongst the intellectuals who become prominent in various national activities, in Germany the *Teachers of Elementary Schools* were chosen first, by the State, in its attempt to create the idealisms of German nationalism and to impose them on the young. After the teachers of the elementary schools, the State looked to the teachers of higher schools and then to University professoriate. Not a single branch of the whole educational system of the country was in the least neglected. Teachers of all categories were not only adequately paid but also an atmosphere was created throughout the country due to which they were looked upon as persons of honour and distinction.

Soon after his accession to the throne, the Emperor addressed the teachers of the elementary and higher schools of his kingdom and placed before them the national ideals and the necessity of concentrating the mind of the young on these ideals through the scheme of education which was imposed on the entire nation immediately afterwards. In the address and in the scheme, the ideals of subordination of individual interest to national interest, of self-sacrifice and of duties, occupied the most prominent place. The spirit of this speech and of the measures that followed it, was carried out afterwards into every detail of education by the whole organised power of the State. The national ideals were continuously impressed by teachers on the mind of the young of the whole nation from the earliest age, touching the springs of mind at its deepest psychological centres. The continuous note of the necessity for sacrifice, duty, discipline, devotion and iron obedience in the service of national ideals through the constant support and co-operation of the educated classes, completely changed the mental horizon of the rising generations of the whole nation within a comparatively short period of time.

In addition to work through educational institutions the State of Germany oriented the public opinion through all the spiritual and temporal departments, through the bureaucracy, through the military departments, through the State direction of the press and of the entire trade and industry of the nation so as to bring the idealism of the whole nation to a conception of and to a support of the national policy of Germany.

Through exactly the same agencies, Japan forced upon the mind of her young, the ideal of subordination of individual rights for the sake of national interest and power and within a single generation advanced from her lowly position of a fourth-rate nation to the rank of a first-grade nation. The fireworks of national power acquired through the metamorphism of her social heredity were exhibited by the tiny islanders during the second World War which ultimately became one of the causes of the liquidation of the mighty British Empire.

The same method was adopted in Russia by the Soviet Government after the Bolsheviks seized power through the October Revolution of 1917. Orders for printing 20,000,000 books in Russian language mainly for children, were placed on behalf of the Soviet Government in Germany which supplied the books at a rate less than the actual cost. Russia grew an army of soldiers who supported to a man, whatever ideals the Soviet Government set up. The press was completely controlled. Religious institutions were abolished from the country, persons holding different ideology, were liquidated, put into concentration camps or exiled. As a result, homogeneity in social heredity has been established amongst the greater majority of different peoples of U.S.S.R. within a very short time.

Before we proceed to deal with the actual steps

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which should be taken to alter the entire social heredity of our people it will be very helpful, if a very important historical fact is discussed here. From the very inception of the National Congress, leaders preached the necessity of establishing Hindu-Moslem Unity, which was rightly considered as the most powerful instrument for the attainment of national freedom, in Congress Sessions and in numerous other mammoth meetings of adult persons. But as it was not possible for our leaders to adopt scientific methods as was adopted in Kaiser's Germany, the effect on the entire population was only temporary. It could not eradicate communalism from the country and establish complete harmony amongst Hindus and Moslems and as a result the country has been ultimately divided. At present our leaders are again trying to follow the same erroneous method of destroying communalism in the country and establishing unity amongst the entire population. Our Hon'ble Premier, Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, in his recent election campaign all over the country delivered lectures on various platforms on the removal of communalism. The result is known to all. The Hon'ble Premier himself will perhaps confess in the secret of his heart that his endeavours have not produced the desired result. Under the existing conditions our State can not become completely secular, unless our social heredity is changed in the right line.

If we really desire to change our social heredity so as to make progress in social evolution we must employ the same agencies. The entire structure of the educational system must be oriented in the same manner as was done in Germany, Japan and Russia. Education is only a means to an end. So an ideal should be set up in a crystal-clear form and the entire machinery of education should be harnessed by the State in such a manner that the ideal should be infused into the heart of the children of the soil from the very beginning of their life, through the instrument of emotion of the ideal.

Due to a Himalayan error the top-ranking leaders of the country who are managing the affairs of the State have blindly relegated education to an unimportant position amongst other affairs of the State and only an insignificant fraction of the total revenue of the State (about 9 per cent) is being spent on education on the ground of paucity of fund while a huge amount of money is becoming available for other purposes. The teachers engaged in Primary, Secondary and Collegiate education are being kept in a perpetual state of poverty and starvation for which they are generally looked upon as objects of pity. They, in their turn, hard pressed by poverty, lose all interests in their life and cannot pay their full attention to the cause of education As their mind always remain filled with discontentment they lend their influence in creating discontentment amongst the public over whom they have tremendous influence. This state of affairs must be changed without delay.

The education policy of Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany should be followed in toto immediately. The education of the young ones of the State should be given the first preference. About 25 per cent of the total revenue of the State should be set aside for Primary, Secondary and Collegiate education under all circumstances, however unfavourable they may be.

A man of imagination and open-mindedness and of enormous capacity to work should be selected as the minister of education. In the ministry of eduction a high-power committee should be created, the members of which must be nationalists in the first place. They should be men of imagination and of scientific and co-operating temperament who will prepare and control the entire scheme of education of the State. The Directorate of Public Instruction should be reorganised and extended. Capable men of unadulterated nationalist views should be placed in every key position of the department who will check and control their respective spheres of action.

The teachers of all denominations should be carefully selected from amongst persons who hold nationalist views and to whom any sacrifice for national cause is not too great. Without any distinction they should be most adequately paid and honoured in the State so that the best products of national education may be allured to take to teaching as profession. The heads of the educational institutions of all grades must be persons of good administrative ability. They must possess qualities of leadership so that their subordinates may work in harmony under them. They should always keep in view their foremost duty of putting into practice the national policy of the State according to the co-ordinated plan.

From the very beginning attempts should be made to select the teachers of the Primary schools from amongst women. At present it may not be possible to get all the teachers of primary schools from amongst the fair sex. But gradually the male teachers should be replaced by female teachers. It has been previously mentioned that the Emotion of the Ideal is the most powerful of all the elements in social heredity. We should always bear in mind that it is through the emotion of the ideal and through this cause alone the collective will can be directed and concentrated over long periods of time to definite ends. It is through emotion only that the present can be subordinated to the future and the organised will of a people can be transmitted from one generation to the next through the young. It is through the emotion of the ideal that any organised will of a people becomes possible of achievement and this in an incredibly brief period of time. It is in the "woman" and not in the fighting man that we must seek for the centre of power which may be utilized in employing

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the instrument of the emotion of the ideal. The driving principle of woman's nature by purely physiological necessity, has ever been, at all its highest levels, the subjugation of the present with all its commanding demands to a meaning beyond herself and beyond all visible interests in the present. By reason of her functional, racial and evolutionary history she is a creature to whom "Race is more than the individual and future is greater than the present" (Schopenhauer). So the effect of the emotion of the ideal transmitted to the young of the rising generation by the woman is tremendous which can never afterwards be entirely effaced from the character of the individual. It is greater, deeper and more enduring than the effects of any system whatsoever, of subsequent education. But when it is combined with the effects of Secondary and Collegiate education, it becomes the most powerful element in the formation of character, giving after-results, in the individual, which cannot be attained by any other method.

In order to create an ideal of national education in a limited way a Residential University should be immediately established in the State of West Bengal which will have under it, all kinds of institutions beginning from primary schools and ending in research institutions. All the employees and the scholars must reside in the premises of the University.

In addition to the Residential University, the State should also establish an ideal, residential primary school and a secondary school in every big town and a residential college in each divisional headquarters.

Let us now proceed to see how private enterprise may help the State in changing the social heredity of the people through education. Like Irish Hospitals' Trust, a "West Bengal Education Trust" should be created with persons enjoying public confidence. They should be carefully selected from different professions. The Trust will have to function in two lines.

Firstly, they are to collect donations from suitable rich people by appealing to their heart in the right way. For the cause of national education, money will not only be available but will be available in plenty if proper personnel of the trust is selected. Secondly, the trust should run sweepstakes thrice or four times in the year in the manner of Irish Hospitals' Sweepstake. By the second method alone, the trust may collect at least rupees ten lakhs in a year. By these two methods the trust will have at its disposal sufficient money to manage an ideal residential educational institution in or in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, the want for which is being felt by the middle and upper-middle class people for a long time.

The second agency which exerts a tremendous influence on the formation of character of a people is the public press. Healthy criticism is essential in a democratic State. But only obstructive and destructive suggestions always bring harm. This kind of press activity should be stopped by all means. Under the present Indian constitution it is not possible to control the press to the fullest extent. But if the Ministry of Information is formed with efficient persons and the "Directorate of Public Information" is reconstructed in the proper line, there is possibility to control the press in a suitable way after respecting the fundamental rights of the press as given by the law of the country. In this way a healthy public opinion may be created through press which will help the progress of the people in the desired line.

For a very long time religious practices and festivities have taken the place of true religion amongst the members of the majority community of the State but our every-day life bears no consistency with the principles of these socio-religious functions. We have altogether forgotten the teachings of the *Gita* and the *Upanishad*. Elaborate arrangements should be made to educate the public with the fundamental teachings of the *Gita* and the *Upanishad* which are helpful in the development of national character. The *Sarbajanin* celebrations should be oriented in the proper line which will increase the organising capacity of the individuals and bring about integration and strength to the people.

In the modern age, the cinemas have been developed into a great source of power in colouring the character of a nation. The State should have control over the film industry of the country. The producers should be advised to produce films which will help in carrying out the national policy of the State.

All the agencies which are essential in building the social heredity of a nation have thus been discussed to a certain extent. If all these agencies are co-ordinated in a comprehensive scheme, an irresistible power will be generated which will mould the character of the people of our State within a short interval of time.

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APPRAISING AND EVALUATING MODERN PAINTING

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

As a phase of contemporary culture or culture in the making it is a responsible national duty to take stock and evaluate the expressions of modern artists as symptoms of the normality or abnormality of the pulse of the national life and the modes of the revelations of representative dynamic elements in society. Unfortunately, we are so much obsessed by our habit of concentrating on the happenings in our political life that we pay very little attention to happenings in the psycho-social spheres in the formulations and expressions of our cultural life. Yet the happenings in cultural life are of more serious and sometimes, of more permanent consequence than many incidents in the world of politics. The expressions of cultural life fall into three distinct divisions of Literature, Music and the Visual Arts. The daily output of books put forward by our enterprising publishers (alas ! they are too few now-a-days) are systematically reviewed by competent critics in the pages of our dailies, monthlies, and weeklies and the appearance of significant literary works, be it poetry, philosophy, history or belles lettres, receive in the hands of serious critics, competent analysis and appraisement.

In the sphere of music our musical conference and musical competitions and the outpouring of the Radio are dissected and appraised by our musical critics. In the sphere of the visual arts, the products of our pictorial artists and sculptors do not receive the same systematic attention and competent criticism as the products in other fields of culture. As a rule, in India, the number of persons who take interest in the visual arts are very few, and do not include our literary men whose outlook is invariably confined to the products of printed matters and who, by a pernicious habit and custom developed in Indian life, avoid and even boycott the exhibitions of pictures. During the last few years, a number of Indian artists have been attempting by means of one-man shows to thrust their products on the attention of the meagre world of the art-public, that is, to say, a few handful of sensitive men and women who like pictures truly so-called and who relish the thrills and spiritual elations which good pictures can give, outside the incessant importunities of the machine-made abominations of our cinemas, which are corrupting our normal capacity to enjoy, appreciate and appraise the qualities of the works of the genuine makers of pictures. In other civilized countries in Europe—and particularly in America—there are important collections of masterpieces of painting and sculpture assembled by expert historians and critics of art who provide for the visual and spiritual education of the citizens and keep alive and improve the powers of appreciation of the general public and turn them into discriminative judges and patrons of the best phases of contemporary art.

We have in India a number of public galleries of art and museums of antiquarian exhibits, badly chosen and badly exhibited, which do not help our aesthetic education, nor stimulate our hunger for beauty, nor induce us to love pictures as essential part of our civic virtues.

As remarked above, recently, there has come into our public life an artificial stimulus to turn our attention to Art by the incessant invitations of individual modern painters, anxious to make a living by selling pictures, for which alas ! the patrons are too few. In Calcutta, Bombay and New Delhi, there have been numerous one-man shows of various talented artists trying to develop their genius in an atmosphere of cold neglect on the part of our educated citizens. Sometimes, these one-man exhibitions receive the reviews of competent and unbiased critics but as most of our dailies do not care to commission competent experts to appraise these exhibitions, the exhibitors are driven by the necessity of publicity and propaganda to seek the aids of friendly volunteers to provide a booming write-up and get it published by some accommodating editor who is glad to be relieved of an embarrassing duty to go to an expert valuer to write a competent review. The more responsible editors do not act upon the inspired praises of the friends of the exhibiting artist, and commission competent critics, generally attached to their staff. Except in these rare cases, the general public is misled into accepting the works of every charlatan on the valuation of an inspired review, cooked up by a willing friend of the exhibitor. As a rule, the reviews of our art exhibitions do not provide a competent guide to the lay public to develop correct appreciation of the achievements of our contemporary artists, as many talented artists fail to win an impartial evaluation of their talents while many incompetent dabblers in paint by means of manipulative publicity leap into an ill-deserved heaven of fame. Even with the best of luck the real man of talent cannot secure a cool, well-considered appraisal of his works in the hurried newspaper reviews, which must be published the next morning after the show, for the sake of an urgent publicity and advertisement.

There is, therefore, a pressing necessity if not a demand, for the publication of individual monographs and albums presenting the products of our contemporary artists for a leisurely and responsible appraisement of their contribution to our modern culture.

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From this point of view, some recent publications on modern painters deserve more than a passing notice. The large Album of Thirty Plates of works of Abanindranath Tagore (published in December, 1951, by Visva-Bharati at Rs. 25, all in colour, excepting three) is a commendable enterprise to place before lovers of art a number of the works of our greatest modern artist now almost on the verge of oblivion. It cannot be claimed that the collection includes the best masterpieces though the assemblage is, on the whole, well-chosen. The works of this artist are notoriously difficult to reproduce except through the most expensive and perfect processes of reproductions, so that one cannot complain that most of the reproductions do not convey the flavour of the originals. Of the colour plates in ordinary three-colour process (current in Calcutta) *Ganesh-Janani* (5), *Dream of Shah Jahan* (7), *Tisyarakshita* (8), *Kajri* (11), *Uma* (16), are the least successful, while *Omar Khayyam* (6), *End of the Journey* (12), *Child on the Seashore* (13), *Gandhi and Tagore* (17), *Hiuen Tsang* (18), *Dream of Freedom* (23), and *Monkey and Goat* (24), are on the whole, successful presentations of the originals. We may judge of the quality of the reproductions if we compare the present version of *Tisyarakshita* (8) with the chromo-collotype facsimile published by the Indian Society of Oriental Art several years ago. Many will be grateful for inclusion of the great masterpiece *The Eyes Take to Wings* (15) of which the original is now lost. Considering the fact that most of the plates are reprints of existing blocks the price is a little too high. Nevertheless this edition, limited to 60 copies, should find immediate buyers as the works of the artist are practically inaccessible to the present generation of scholars and students. The publication is timely and should revive interest in the works of a great artist to whom the nation still owes a worthy memorial.

A much more laudable and planned effort to present *Abanindranath Tagore and His Early Works* has been issued by the Art Section of the Indian Museum (April 30, 1951) presenting a series of 13 pictures all in the Museum collection, edited by the Principal of the Government School of Art, together with some critical essays contributed by Nandalal Bose, O. C. Gangoly, Stella Kramrisch and Benod Bihary Mookerjee and with accurate descriptive notes for each picture (price Rs. 15 in tassar cover, Rs. 13 in paper cover). Here also the colour plates made by Sree Saraswaty Press, cannot claim to be perfect copies though at least four of the group, *viz.*, *Abhisarika* (I), *The Traveller* (IV), *Rukmini* (V), *Siddhas of the Upper Air* (VIII), are charming and fascinating in spite of their imperfections. It is a pity that the processes of reproductions generally current in India have not reached the standard of rendering accurate facsimiles of originals so as to stimulate art education in our schools and colleges and to afford facilities for art-appreciation through cheap but accurate reproduction of the best masterpieces of our national art. Very commendable efforts were made by the Indian Society of Oriental Art many years ago to present reproductions of modern paintings through the finest medium of the Japanese colour wood-blocks and colour collotypes made in England. From this point of view the remarkably accurate colour reproductions of *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* (1923), issued by the present reviewer, are unapproachable in quality and accuracy. As things stand as present, even a happy monotone reproduction is much more preferable than the clumsy carricatures of our best tricolour printings.

Happily the enterprise of presenting the works of contemporary painters is not now confined to Bengal, as other provinces have started these commendable studies of the works of our artists. Messrs. Dhoomimull Dharamchand, a Delhi publisher, has issued several beautiful albums of modern painters with commendable self-sacrifice which were reviewed in *The Modern Review* (May 1932, p. 405). And now comes a very reverent tribute to Abanindranath Tagore from Benares by the first citizen of the great city, Rai Govinda Chandra (published by Thacker Spink, Calcutta in December, 1951 and printed by Kashi Mudralaya, Benares, with 8 colour plates and 33 monotone reproductions, price Rs. 18). In a small volume of 90 pages, the author has given a very detailed presentation of the life of the artist and his activities in various phases of life and art. When the resources of Calcutta have failed to present Abanindranath's worthy reproductions, it is unreasonable to expect a provincial city to produce a better result. But we are grateful to the author not only for his sincere tribute but for the many new and hitherto unpublished early sketches of the artist which will provide valuable data for the study of the unfoldment of the artist's talent from early beginnings. But the author has also given us an illuminating and original criticism of the artist's works which more than compensate for the poverty of the reproductions.

But the most significant feature of this volume lies in the fact that it comes from the pen of the Chairman of the Municipal Board of Benares. We should like to see our own city-fathers take the same serious interest in Art as this enthusiastic citizen and art-collector of a provincial city. We should like this book to be in every library in India as a commendable monument to good citizenship in Free India.

From the same author comes another publication devoted to the works of Sri Mukul Dey's Art (published by Kashi Mudralaya, Bisseswarganj, Benares. 23 illustrations, 13 pages, price Rs. 3, December, 1950). Though less ambitious in its scope than his tribute to A. N. Tagore, this booklet in its stimulating letter-press offers significant evidence of the critical powers and connoisseurship of the author, the illustrations

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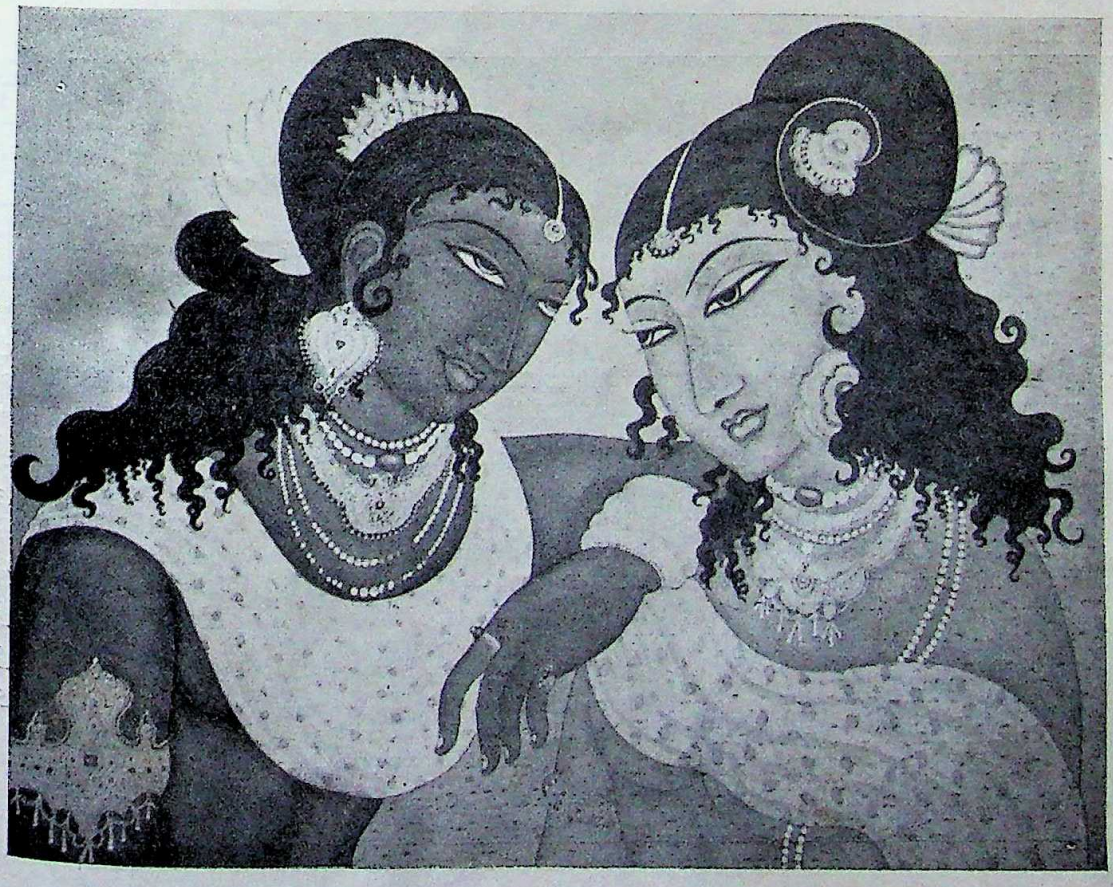
Bala-Krishna



Two Sisters

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A special demonstration garden is maintained by the B.B.C. for British Television viewers, where Fred Streeter, the famous gardener, is seen hard at work

The Crown Prince of Jordan, Prince Hussain, recording a talk to be broadcast in the B.B.C. Eastern Service

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including many charming examples of etchings and drawings of Mukul Dey of which the most charming are *Gandhiji's Hut at Sevagram, Harvest, Time* and *On the Ganges.*

On a different footing stands the fascinating Album of *Six Paintings* of Bhabani Charan Gue, Art-tutor of the Mayo College of Art, Ajmer (published by International Book House Ltd., Bombay. Six colour plates, two pages of letter-press, price Rs. 10). The album is introduced by Bireswar Sen of Lucknow Government Art School and foreworded by Frank Brangwyn "who is happy to see that there are still artists in India who keep alive the noble traditions of the art of their country, as there is far too much of the influence of European art showing in the many artists of the East." The six examples chosen are very charmingly reproduced in colour, and tastefully presented on mounting boards with plenty of margins they will help to popularize the work of this artist though the collection does not include his latest and more mature works. *The Birth of Lakshmi,* a charming masterpiece, had made his reputation in a day. It is hoped that he will publish in later albums other and more maturer presentations of Indian mythology which is now generally avoided by our Indian artists obsessed by the latest "isms" imported from the West. In this connection we should like to draw the attention of artists and critics to the last words of Acharya Abanindranath Tagore quoted in the Government album cited above: "It is a pity that Indian Art did not continue along the line it had taken at the start and deviated a great deal; my heart aches when I think of this." As regards the beautiful album of Sri B. C. Gue it is gratifying to find that all the Six Paintings have found their way into the collections of connoisseurs of Rajput chieftains in Western India. This is a healthy sign in contemporary appreciation of art. For, if Indian citizens do not patronize the works of living painters, artists could not live and art could not live and help to provide spiritual stimulations in intensive and dynamic living.

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FOOD FACTS—AN ANALYSIS

By P. C. BANSIL

It is an irony of fate that man who alone from among all the living species produces his food, is faced with the problem of food today. It looks all the more paradoxical that this problem should occur in a country like India, where more than two-thirds of the population live on land and where agricultural income constitutes as much as 50 per cent of the national income of the country. Truly speaking, agriculture in India is not merely an occupation or a profession for the people, it is a tradition—a way of life which for centuries has shaped their thought, outlook and culture.

Today India is undoubtedly in deep sea about finding enough food for her millions. Government spokesmen along with certain economists have been making us believe since 1930 that our population has gone ahead of the agricultural production. We as students of economics must, however, see for ourselves as to when precisely this problem arose and if so what was it due to.

India had a balanced economy before the advent of the British and had self-sufficient villages, 700,000 odd in number. As a result of improvement in the means of transport and foreign demand for cash crops, commercialization of agriculture took place. The alarm of any food shortage was not raised till 1930 when it was said that our food production had lagged behind our population. It would, however, be seen from the facts as stated below that the pessimistic conclusions reached were due to the faulty data then available. Not to talk of the 30's, even today the whole of our agricultural statistics are nothing more than a guesswork; our estimates being nothing but 'guestimates.' The Prime Minister while talking about food statistics before the conference of Food Ministers last month, said[1]:

> "I am sorry to confess it that we base it on nothing solid at all—on just guess-work, surmises. That is not good enough in a matter of vital importance."

No allowance, for instance, was made for the existence of "non-reporting" areas by eminent economists like Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee and even then the deficit calculated in terms of calories was clearly in respect of the protective foods rather than the cereals. The report of the Enquiry conducted by Sir John Megaw saying[2], "Only 39 per cent people were adequately nourished, 41 per cent poorly nourished, and 20 per cent very badly nourished." And that of Dr. Aykroyd[3] that, "Ninety-five per cent of the population cannot afford the balanced diet" did not and

1. *Hindustan Times*, February 20, 1952.
2. *Sir John Megaw Enquiry Report*, 1940.
3. Krishna Swami: *Rural Population in Madras*, p. 101.

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could not apply in the quantitative aspect. These or any other[4] such reports had, if at all, only qualitative meaning behind them.

Permanent under-feeding and periodic starvation is a rule in India. In normal times about 30 per cent of the population do not get enough to eat, while a much larger section of the population have to be satisfied almost invariably with ill-balanced diet containing a *preponderance of cereals*, sugar, root vegetables, and insufficient "protective foods" of higher nutritive value. Intake of milk, pulses, meat, fish, vegetables and fruits is generally insufficient, which leads to ill health, disease and high mortality in India among the "vulnerable group" including infants, children, pregnant and nursing mothers, factory workers and school boys.

Food Situation in India

The analysis made by Dr. Thomas[5] clearly shows that during the 30 years (1900-30) population increased only by 19 per cent while agricultural production increased by 29 per cent.

Without attaching much weight to these calculations, even a formal study of the situation then prevailing goes to prove that there was no shortage of cereals. In the presence of a world glut of wheat, other countries like Australia had embarked on far-reaching schemes of helping and subsidising the farmers to sell their wheat in foreign markets. Australian wheat was cheaper at Calcutta and the Punjab wheat was rotting at Lyalpur simply because it was dearer when transported to Calcutta. Even though a wheat import duty of Rs. 2 per maund had already been levied in March 31.[6] Again, the results of various diet survey reports[7] indicating that throughout the country, the food of the rich as well as the poor predominated in cereals, the recommendations of the Crop Planning Sub-Committee,[8] 1934, calling for a halt to further expansion of rice cultivation; and continued export of wheat to the tune of 2.2 lakh tons is more than sufficient to prove that there was no real shortage at that time; this idea was based either on wrong or imaginary notions or still better, it was a piece of British propaganda.

In 1937 came the separation of Burma, as a result of the Government of India Act of 1935. It is contended that our rice imports increased after the separation. The available statistics however belie the statement. The average of our total rice imports for the 5 years ending 1937-38 was 1.96[9] million tons, Burma supplying as much as 1.2 million tons. The total imports for 1938-39 stand at 1.56 million tons. This fall in the import coupled with the rise in export from .24 to .31 million tons is a clear indication of the fact that the supply of rice from Burma in the pre-1937 days was due to the fact that Burma was a part of India, Burma rice was cheaper[10] when landed in India than the Punjab or the U.P. rice and Burma rice was specially suited for certain dishes like *khichari*. The fall in the import immediately after separation even though the home production[11] of rice in 1938-39 was 1.2 million tons less than 1936-37, shows clearly that efforts were made to readjust the demand by internal arrangements. A study of the total home production and net import of rice for the decade 1930-40 would reveal that the latter had no relation whatsoever with the former. If the supplies from Burma were required to meet the deficit in India, they should have increased in the years when there was a decrease in the home production and *vice versa*. This was, however, not so. The increase or decrease in the Burma supplies responded to the decrease or increase of rice prices in Burma. Burma imports had further been completely stopped by 1942, when it was occupied by the Japs, and there was no food crisis in the country.

It has been accepted by all that even the Bengal Famine was due mostly to the mal-adjustment rather than any real shortage and failure of crops in that year. Provincial barriers immediately before the Bengal Famine had in the words of the Bengal Famine Commission created real "food republics" throughout India and as concluded by the Food-grains Policy Committee, 1948, "The food position worsened after the fall of Burma due to the serious shortage of transport, unsettlement and alarm over large areas." Even the organizers of the 'Grow More Food Campaign' in 1943 were fearing a glut and hence low prices. That is the reason why serious efforts were not made to give a stimulus to the production at home. Food exports, on the other hand, were allowed to be continued up to the end of the war; the figure for the export of rice for the period —April to November, 1946—being 42,860[12] tons.

During his study of the problem of agriculture and nutrition in 1946, Sir Feroze Khareghat, the then Vice-Chairman, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, illustrated fully well that before partition, India had available with her 55.5 million tons of cereals against 48 million tons required for the whole of the population,[13] giving a surplus of about 7.5 million tons.

4. Sir John Boyd Orr : *The Modern Review* for February, 1952, p. 114.

5. *Indian Journal of Economics* : Conference Number, April, 1935, p. 745.

6. Dr. A. L. Qureshi : *The Present Food Situation in India.*

7. *Report on the Results of Diet Surveys in India* (1935-48).

8. Dr. Baljit Singh : *Population and Food Planning*, p. 97.

9. Trade figures from the *Famine Enquiry Commission Report in Bengal.*

10. *Agricultural Marketing in India—Report on the Marketing of Rice in India and Burma* (1945), p. 198.

11. *Adopted from Crops Planning Production* (N.P.C. Series), p. 38.

12. Dr. Baljit Singh : *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

13. *Indian Farming*, Special Number, 1946, p. 106. The require-

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August, 1947, witnessed the greatest cataclysm—the partition. With the existing food position in 1946 as given above, this otherwise unhappy episode, should not have put our food economy out of gear to the extent shown by the protagonists of the shortage school, notwithstanding the fact that it deprived us of the agricultural land of the Punjab and Sindh. We had in the United India about 219 million acres of land under food crops and were left with about 177.9 million acres which comes to about 81 per cent of the total area under food crops.[14] Against this out of a total of about 417 million of people, we were required to feed about 337 million, *i.e.*, about 80.8[15] per cent. There should not therefore have been any point or question of alarm about our food position ; the percentage of the area under the food crops being a little more than that of the population. The position would become more clear if we study the grain trade in the United India. "Sindh used to supply rice to the provinces in India to the extent of 1.5 lakh tons. Punjab and Sindh used to supply wheat to the deficit provinces of India to the extent of 5 to 7 lakh tons a year. Pakistan has (today) a surplus of 5 to 7 hundred thousand tons of wheat.[16] If Pakistan today cannot afford to spare more than 5 to 7 lakh tons of food-grains, we can safely presume that the maximum loss that India suffered could at the most amount to a few lakh tons. Much is made out of the loss that India suffered in respect of the irrigated area of which her share was about 75 per cent of the total. Against this one should not forget that 91.4[17] per cent of Pakistan's population is rural whose cereal requirements are 25 per cent more than the urban. The rural population in India as every one is aware of is estimated only at 70 per cent. It would thus be seen that even after the partition, there was not any question of deficit.

Now a word about the position existing as today. The population figures by age groups are not available for the year 1951. Working on the basis of 1941 census[18] and taking the average of three provinces, we find from Table I below that children below 12 formed 36 per cent of the population.

TABLE I

Name of the Province	Total in 000s.	Percentage by Age Groups — Below 1	Between 1 & 3	3 & 4	4 & 7	7 & 12	Total
Orissa	11746.6	1.3	5	2.9	11.6	13	
Assam	7909.2	2.8	5	3.0	13.5	13	
Bihar	36545.8	1.9	5.2	3.3	12.9	13.4	
Average of the three provinces		2	5	3	13	13	36

ments were calculated by him at the rate of 16 ozs. per day per consumption unit.

14. *Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in Undivided India* (1936-37 to 1945-46).
15. C. N. Vakil : *Economic Consequences of Divided India*, p. 69.
16. Dr. K. K. Sharma : *Evolution of Indian Economy*, p. 103.
17. C. N. Vakil : *Op. cit.*, p. 70.
18. *Census of India*, 1941 *on Y-Sample*, published in 1949.

Applying the same percentage to 1951, we get the distribution between children and adults as in Table II below per hundred of the population :

TABLE II

Population Distribution

Children up to 12	Adults — Rural at the rate of 70 p.c.	Urban at the rate of 30 p.c.	Total
36	44	20	100

The requirements of children as laid down by the Nutrition experts for the various age groups are as given in Table III below :[19]

TABLE III

Age groups	Ozs. per day
Below 2	0
2 to 3	1
3 to 4	2
5 to 7	4
8 to 12	6 to 10
13 to 14	10 to 12

With due regard to the fact that consumption of cereals in India is more than the normal, we may reconstitute the age groups as in Table IV below after giving a further margin in the sense that all children above 12 are considered as adults and maximum is allowed for the groups as a whole including the one of minimum age, and that a child after the age of 1 starts taking cereals.

TABLE IV

Age groups	Ozs. per day
Below 1	0
1 to 3	1
3 to 4	2
4 to 7	4
7 to 12	10

Now calculating at the rates given in Table IV for children up to the age of 12, giving 16 ounces per head to the rural and 12 ounces to the urban adults according to Table II above ; presuming that all the ladies and all the old men above 50, whose percentage alone is about 9, consume as much as the young, our requirements for a population of 100 come to 11.3 tons a year. Rounding this figure again to 11.5 so that a provision is made for table wastes, etc., it would be seen that the total population of India which is 361.68 millions according to the 1951 Census would consume a little less than *42 million tons* of cereals.

The estimates of cereal requirements have also been made from time to time by the various authorities on the subject. According to Dr. Baljit Singh,[20] the cereal requirements for the whole of India in 1941 when the population stood at 389 million, was 46.6 million tons. Working on this basis for a population of 361.68 million, we require not more than *43.3 million tons*. It should be borne in mind that Dr. Baljit

19. Lt. Col. Barkat Narain : *Nutrition*.
20. Dr. Baljit Singh : *Op. cit.*, p. 13 and p. 29.

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Singh had also taken into consideration the extra consumption required for marriages, etc.

Table V given below shows the requirements as worked out by Shri J. C. Kumarappa, Nutrition Advisory Committee and the Food Ministry :[21]

TABLE V

(in 000 tons)

Nutrition Advisory Committee Standard		*Food Ministry Nutrition Standard*	*J. C. Kumarappa. Standard*	
Vegetarian	Non-vegetarian		Vegetarian	Non-vegetarian
41.554	41.554	37.511	47.490	47.490

Our food requirements can again be calculated more accurately on the basis of the actual issues of food-grains in the year 1950 from the Government stocks in statutory areas. In an answer to question No. 1578 by Pandit Bhargwa, the Honourable Food Minister, Mr. Munshi, stated on February 12 that the total issue from the Government stocks during the year 1950 for statutory rationed areas whose population was 45.36 million in that year, was about 4 million tons. Population under statutory rationing may be taken as purely urban, though there are labourers whose consumption of cereals is more than others. Out of the total population of 361.68 million, we have thus 110 million (30 per cent of the whole) urban population. According to the actual off-take as given above, 110 millions of people would consume about 10 million tons. The requirements of the balance of 251.68 million rural population (giving them, of course 25 per cent more) come to nearly 27.5 million tons. The whole of India would thus require something like *38 million tons* only for human consumption.

This fact is again corroborated when a smaller and compact area like Delhi is taken as a unit, where there is statutory rationing and no smuggling from outside is permitted. The black market, if any, is only from the stocks issued from the Government stores and smuggled by the dealers. The average actual off-take of cereals per fortnight in the Statutory area of Delhi including Shahdra and Mehrouli during the years 1950 and 1951 was 156,300 and 167,700 maunds respectively and the population of the area who consumed this much of the cereals was about 15 lakh during both the years.[22] At the rate of issues and population given above, we find that 110 million of the urban population requires exactly the same amount of cereals as worked out in the preceding paragraph according to the data supplied by the Food Minister. Total requirements would also be the same therefore.

Having calculated out actual requirements by the various methods, I leave it now for the reader to judge for himself as to how much we must have for human consumption. It must be emphasised here that the calculations made on the last page on the basis of the actual issues from Delhi as well as the whole of India include all sorts of wastage that we find in the cities. There cannot be any quarrel about their accuracy as every ounce of food-grains issued from the stores has to be accounted for and a daily record is maintained for the same.

Before we dismiss this issue and pass on to the next point, it would be interesting to note here that even according to Government calculations we do not require more than 42 to 43 million tons as shown above. At the earlier Food Ministers' Conference, the advance estimates of production for the year 1951-52 were made as 36.9 million tons. It was then decided that the country would be required to import 7 million tons more to feed the nation for the whole of the current year. This in simple and clear words means that it was estimated that the country could very well pull on with a total production of 44 million tons. Now when according to the revised estimates the production is said to be 46[23] million tons, it is really a pity that the Government insists on an import of 5 million tons.

That was the demand side about which there has been and still is a lot of controversy. I do anyhow hope that an impartial reader will be fully convinced from a study of the previous pages that our requirements for human consumption would not even on a liberal estimate exceed 42 to 43 million tons. As regards the supply or the production the only course open to us is to go by the figures given out by the Ministry of Food from time to time, although they have been under-estimated to a great extent as already explained in foot-note 23. As the final figures for the year 1950 are now available, it would be better to concentrate on them. This would be all the more proper because we have all along been considering the demand for the population as it existed in the beginning of 1951. In the year 1950, the amount of food-grains (including gram) produced in the country was 49.86[24] million tons. If we subtract from it, the amount required for purposes of seed and

21. J. C. Kumarappa : *A Note on Balanced Cultivation*, p. 19.

22. Figures obtained by courtesy from the Director, Civil Supplies, Delhi. The number of permanent, temporary and guest ration cards during the two years was as follows :

Year	Permanent	Temporary	Guest (average daily)
1950	15,01,000	67,000	1,000
1951	15,08,000	59,000	1,000

Their Statistical officer has made an elaborate study of the actual population during the two years and told me that it could not in any case be less than 15,13,000.

23. The gap between the first and the revised estimates confirms more clearly the statement made in the opening paras at page [illegible] about our statistics of Food. The trouble here as admitted by the authorities is that the surplus States want to hide their surplus and the deficit ones want to exaggerate their deficits, both to save themselves from the hard task of intensifying their procurement drive and thus remain popular with the peasants.

24. *Supplement to the Bulletin on Food Statistics* (January, 1951), published in August, 1951, p. 5, and *Agricultural Situation in India* (July, 1950).

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wastgaes, etc., at 12½ per cent (the percentage accepted by the Government) we get a net production of 43.66 million tons. This should and certainly is sufficient to meet our requirements, particularly so when we take into consideration that there are a large number of people who consume huge quantities of subsidiary foods like tapioca and sweet potatoes in the South and potatoes in the North[25] and also there are huge tracts[26] of land—'non-reporting' areas—the production from which is not reflected in the All-India figures.

Objections would be raised for including gram in the total production taken in the last paragraph. Gram was excluded by the authorities from the category of cereals for the first time in the year 1950 for reasons best known to them. Every North Indian knows it well that this is the food not only of the poor, but the rich relish it all the more. The *Report on the Marketing of Gram in India* (1945) says :

> "For human consumption gram is used in the form of boiled whole gram, ata, dal, baisin and parched gram. Gram ata is consumed in large quantities, usually after mixing with wheat and/or barley ata, in the form of *chapaties* and is very popular in villages particularly when the price of gram is lower than that of wheat. In urban areas also, specially in North India, gram and wheat ata *chapaties* are much relished.[27]

A study of the marketing of gram would further reveal that only a very negligible portion of the total produce in the various States is exported outside, the rest being consumed within the borders of the producing areas. There would not therefore appear to exist any justification for excluding gram from other cereals.

To summarise the ground so far covered we find that India never suffered from the shortage of food in its history. Periodic famines have no doubt been there which were mostly due to transport difficulties in the earlier periods and mismanagement at the later ones. Nobody can at the same time deny the fact that the country is facing a serious food problem for the last so many years and we have imported about 10 million tons of food-grains costing hundreds of crores of rupees during the last few years. The causes of this problem and the remedies thereof will form the subject-matter of a separate essay.

25. The total area under tapioca in Travancore-Cachin is 6 lakh acres and in Madras about 3 to 4 lakh acres. The area under potatoes in the year 1950-51 was 1.5 million acres with a production of 1.6 million tons.

26. There are 224 million acres as 'non-reporting' areas out of a total of 781 million acres.—*Agricultural Situation in India*, Vol. V, p. 32.

27. *Agricultural Marketing in India—Report on the Marketing of Gram in India*, p. 14. Also see *Economic Geography of Indian Republic* by Dr. R. N. Dubey, p. 93 : "Barley and gram are two other winter grain crops which rank along with wheat as staple food-grains of Northern India."

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PAKISTAN—"THE STRANGE EVOLUTION OF A POLITICAL PARTY"

By ZALMAY MAHMUD*

The partition of India on the eve of the British departure is perhaps one of the most notable events of the first half of our century. An empire rich in natural resources, offering vast cultivated areas of a sub-continent, fully developed in terms of communication and transportation, in brief, the land which with justification had been called the shining jewel of the crown, had overnight been transferred to its legitimate owners, and its destiny, whatever it may be, left for its inhabitants to decide. Events which took place during those fateful days were witnessed or watched from afar with mixed emotions. The end of the British rule was perhaps the anti-climax of decades of planning, plotting, and scheming on the part of the great powers, and the beginning of a new era. It came peacefully, peaceful that is as far as the relations of the ex-masters and subjects were concerned, to some it was a manifestation of the age of reason, to others it was the ultimate triumph of patience and persuasion. At last India was free. India for the sake of whose maintenance so many lives had been taken, so many homes ruined, and so many battles fought had peacefully bade farewell to its late conqueror and was set to occupy its position in the free world.

A long-cherished dream had admittedly been realised, and a new era had just dawned, but the jubilation which the occasion might have deserved was killed in its bud. Hatred filled the hearts which were eagerly awaiting joy, and violence and bloodshed flared in far corners of the land. Thousands who died of wounds and starvation might have easily been called the victims of fanaticism, but the underlying causes were deep and not easily brought out to light. The dead and the dying were in fact the victims of treachery, lack of faith, and one of the most villainous schemes mankind has ever witnessed. They were the victims of a ghost hand reaching out of the grave to kill, to maim, and to punish. Fanaticism was only its vehicle.

The full story of the partition of India is somewht beyond the logical scope of this short study. Much has been written about it and more is undoubtedly forthcoming.

* This essay is by a Moslem scholar specialising in World Politics at Columbia University, New York City.

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History alone shall be the final judge of its merits, or lack of them, and its verdicts take time to formalize. Only time may reveal the secret agreements and expose the contents of files carefully hidden in the inner sanctums of the foreign offices. Certain issues, however, need not await the verdict of history. Their defects, their wretchedness, and their utter disregard of justice speak loudly for themselves. The world may choose to disregard them or to turn a deaf ear to their clamor for a while, but the question is for how long? The partition of India solely based on religious considerations gave rise to a number of such issues.

The creation of Pakistan and its emergence as an "independent" nation bears the ugliest earmarks of certain old and outmoded policies of the British empire builders. India was divided in two parts, and the newly created state of Pakistan was given to include territories carved out of India proper as well as areas forcibly severed from Afghanistan in a not distant past. The consent and willingness of the millions inhabiting these territories in throwing their lots with the new Moslem state were not even questioned. Britain had decided to leave a divided India behind, and the leaders of the Muslim League were clamoring for an adequate reward for their unquestioning loyalty to the crown. Pakistan was thus born, and the knights of Karachi were given the dubious honor of forming the nucleus of the new state. All other considerations were hastily brushed aside.

In view of the present tension between the East and West, and in the face of great dangers created by militant communism, particularly in Asia, the great Western Powers can no longer even pretend to remain aloof from the disturbing issues which stir the heretofore neglected millions of the Orient. India has always in the past been in the foreground of all issues pertaining to Asia, and shall continue to play that same vital part in any foreseeable future. The fate of India may well determine that of Asia, and hence the fate of mankind. A strong peaceful, and unfied India might easily have been counted upon to control and to pacify the growing unrest of the Eastern nations. The divided India of to-day, however, is plagued with unrest and confusion herself. While the Republic of India is sometimes rashly accused of seeking alliance with the communist dictators, the knights of Karachi are often heralded as friends of democracy, and as saviors of Asia.

In view of such developments one seldom fails to question the underlying causes of the present confusion in the Indian sub-continent, and to seek any possible remedies. The answer, according to a majority of those who know that country, lies with the fact of partition. Here we face then a new set of questions. Is the division of India along the present lines the ultimate solution, and Pakistan as a nation a real going concern? Is there any likelihood of peaceful co-operation between India and Pakistan in any near future? These and similar questions are never easily answered. Their importance not only to the people of the Indian sub-continent but also to the world as a whole cannot be over-emphasised. Mere speculations and rash prophesies are obviously ruled out. A logical approach will have to bring out to light the underlying causes of the partition. These are perhaps best revealed by a study of events in India since the turn of the century. Only a study of the past may offer us glimpses of the path still lying ahead.

One could hardly maintain that the division of India was in any way designed to secure the welfare of the Indian people whether Hindu or Moslem. The entire scheme, as it turned out, was designed, carefully prepared, and finally carried out by the British government of India. The interests of Britain, in India as well as elsewhere, were the only motivating forces behind the partition. The millions whose destinies were entrusted to the leaders of the Muslim League simply became the unwitting tools of a new version of British imperialism.

It would be obviously absurd to ever maintain that the Hindus and the Moslems of India have failed in the past to develop the sense of unity which makes a nation a going concern, or cannot hope to achieve that unity in the days still ahead. Yet such contentions were the only excuses offered for the act of partition. The history of India clearly reveals the fact that Hindus and Moslems have for hundreds of years lived in harmony, and have fought for India side by side in numerous campaigns. The sense of unity and allegiance to a nation above and beyond the narrow considerations of religious antagonism do not seem to have been lacking during the period of greatness which India achieved under the banner of the Great Moghuls. Nor are today the millions of Moslems who chose to remain in India after the partition treated as aliens or have their loyalties questioned. A number of them are now occupying positions of great responsibility within the framework of the Indian state. There was no likelihood of the Moslems becoming an insignificant minority at the mercy of a purely Hindu state once India had achieved its long-denied freedom. Separation of the electorate system for the Hindus and the Moslems was a purely British scheme, designed and carried through for furtherance of British aims in India. It is a pity that pure selfishness, greed, or baffling ignorance blinded some Moslem leaders to that simple fact.

The nationalist movement of India started as a unified effort. There was no question of religious antagonism or separation along religious lines when the cry of liberty was first heard in that land. The man who later came to be known as the founder of Pakistan was at the outset an ardent champion of unity and devoted his energy to the task of building a unified and independent India. One often wonders whether Jinnah himself was fully aware of the scope of the disservice he rendered his country towards the end of his life. In view of his mental alertness and his fine education one finds it hard to classify him together with the exalted knights of the

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Karachi regime. Could his great error be attributed to a case of all-consuming ego and intense vanity?

The partition of India and the creation of Pakistan were to serve the British aims in two separate areas. The scheme as originally planned was to secure for Britain certain definite advantages in India, as well as in the countries collectively known as the Moslem World. A brief survey of the plan as revealed of late by certain events taking place throughout that part of the Orient might well establish our point.

The aimed effects of the partition on the future of India are in their general scope nothing short of what we might term as sadistic. India as a whole unified nation endowed with great riches, and well on its way towards industrialisation might soon have been intolerant of any type of foreign control, and might indeed have chosen to ridicule the idea of remaining within the commonwealth. She would soon find herself in the enviable position of a sought-after customer and furnisher, and would bargain only at terms most satisfactory to herself. England today is in no condition to compete with the younger and more productive commercial rivals in the modern world. The dilemma was a hopeless one, and England would have to suffer great losses. It was time for the well-known British wit and cunning to rescue whatever bits it could. For decades Britain had ruled India by playing on the petty quarrels of the two powerful factions who had worshipped God each in its own way, and thus prevented the growth of a sense of unity. Why not keep India divided along the same line? Why not create a new state which indirectly would force India to remain within that large and convenient organisation known as the British Commonwealth? That was a masterly stroke and it certainly paid well. India was literally forced to remain a member of that huge happy family. Were she to sever her ties with the British Empire, the arms and ammunition, the tanks and the jet warplanes so readily placed at the disposal of Pakistan as a member of the Commonwealth would threaten her security.

The position of India as a potential great power has long been recognized throughout the civilized world. India is endowed by nature with vast supplies of raw material, occupies an exceptionally favorable geographical position with respect to Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australia, may some day in the future rule the Indian Ocean, and commands vast areas of a sub-continent thickly populated by hundreds of millions of hard-working men. The expansion of Indian industry, spreading of technological knowledge and skill among the millions of workers, better nutrition and better standards of health could not fail to bring that country in the near future among the rank of the leading powers. India controls the means and has developed the will to become a great power. Such developments will obviously take time, but when they take place their influence will be felt throughout Asia and perhaps also Africa. The British position in those parts of the world would be hard to maintain indeed. India might not only become self-sufficient but might also furnish the ever increasing demand of the vast areas which presently absorb a great percentage of the British manufactured goods. Politically as well as economically India would be a strong rival for Britain to contend with. The scheme of partition was thus to remove also the danger of India becoming too powerful or too self-sufficient at least for the time being. Mutilated bodies need time for recovery. While there is still time a number of things can happen. Time and more time is the urgent demand of despair.

The presence of a Pakistani army armed and supplied with some of the best and the latest weapons that England can produce along the India borders produces in India the very conditions that Britain hoped for. During the crucial years when India should be assigning the greater part of her national income to the welfare of her long-neglected millions and to improvement of her economy the larger proportion of her annual budget is allotted to national defence. Her security now is assured only at the expense of peaceful and profitable enterprises. She must spend millions on arms and ammunitions in order to keep the mercenaries of the Karachi regime at bay. The process will obviously weaken her economy and the profit made on sale of armaments will flow to the British treasury. In this instance many birds seem to have been killed by one stone.

One seldom fails of late to notice with amusement the bold and somewhat peculiar attempts of Britain and Pakistan to display the latter country as the undaunted champion of the Moslem World. The cause of Islam from the shores of the Atlantic to the islands of Indonesia seems to have become the main concern of Pakistan. Strange as it may seem a number of Western observers, particularly in the United States, actually believe that Pakistan by acquiring the position of leadership in the Moslem World may eventually bring that area in line with the policies of the West. The revival of the Caliphate, a fanciful dream of certain Indian Moslems, seems to have impreseed even some logical Western thinkers. It might be sad indeed to witness such basic lack of understanding of the actual issues in the East, but that under-estimation of the Eastern mentality is not altogether new. It has been rather fashionable for years now to throw up one's arms and candidly state the area has not changed at all since the days of the prophet. To the British, however, the issue is clear and simple. The present British policy follows with great consistency the path of the original scheme which further motivated the creation of Pakistan. A large Moslem state, inhabited by millions of people already accustomed to British subservience, and ruled by the leaders of a party originally created for furtherance of British aims, might place in the latter's hand a trump to be used in the Middle Eastern "Great Game." It is hard not to pity the fate of the Moslem World. They seem ever to find a self-appointed champion or leader amidst their chaos. A decade ago it was Mussolini, and now it is the turn of the exalted knights of Karachi.

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Pakistan as the leader of the Moslem World would indeed have been a handy tool at the British disposal. Through Pakistan and her leaders Britain hoped to control the policies of Moslem governments across the width of Asia and of North Africa. Under the banner of Islam that solid bloc, they hoped, would turn hostile to other Asians who did not share their faith, and would thus undermine any solidarity which might develop on that continent. One seldom fails to wonder at the consistency and scope of certain British policies. Britons are indeed a very conservative race. For decades they ruled India by playing the Moslems and the Hindus against each other, and now they plan to control not only India but also other vast expanses of Asia by perpetuating the same religious antagonism.

Our study so far establishes the fact that the partition of India was not necessitated by religious antagonism or any other consideration which might in any way be termed as beneficial to the people of the countries in question. In view of what has been said one often tends to wonder about future developments in that area, and the political set-up which may some day replace the present chaotic conditions.

It is hardly a confession of human failure to admit on any occasion that the future of any issue remains largely shrouded in an aura of mystery. Too many unforseen and unforseeable factors may at any moment come into play and radically modify the fate and the destiny of a nation. With such definite reservations in mind we may still attempt to catch a glimse, furtive as it may be, of what lies ahead in order to better prepare for it. The elements of any rash estimates and prophesies are, needless to say, ruled out in such undertakings. We may, nevertheless, approach our problem by making an analysis of events, past and present, and derive our clues from any logical pattern which these may evolve.

It may be high time now to recognize the fact that India never has, and perhaps never shall consider the large areas severed from its body under the convenient pretext of religious difference as permanently alienated. Several million Indian Moslems live happily today under the banner of the new republic and we have no reason to believe that other millions now separated from it could not have done the same. India will sooner or later reclaim the territories of Sind, Punjab, and Bengal, and the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan might return to their logical orbit. The issue of Kashmir, the present source of disagreement between India and Pakistan, is perhaps only a link in a chain of events still in the making. India is fully aware of the fact that she cannot look forward to achievement of her legitimate national aspirations in her reduced form, and is not likely to forget her dreams of future greatness. A needless battle in this case has been forced upon her and should the need arise she shall stand to fight it out.

Britain even today pursues in that area the policies which in the past have won her the hatred of millions living throughout the Eastern countries. The shipments of arms, ammunitions, and jet planes silently slipping through the port of Karachi to be used for purposes of aggression in Kashmir, and "pacification" of the Pathan borderland, are daily observed and taken into account. The policies pursued by Pakistan are actually dictated from London; the arms, logically enough, needed for their enforcement are supplied by Britain. The constant preaching of the "big Moslem brother," a reincarnation of Lawrence of Arabia, has deceived only a few gullible souls in the Moslem World , and the comical act of parading Pakistan as a bulwark against communist aggression has lately ceased even to be funny. The ceaseless flow of war materials into Pakistani seaports has at best upset the balance of power in that area, and is never likely to accomplish much more than that. Need we remind everyone that there is a balance of power to maintain among the smaller states also ?

How long, one wonders, will Britain continue to remain the undaunted champion of Pakistani cause, and how much more borrowed money is the British treasury willing to pour into Pakistan? Perhaps only time and circumstances will provide us with the accurate answer. On the whole, however, as long as Pakistan remains a handy tool of Whitehall, and is ruled in accordance with best traditions of the Muslim League the British help will not cease to pour in. The goodwill of Britain on which Pakistan thrives today is thus dependent upon the latter's usefulness as a tool.

The vision of Pakistan, so dear to the heart of Whitehall, as the power through which Britain might control the Moslem World is perhaps an inspiration dictated by the facts of a world largely left behind. The days of Caliphate are as irretrievable in the modern Middle-East as the heroes of the Arabian Nights. The Middle-East of today is swiftly moving ahead on the path of Turkey, and whatever solidarity they might develop among themselves will be chiefly inspired by political motives not by religious affinities. Pakistan, one might say, has already outlived its usefulness to Britain in that particular respect.

Speculation at this point about the future of Pakistan, in so far as its ties with the British Commonwealth are concerned, is perhaps relevant to a logical conclusion of our study. A number of factors beneficial either to Britain or to Pakistan, seem to assure the permanence of the set-up as it exists today. Nothing, however, in the nature of racial, cultural, religious, and historical affinities which keep the so-called "White Dominions" attached to the crown exists between the Asiatic dominions and Britain. The overwhelming majority of the people in the former dominions are British in origin and refer to the British islands as the mother country. These are the real bonds which keep the British Commonwealth together, and in their absence the Asiatic dominions are not likely to remain permanent members of that family of nations.

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We must repeat here that the future always retains an element of mystery. In view of the foregoing arguments we may, nevertheless, assume that Pakistan is not likely to outlive its usefulness to Britain. Indications are clear that Pakistan has failed in a number of respects. She has failed to produce a rift between India and the Moslem countries, and has suffered set-backs in her bold attempt to gain leadership in the Moslem World. Despite the atrocities, the mass imprisonments, and secret trials the Pakistani regime has failed to subdue the Pathans of the North-West Frontier and the people of East Pakistan. In these areas the opposition is daily gaining strength. Some day when reality emerges out of chaos, and the people of Pakistan become aware of the true foundation of their country, the leaders of the Muslim League shall have to pay the price of treason. We may then look forward to an era of peace, understanding, and true co-operation among the countries of Asia. With the disappearance of the last relics of British Imperialism from their midst, the people of Asia will have an opportunity to live peacefully and to devote their energies and resources to reconstruction of their lands and improvement of their lots.

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HATFIELD : THE HOME OF THE CECILS

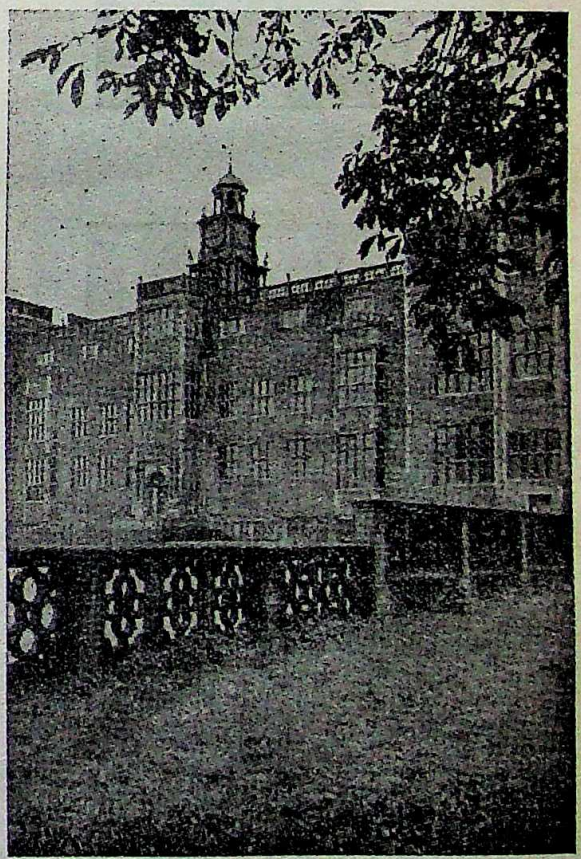
By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Of all the great houses in England, Hatfield surely takes pride of place. Others may seem more lovely or own as beautiful things but Hatfield is the house which sticks closest to the past. It is said that the history of the Elizabethan and Jacobean ages could be written from the records and manuscripts which are preserved there. But it is not only in the library and muniment room that history is paramount. From its site, from its origins, from its trees even, the past leaps out at the visitor from the moment he enters the gates of the Park.

It is part of the fascination of this mellow Jacobean house that it should begin life with a couple of ghosts. The ghosts, of course, are Queen Elizabeth I and Robert Cecil. Both of them pervade the place and neither of them ever lived in it. The house was built by Robert Cecil, the younger son of William Cecil (Lord Burleigh) who was Elizabeth's faithful Treasurer for nearly forty years. He began to build it in 1607—just about the time of the building of India's famous Taj Mahal—four years after the death of the Queen, and he died in 1612 just as the house was nearing completion.

Elizabeth's portraits, her gloves and her stockings and her garden hat—and for some, above all, her beautiful handwriting in the library—are the things which will always be associated with Hatfield House. But if we want to retrace her steps we must go outside. And here we come to its origins.

A few yards away from the present house is a very different kind of structure. It is a vast Tudor hall with flying buttresses and it is all that remains of the old fifteenth century Palace of Hatfield. This Palace belonged originally to the Bishops of Ely but in 1534 it was ceded to Henry VIII. He used it as a country home for his children, and Mary I, Elizabeth I and Edward VI all lived here. Elizabeth and Edward were especially attached to the place and to each other. Both were precocious children of the Renaissance and



Hatfield House. The North Front

it is recorded of them while at Hatfield that 'they desired to look upon books as soon as the day began.' Poor Edward VI ! He was only ten years old when

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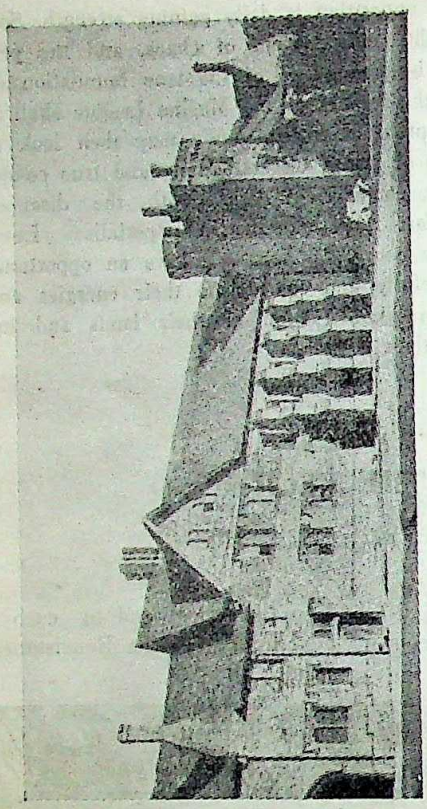
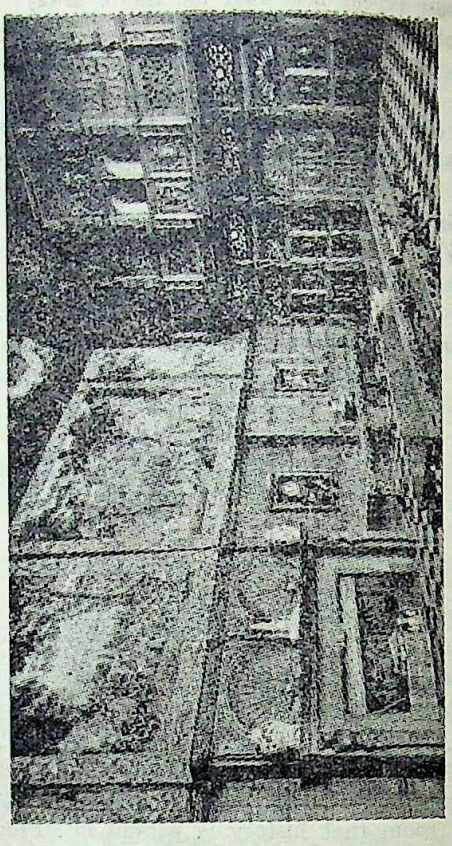
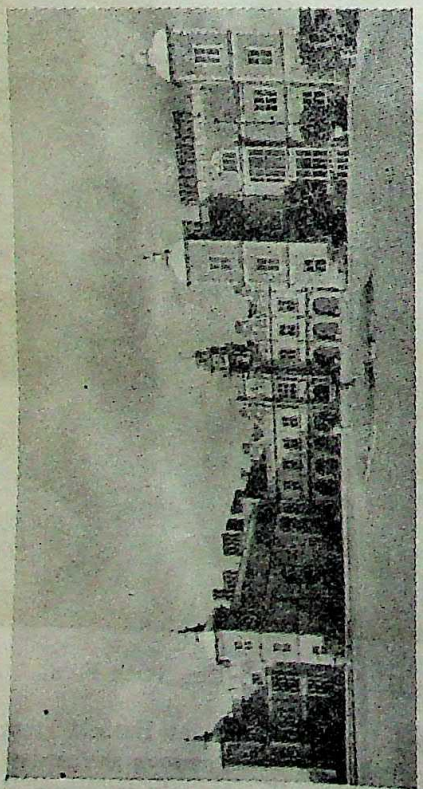


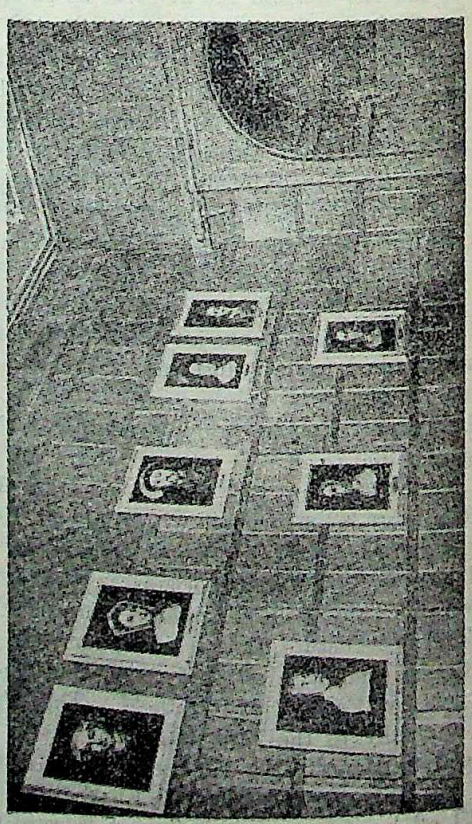
The Old Palace



The Marble Hall



Hatfield House. The South Front



Tudor Portraits. Henry VIII and his wives

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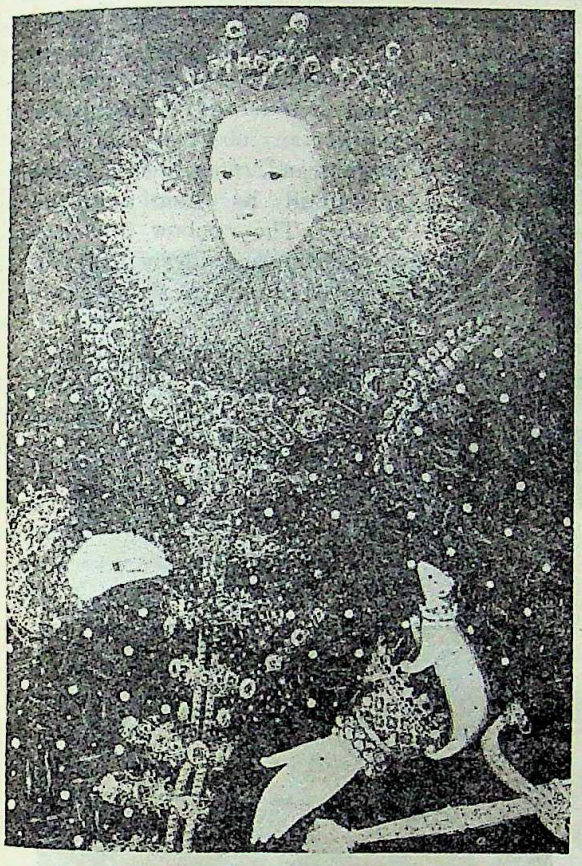
they carried him away from Hatfield to become King. Four years later and two before he died he gave Hatfield to his sister Elizabeth. And that is how Elizabeth came to be sitting under a tree in Hatfield Park—in



The Ermine Portrait of Queen Elizabeth

November one cannot help remarking—when she heard that her sister Mary was dead and she in turn had become Queen . . . As for the old Palace today, it is remembered chiefly as the place where the weary tourist can get some tea? Even the Cecils make use of its walls to dispose of some very indifferent Kneller paintings. Yet in this hall, beneath its fifteenth century rafters, Elizabeth held the first council of her reign. And from its roof the tragic Mary Tudor waved in vain to her father Henry VIII—who had divorced her mother and was bent on cutting his daughter too.

A legacy from the old Palace of Hatfield and now in Hatfield House are the many early portraits, painted on wood and perhaps not very remarkable, but which enhance its atmosphere enormously. We are told that they are to be found all over the house. Three of the most attractive are in the Marble Hall. They are of Henry V, Henry VI and Richard III. All are wearing their crowns and all, as the guide points out, are 'fiddling with their rings.' The rings—and the hands—are extraordinarily beautiful. But this fidgetting with their rings! It recalls Malvolio in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. It will be remembered that when the steward Malvolio is indulging a phantasy of what his life will be like when he becomes the husband of his mistress, the Countess Olivia, he speaks of how he will perhaps 'play with some rich jewel.' Was playing with some rich jewel a trick of kings and nobles in olden times?

When Elizabeth came to the Throne in 1558 Hatfield House was still half a century ahead in the mists of time. But the Cecil star was already on the horizon. William Cecil was one of a brilliant group which hailed from Cambridge and included Roger Ascham who had been Elizabeth's tutor. He was a Protestant and had held office during the minority of Edward VI. When Mary Tudor succeeded Edward and reintroduced Catholicism he was 'prudent' and conformed. (This kind of *prudence*, as we shall see, was to be a feature of the earlier Cecils). But Elizabeth knew her man and her first action was to make him a member of her Council. In this way began the long ascendancy of the Cecils, father and son, which was to outlast Elizabeth and to continue well into the reign of James I.

The Rainbow Portrait of Queen Elizabeth

Close to the three Kings in the Marble Hall is a portrait of Mary Queen of Scots painted, as the artist inscribes on the canvas, in the tenth year of her captivity in England. By then the once dashing and beautiful Queen had come to live only for the Catholic religion and its restoration in England by way of the assassination of her cousin Queen Elizabeth. In her black gown, with a crucifix as its focal point, and a rosary hanging from a still larger cross, she seems

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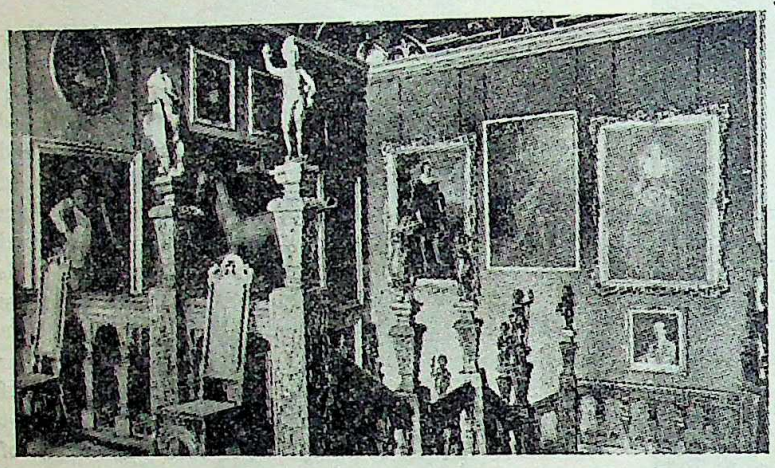
like an Abbess. Only the lovely frame of the head-dress and the sad, cautious eyes suggest a different destiny. Cecil, of course, played a principal part in bringing Mary to the block. And this portrait, which she is said to have sent to an adherent in England, was confiscated by one of his agents.



The Grand Staircase

The Marble Hall is a Jacobean version of the great hall which has come down to us through the ages. It has the usual features : the minstrels' gallery at one end, the great carved screen at the other, the very imposing fire-place. But this hall has the artistic advantage of facing north. So there is an excellent light in which to view the portraits, and some 17th century Flemish tapestries, which are set above the fire-place, survive in all their unfading glories.

There are two famous paintings of Queen Elizabeth here and one in the lobby outside. All are allegorical. They are known as the Diana, the Ermine, and the Rainbow portraits. In Elizabeth's day, and before her, allegories and symbolism were the fashion in Europe. The first of these portraits is the simplest to understand (although it carries symbolism rather far in that it does not even pretend to be a likeness). Elizabeth, Virgin Queen, appears as Diana, Virgin Goddess of the Moon. It is a guise in which she is often found in contemporary sonnets. But the painting is no mere courtly gesture. This moon-goddess, as a critic has pointed out, has a 'strangely compelling, magical glance.' It is, in fact, a highly psychological composition.

The Ermine portrait is very different. It is bold and successful and strident. On a sword which lies beside the Queen is the date 1585, that is two years before the execution of Mary Queen of Scots and three before the defeat of the Armada. These two great crises of her reign were rapidly approaching and the Queen seems already to be staring them down. The whiteness of the hands and the face and the ermine give tremendous force and clarity to the conception. The ermine with its jewelled collar is a symbol of chastity and is said to derive from a poem of Petrarch. But the collar here is a crown. And it is pointed out that in that great Elizabethan allegory, Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, Sir Artegall who represents Justice also carries on his shield the device of a crowned ermine.

I suppose the Rainbow portrait is Hatfield's greatest glory. Certainly one could look at it for hours on end. Every detail in it is said to be significant. And yet an observer, who knows nothing and cares less for allegory, must still be transfixed by its beauty. The rainbow in her hand, the strange and lovely balance of the head-dress, the serpent embroidered on her sleeve, the line of the cloak which echoes the line of the rainbow—all combine to make a most exquisite painting, so light that it seems almost to move. (A superb retort, is this portrait, to the modernist who proclaims that a picture which tells a story must be bosh artistically. It need not be).

Lady Mary Amelia, First Marchioness of Salisbury, by Sir Joshua Reynolds

Zuccaro, who painted it, must have been deeply attached to its subject. It is the only painting I know

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of in which the Queen's expression is one of immeasurable sadness.

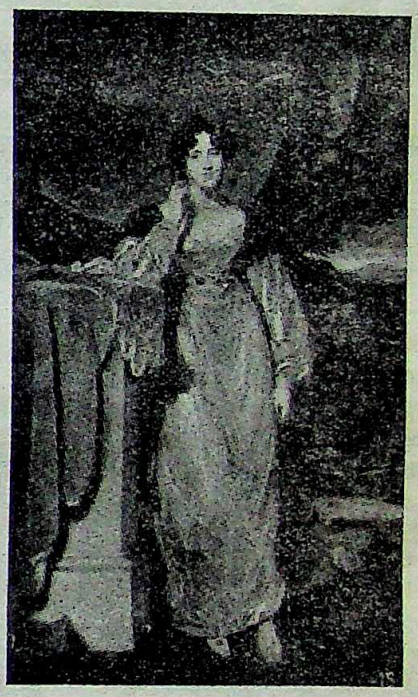
Rising up from the lobby in which the Rainbow portrait hangs is the Grand Staircase which leads to the state rooms. Though it has not the grace and lightness of the staircase at Knole, it has its own peculiar charm. It is a combination of Italian and English craftmanship. Jolly little boys, such as abound in Italian court-yards and fountains, share the pillars with heraldic English beasts. And the sides of the pillars are decorated with carvings of simple domestic subjects—a more elegant version, this, of the kind of

George III by Sir William Beechey

art which has existed in our churches from the earliest times. On one pillar, for instance, there is first a design of gardening tools (so delicate that they seem fit for a great lady's chatelaine); above it is a basket of flowers; and topping it all, as he should do, is the gardener in smock and hat. On the walls are many royal portraits and portraits of Cecils past and present. Conspicuous amongst them is a large white horse. It is the horse which Elizabeth rode when she visited Tilbury and made that never to be forgotten speech on the eve of the battle of the Armada. Riding that horse, in the words of an on-looker, 'she passed like some Amazonian Empress through her army.'

At the top of the stairs is the King James Drawing Room. Here we must make an important digression: It was not until the reign of James I that the Cecils came to Hatfield. In 1607 James asked Sir Robert Cecil if he would take the Palace of Hatfield in exchange for his house near Waltham Chase which was called Theobalds. James coveted the place because it was nearer London and had 'the commoditie of a navigable river falling into the Thames at a place convenient for His Majesty's princely sports and recreation.' (All that need be said about Theobalds here—in case it throws some light on the first Cecil—is that its great hall had an exciting plaster ceiling, decorated with the signs of the zodiac, in which 'the sun by some mechanism ran its course and the stars came out at night'! It was destroyed during the Civil War by the sour-puss Puritans).

Robert Cecil, whom James I was to create first



Frances Mary, Second Marchioness of Salisbury, by Sir Thomas Lawrence

Earl of Salisbury, was perhaps not pleased with the exchange. At any rate he began at once to demolish the old Palace, except for the hall, and to use its bricks to build the present Hatfield House. He gave it the shape of the letter 'E' in memory of Elizabeth. It was a fashion which many had adopted—a lucky whim which was to transform English architecture. Gone was the old method of building with its stuffy courts and quadrangles. Great houses at last had views and fresh air.

It is to the covetousness of King James that we owe Hatfield House and whether by accident or design the Cecils have made the King James Drawing Room a mirror of family history. The curtains belong to the 17th century, the windows and furniture to the 18th, the decoration to the 19th and the portraits span the whole time down to the present. (Robert Cecil seems the great absentee. But he is by the staircase, in the

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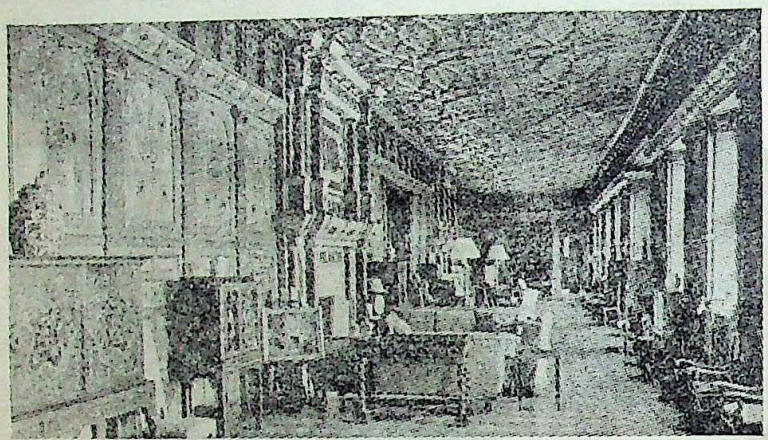
Library, in the Winter Dining Room and I suspect all over the house). James himself, presented by himself, presides in bronze from the mantle-piece. Next but one in line with him hangs a glorious Reynolds. It is of Lady Mary Amelia, wife of the first Marquess of Salisbury, and a close runner-up to Elizabeth in the legends which she has left behind her at Hatfield.



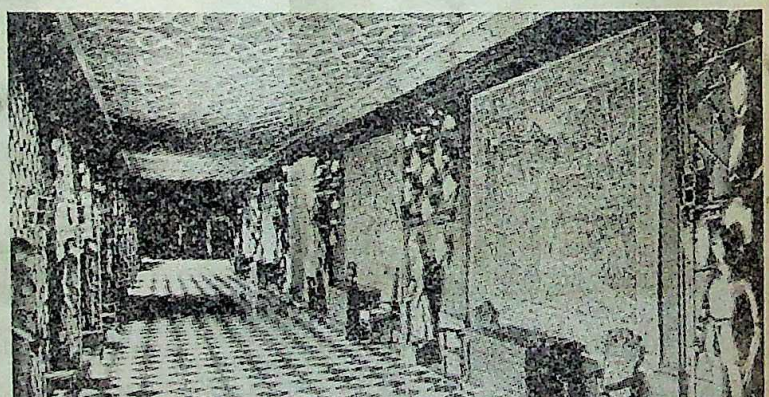
The Long Gallery

Indeed from the death of Robert Cecil in 1612 until the advent of Lady Mary Amelia in the middle of the 18th century, the Cecil records are not momentous. It is the *house* that is the principal character. The second Earl, during the Civil War, sided first with the King and then with Cromwell. (Charles I, as prisoner, stayed at Hatfield House on his way to his trial in London). This Earl comes down to us as 'My simple Lord Salisbury.' It is how he is described by Pepys who saw him in Hatfield Church on a far-off Sunday morning in October, 1664. Pepys was more interested in the house 'and above all the gardens, such,' he wrote, 'as I never saw in my life.'

The house still makes the news in the days of the third Earl. James Duke of York and his wife, fleeing from anti-Catholic rioting in London, decided to seek shelter there. But the Earl, Protestant and impolite, absented himself and left it unprovided. So that when the Duke arrived he had to send into the town for food and candles. Even more eccentric was the fourth Earl but he bequeathed to Hatfield its principal tourist-stunt. For, at first he favoured the rebellious Duke of Monmouth and hung his portrait on the stairs. But, uncertain how the rebellion might end, he grew uneasy and had his own portrait painted over that of the Duke. In the last century the canvas was cleaned and Monmouth's head came into view! So now, over the staircase, hangs a strange figure with two heads.

The fifth Earl, we are informed, was remarkable only for his large turned-out feet. But he married an energetic lady who founded a school near the old Palace and, above all, planted the wonderful copper beeches which today—after more than two hundred years—form such beautiful views from the great windows. The sixth Earl claims attention only for the injury which he did to the house. Feeling overpowered perhaps by too strong-minded a mother, he refused to live there and sold off the family plate.

But with the seventh Earl, the Cecil family comes into prominence again. He it was who married the Lady Mary Amelia in the Reynolds portrait and became the first Marquess. For twenty-four years he was Chancellor to George III who in June, 1800, came to Hatfield Park to review the Militia. In honour of



The Armoury

the occasion the King presented the Earl with his portrait which now hangs in the Winter Dining Room. He is represented standing in Hatfield Park and the house appears in the background.

The Lady Mary Amelia, first Marchioness of Salisbury, was also the first of the great political hostesses whose sway, alas, has ended with the days of austerity and the passing of Londonderry House. She brought breeding, gaiety, and courage to Hatfield House—and got away with anything she wanted. Thus she held card parties in the Long Gallery on Sunday afternoons and even saw to it that her butler should announce *in church* such items of news as: 'Her Ladyship's band will play on the terrace this afternoon.'

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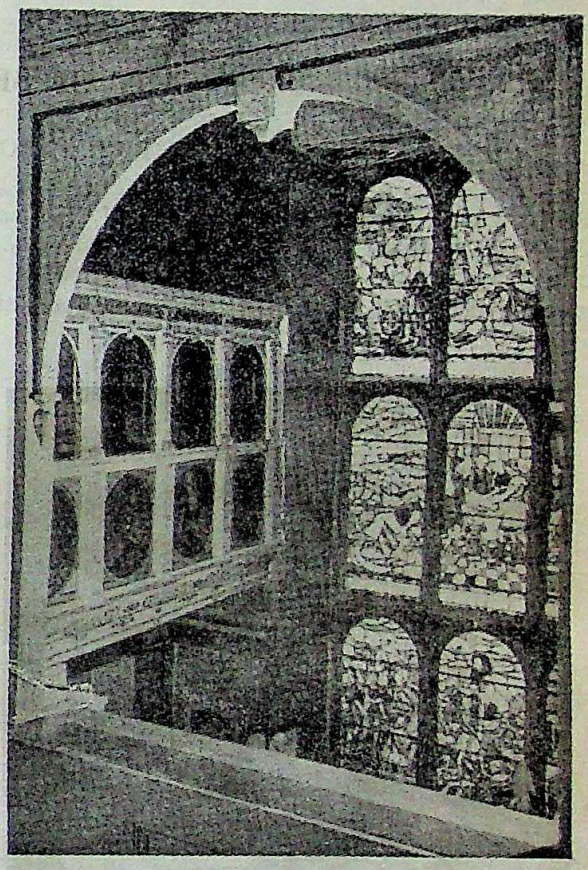
She started the Hertfordshire Foxhounds and continued to hunt when she was nearly blind. It was this approaching blindness which led to her death in the famous fire at Hatfield which is described by Dickens in *Oliver Twist*. (She was writing in her room and had sent for more tapers. It is thought that stooping over her desk she set her head-dress alight).

Another lovely if lesser portrait in the King James Drawing Room is that of the second Marchioness by Sir Thomas Lawrence. She was a friend of the Duke of Wellington whose portrait also hangs here. He gave her the many captured banners and trophies there are in the house and he used always to wear the coat of the Hertfordshire Hounds when he was campaigning. It was the second Marquess, her husband, who made Hatfield the easiest of all the great historic houses to get at. In 1850, when the railway was being constructed, he determined to have it at his very gates! (The Great North Road was deflected to make this possible). As a result, and I have timed it, one can reach Hatfield from Westminster in exactly one hour. But the house is not spoilt in any way by the nearness of the railway. Standing high on a hill it is shut off from station and trains by the massing of trees in the Park.

All the guides and guide-books, of course, lead up to the third Marquess as if he were the greatest of the Hatfield Cecils. Leader of the Tory Party and three times Prime Minister in the time of Victoria he sits solidly at the entrance to Hatfield Park in an enormous statue put up by his admirers. There is also a painting of him by Richmond. With his deep-set eyes and broad black beard he seems the very embodiment of triumphant terrestrial Toryism. He is not to my taste. I prefer the portrait of his grandson, Lord David Cecil. He too is in the King James Drawing Room, painted as a child and with his mother. As a great admirer of his books, and especially of his life of Metternich, I was delighted to meet him at about six years old! Gentle and eager he seemed, which is surely the right beginning for an eminent historian. Two other members of the family, still alive, are Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (perhaps better known as Lord Robert Cecil) renowned for his keen interest in the League of Nations, and his brother Lord Quickswood (formerly Lord Hugh Cecil), who was Provost of Eton College from 1936 to 1944.

But this room is too crowded with history for comfort. Leading out of it is the Long Gallery. It is a peaceful shadowed place with patches of sunshine cast by the windows. Here, behind some ' sliding panels, and then behind some iron gates, and then behind a sheet of glass, is what the Cecils evidently consider the loveliest thing in the house. It is a crystal and gold posset set and was a wedding present to Mary Tudor when she married Philip II of Spain. It is by the great Italian craftsman Benvenuto Cellini.

Long Galleries were intended as an indoor promenade. This must be a delightful one, with its views across the Park, and the family still use it. Except in the lobbies at either end, where there are more Tudor paintings including Henry VIII and all his wives, the walls have only carved panelling for decoration. Otherwise the field is left clear for promenading and admiring the 17th century furniture. But half way down its length and leading out of it is a smaller gallery where Elizabeth's hat and stockings and gloves—and the cradle of Charles I—are to be seen.



The Chapel. East Window

After the Long Gallery comes the Winter Dining Room. In the window stands a long elmwood table cut in a single piece from the tallest imaginable tree.

And so at last we come to the Library. What drama is shut up in one of the cases! Next to a letter in Elizabeth's beautiful handwriting is one from her successor, James I. Elizabeth executed his mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and he begins his letter to her 'Madame and dearest Sister' . . . Over the mantlepiece is a portrait of the builder of the house, Robert Cecil. It is in mosaic and was the gift of our Ambassador in Venice who in 1609 had it made there. With the gift he sent a 'spetiall' injunction from the artist that it should be 'set in his true light and at a little

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more height for the eye than a coloured picture would require.' A point to remember with mosaics.

There remain the Armoury and the Chapel. The Armoury is another indoor promenade and it is hung with old Gloucestershire tapestries. Much of the armour here was salvaged from Spanish ships after the defeat of the Armada. How small the Spaniards were! Or were we all much shorter in days gone by?

It is most fitting that the tour of the State Rooms should end with the Chapel. The Cecils are great supporters of the Church and prayers are said here daily. The stained glass in the windows is Flemish and was put in when the house was built. Round the chapel runs a little gallery meant for distinguished foreign visitors. Not sympathetic to the Anglican communion —and so perhaps reluctant to come into the body o' the kirk—they could none the less join their hosts in prayer.

Westminster, London, July, 1952.

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ART OF SREEMATI DEVI

By D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY

Before I enter into the main features of Sreemati Devi's contributions I may be permitted to make a brief survey of the function of art and how it is executed in keeping with the temperament of the artist.

Goddess Bani

Every form of art reveals a symbol of beauty. The symbol is the outcome of a sincere search and hard labour. The search is initiated by a strong emotion which is always in urgent need of satisfying a purpose. The purpose aims at a serious project which is a revelation of truth, I mean the truth that underlies the created form, it is the inherent quality. The difficult task of search, discovery and release is not accomplished without effort but we often come across such an expression as "effortless execution." Usually it comes from the pen of over-enthusiastic connoisseurs or critics in the making. The expression is intended to lay emphasis on mastery of technique. However well-meaning the remark might be, it loses its objective and value if false undestanding sits on judgement and explanation. It is so indeed when self-constituted critics become desperately ambitious to be artistically bent and intellectually arbitrary.

The expression "effortless" is applicable only to technique because technique stands for a language which is the vehicle that conveys the expression. In the circumstances the load, the distance and the time required to cover the destination have to be adjusted according to the capacity of the carrier.

I am constrained to say that many critics, particularly of the new order, do not even know which part of a painting is called technique, how the one is distinct from the other, or why a particular treatment is necessary for a particular theme. Let us compare this aspect with the language we use every day for our exchange of thoughts. The language of our daily use has also its different stages which convey meaning according to the capacity of an individual's knowledge and power of pressing his point of view. For instance, a child's thought and expression will be different from that of an adult and the adult who has cultivated language to be intelligible on an intellectual level will be different from an adult who had not had the benefit of education in this direction. Therefore the understanding of language and what purpose it is going to serve is desirable before an analysis is indulged in. But the current of the day has swept away this common sense.

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Presume this unfortunate condition has come to stay on account of a sudden rush for quick cultural attainment. In consequence of which, the enthusiasts of the class I have mentioned find no time or patience to study how a picture is made. The indifference towards a proper understanding of values does not count much so long as some quotations from any article on the modern trend of art find a place in their so-called learned treatises.

Profile

Criticism as I understand it, in its true sense, is an interpretation of facts as they exist in the patterns, with such suggestions as would be constructive and would be helpful for a progressive outlook and not merely supporting a propaganda just because it happens to be a raging fashion of the day. To get at the correct attitude one has to be prepared to face labour and limit expression to the capacity of one's knowledge. But labour and knowledge do not go well where a quick survey has to be made on impressions which are gained superficially to meet the demands of the press as otherwise their news value is lost. So haste takes the place of speed and the result is frustration.

Sense of responsibility under such circumstances is considerably reduced, if not completely disowned. The consequence is a catastrophe as I have already said. Either the artist is boosted up to a dizzy height just to collapse for want of stamina to fit in with the honour thrust upon him, or he is condemned by a sweeping remark which effectively crushes his work that might have taken months or years to complete. The wrong thus done in both the cases gets no change for a fair trial because of the cultivated indifference and lack of interest of the public. It is strange that even a cricket or a hockey player is privileged to defend himself if such a situation arose, but, alas, the artist who feels for the masses and speaks

Village Belle

on their behalf is left at the mercy of these irresponsible critics. This, in spite of the fact that telling stories of joys and sorrows of life through the medium of art lends no little service to the understanding of humanity. Therefore, we cannot but accept the artist's contribution as a great asset that reinforces that strength of the pillars on which grows the structure of civilization. Despite this fact, he remains a condemned being and the pursuit of his religion is considered to be an extravagance in luxury.

It has not come to light yet, that the vocation of an artist is nothing short of a *sadhana*, a *yoga* for which every bit of energy has to be harnessed and concentration accentuated often to meet failures which succeed each other to lead to the path of success. The path goes beyond from one destination to another and so on continues the search. It is something like swimming in the midst of an im-

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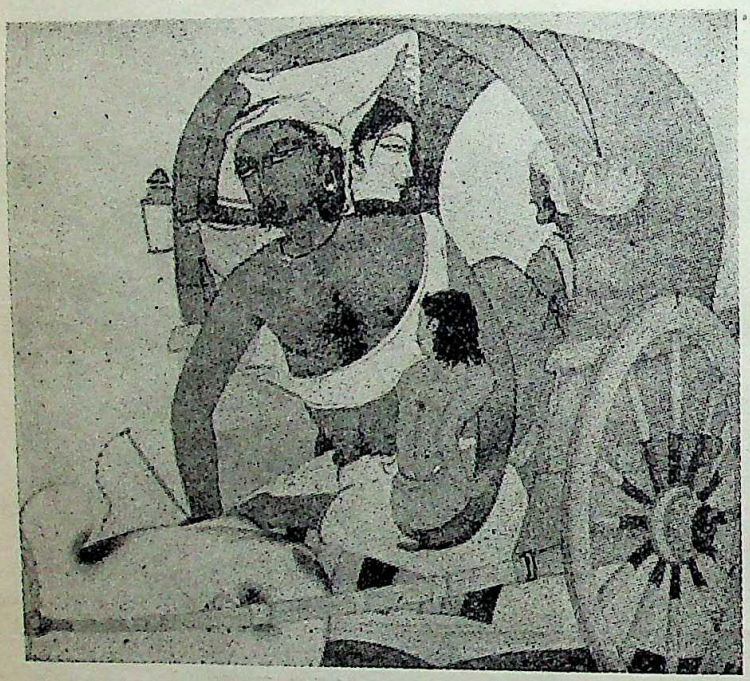
measurable ocean. Approaching the shore remains only a hope.

We can conclude from this that the genius in this sphere is not born, but he is made as the result of hard struggle. As such, what appears to be effortless or simple on the surface, is really a concealment of labour and complications. Simplicity also in its illusive presentation is nothing other than the sum total of *complications* which is most intriguing. The illusive effect is the outcome of a serious thinking to avoid a clash between the unwanted and the indispensable ; each of which is arrogant and insists on staying in a disorderly manner. To establish harmony in such an atmosphere, requires a thorough grip of the subject.



From the fair

This principle is not confined to picture-making alone, but it also applies to sculpture, literature, music, dancing and architecture. Each of the creative arts has a composition of its own. And in each sphere the arrangement is condensed to the bare essential by eliminating the jarring elements. Otherwise the disturbing factors do create a discord which is not the function of art since art stands for harmony and joy.

A well-arranged pattern therefore cannot be accomplished by a beginner, or those who delight in reckless experiments for a successful chaos. The care-free attempts of a beginner, I do not mean the innocent child, but the experienced grown-up, have a tendency to be carried away by the strong emotion which stresses all importance to the subject without considering how the contents of the subject will have to be revealed. There is again the boosted one who takes for granted that he is an artist. He is a menace to the cause of progress since his belief leads to a conviction and the conviction begets contagion which adds to the number of conceits. In the circumstances, the question of a reference to the facts of nature which can tell the truth does not arise, since reliance on truth threatens a cure. They thrive on ignorance when it is bliss; hence folly is taken as wisdom. Works of these artists excite curiosity on account of a following made by propaganda just because it is something queer. The project has a vested interest which is an exploitation of the artists on the one side and self-glorification of the interested on the other.

The whole question cut short would mean that one must know where to stop. This is where discipline comes in, which is subjected to severe restrictions imposed by the medium and also the limitations of personal experience. But discipline and *sadhana* have been done away with by the fanatic domination of unassimilated modernism borrowed from the West in order to make simplicity an easy affair. No doubt, the objective has been gained since the pictures composed by cubes and cones or so-called dashing strokes create complicated puzzles, and the puzzles are placed on such an intellectual plane or abstract themes as could be hardly understood even by one who is prepared to extend a liberal attitude towards the new movement. Whatever sort of sympathy one may wish to extend, in this respect, the reactions of truth and falsehood remain opposed to each other, that is to say, a puzzle capable of giving a headache can never be converted into a picture that radiates joy.

In this tumult of life where pride is eclipsed by vanity and haste joins aimless speed to arrive at nowhere, one feels a great relief to come in contact with the work of Sreemati Devi. She has all the best assets to grow and I do hope she will.

Patience is her main hold and perseverence is her stimulating force. Combined with these rare qualities that an artist must possess, she has the gift to take any amount of pains to satisfy her mission which is motivated by religious trends and supported by conventions of traditional technique.

I am glad to say that despite the presence of the strong sentimental aspect of religion Sreemati

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Devi has not failed to pay due attention to the pattern that translated her subject-matter into a visual form. It is indeed a difficult performance as one is apt to be carried away by the devotional aspect which often ignores the aesthetic delight that the form beautiful can give. It would not be out of place if I mention that out of millions who visit temples very few see the beauty of the shrine. Beauty, as such, needs entirely a different approach which may be associated with Bhakti but absolute Bhakti does not depend on this form or that to meet its objective, since the quality of the form to be worshipped is built up in imagination which would work even if the form were not visible, or devoid of aesthetic appeal.

She has chosen wash and tempera as her medium for the execution of her works. The effect is influenced by the Rajput, Moghul and Ajanta schools, the last being the dominating one in respect of form and colour scheme as well. The arrangement of colour has a musical quality. It is no wonder that it should have been so, because, in my opinion, her musical attainment excels her graphic expressions. It is due to the fact that the form of art created by the artist would reflect on her whole being.

Coming back to the arrangement of colour, I should say it is sober and a source of relief to the eye and the mind when contrasted with the effect produced by the ultra-modernists. The colours of their choice are hardly good to their neighbours. They are restless and scream till they shake your healthy nerves and force them to succumb to a physical pain.

Sreemati Devi could have been easily recognised as a genius for the amount of pains she takes to see the minutest details carried out in order, and the arrangements of the composition balanced to the best of her knowledge.

But details too have their dangerous elements since all of them do not make for profit unless they are filtered. This is where a scientific training is required but she could not go through rigid discipline for not being able to work under a master. She is entirely self-taught and extremely shy. This modesty prevented her from exhibiting her works before the public earlier. But for the gentle and continuous pursuasion of her brother, Mr. Duraiswamy, this exhibition would not have been possible.*

* An introductory speech delivered by D. P. Roy Chowdhury on August 25, 1952, asking C. Rajagopalachari to open an Exhibition of Paintings by Miss Y. G. Sreemati, under the auspices of the South India Society of Painters, at the Museum Theatre, Madras.

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REMINISCENCE OF M. ROMAIN ROLLAND

By PANDIT DEVACHARYA, M.A.

It was perhaps January, 1933, when I was finally persuaded by a friend of mine, who was at that time studying Comparative Philology in the Post-Graduate class, to read the *Life of John Christopher*. For sometime previous to this I had discarded novel-reading as a harmful occupation, dangerous to mental peace and spiritual progress and not at all justified because of emotional disturbances easily created by a powerful writer, depicting life in an atmosphere of romantic extravagance. How I took to M. Romain Rolland's Nobel prize winner, I do not exactly recollect now. Perhaps, I had argued that a friend who is interested in Comparative Philology as a career must be a level-headed fellow, and a book with the title of a biography would be considered with prospects of mental elevation. Being a bigot—almost a fanatic lover of physiocratic simplicity I had developed a number of prejudices, and I was at that time unable to find out a single profession or job which could satisfy the demands of my inmost soul. I was restless and as storm-tossed as John Christopher—the subject of my study.

Imagine my surprise when I turned over the first page and knew the baby was born. An ugly child. I could hardly swallow the description. A hero is always beautiful to look at, that is, what the average reader expects from the author. But then all babies are ugly at the time of birth and John Christopher like the ugly duckling might still grow up into a fine-looking young lad. I maintained my hope and persevered through the labyrinth of musical discussions and other details of the social and family background. I was amazed to discover that the father of the hero could be a drunkard with a violent temper and the mother could be drawn from the class of the ordinary masses. And then girl after girl came and went out of John Christopher. It was difficult for me nursed in Puritanic traditions and prejudices to forgive John Christopher for what appeared to me the ordinary man's passion for sex. How idiotic of him to be so intimate with Ada, a woman with no soul, I supposed. O what nonsense that a character with vast dreams for brother man and endowed with rare creative genius should fall down at every new turn of the road like a reed shaken by the

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M. Romain Rolland and Gandhiji

wind of sexual hunger, I was then myself young and knew little about the tragedies of human nature.

Any way I finished volume after volume and I was agreeably surprised to meet Marie Antoinette in the third volume. She was the daughter of a bankrupt banker who committed suicide. She had made the supreme sacrifice of her life in living and earning only for the sake of her brother's success; and though as governess she was noticed by John Christopher who was also a music-tutor in the same family, she was never addressed by the hero. When at the opera everybody ridiculed or ignored Chritopher's new music-composition, she was mortally aggrieved. She sent her silent solace through the gaze of her eyes. She was aware of John Christopher who was equally aware of her. Both had fallen in a state of mutual attraction and mental sympathy and this time John Christopher came up to the expectations of an Easterner's standard; and I thought that at last the hero was going to settle in life. How nice it would be for a restless soul to be looked after by such a woman of sweetness and heroic self-sacrifice! And how poetically just it would be for the author to reward such a character of nobility who has been the victim of life-long suffering without compensation of any form—nay, not even in the form of a single sentence of love from any youthful suitor! I mused and nursed my hopes. O cruel! the author simply finished her in one sentence, so to say: She had developed signs of consumption, went to Switzerland and passed away.

I can hardly describe the agonising pathos of the story at this juncture. Alone and friendless a young woman of rare charm passes away and the author hardly stops in his narrative and goes on to describe the friendship that now develops between Antoinette's brother Olivier and Christopher. I could hardly concentrate on these chapters as the wound was still fresh in my mind.

I could not persuade myself that it was only a story I was reading. For days and nights during one whole week, the woman, who passed away from the world of life I shared, haunted my memory. There was perhaps a private context of this trial of my sensibilities. I had an aunt who had been given in marriage to a fair-looking boy when she was barely nine. The boy died soon after marriage and the girl widow—a handsome maid who later on received high education also—had to face the realities of life without the consolation of motherhood. I had heard that she had desire to adopt me as her son; but another aunt—my father's sister—stood in the way; and the lady pined away before she was even twenty-six years of age.

Having lost my mother when I was only ten months old, and being fed on the breasts of kindly ladies during brief intervals when their own kiddies did not want to suck, I was a sensitive child from early

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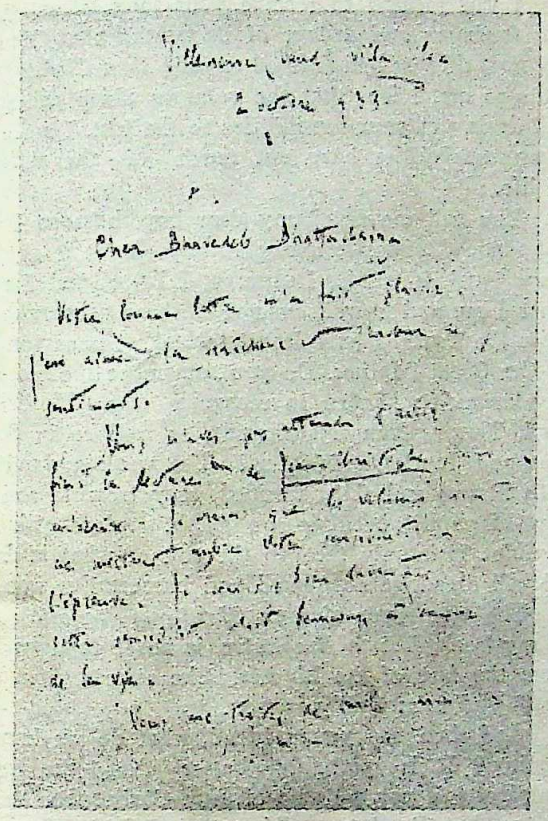
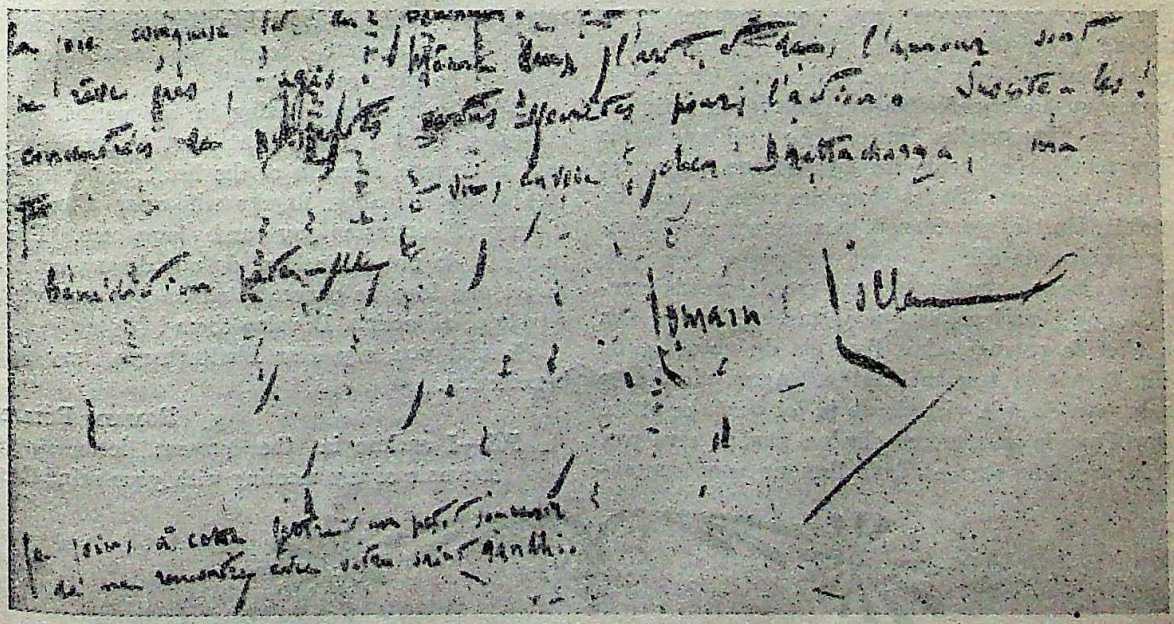
boyhood. I could therefore hardly resist the temptation of tearing off a number of pages from the first note-book I could lay my hands on. I wrote a long letter to M. Romain Rolland in which I unburdened my mind in a boyish manner and accused him of heartlessness in having disposed off Antoinette.

". . . No doubt," I wrote, "the sudden removal of Antoinette from the stage heightens the pathos ; but it verges on the distressingly painful. The author who inflicts such pain on his readers may not be pardoned. You are cruel—cruel beyond measure . . ."



M. Romain Rolland is a big name and I was and am still the man of the street. I had naturally doubts about my getting a reply. Months passed, no reply came. I was a bit ashamed of my rash venture. I did not disclose to any of my friends in the post-graduate class—and I had a good number of them—that I had addressed a letter to Rolland. I kept it as a secret and ultimately in the course of a few months I forgot the whole incident. I had then lost all hopes of getting any reply. It was a big surprise for me when one day in November, 1933, the postal peon delivered to me a bluish registered packet with acknowledgement due. The packet bore the seal of an unknown foreign post-office. Naturally I could not be sure if it would be the long-awaited reply from Rolland. I opened the packet—a big envelope with chambers—and found a photograph of Rolland and Gandhiji signed by Rolland in his own handwriting. In another chamber there was the letter in reply given in his own handrwriting in French.

Being innocently ignorant of French I could only decipher my name addressed in the beginning of the letter and saw the date of the letter given at the top. I ran to a friend of mine living in the neighbourhood. He knew French and was himself an ardent admirer of *Jean Christophe*. He immediately translated it for me excepting that portion which was underlined and in which Rolland was referring to a quotation from Swami Vivekananda. Those lines, my friend informed me, were rather stiff and he would not risk his own version. This portion remained untranslated for long



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years because of my failure to contact any good French scholar who would do the job gladly for me. Recently I have been lucky in getting the letter completely deciphered and translated by a lady scholar of the French embassy.

True copy of Rolland's letter in French

Villeneuve (Vand) Villa Olga
2 Octobre 1933

Cher Bhavadeb Bhattacharya,

Votre longue lettre m'a fait plaisir. J'en aime la fraicheur et l'ardeur des sentiments. Vous n'avez pas attendu d'avoir fini la lecture de Jean Christophe pour m'ecrire. Je crains que les volumes suivant ne mettent encore votre sensibilite a l'efreuve. Je crains, bien davantage, que cette sensibilite n'ait beaucoup a souffrir de la vie.

Vous me traitez de cruel, mon cher garcon, parce que je n'ai pas donni Antoinette pour femme a Christophe. Ce n'est pas moi qui suis cruel c'est la vie—Je l'observe je l'ecoute, et je dis ce que je vois et entends. Je ne suis pas poets qui gardent la verite. J'ai appris a la regarder comme vous regardez la grande mere . . . Vous souvenez vous des paroles de Swami Vivekananda ?

"Apprenez a reconnaitre la Mere, aussi bien dans le Mal, la Terreur, la Douleur, la Neant que dans la Douceur et la Joie ! Oh mere ! Les faibles entourent ton con de guirlandes de fleurs et puis, ils tremblent terrifies et l'appellant du nom de la Miseri Cordieuse ! Meditez sur la Mort ! Adorez le Terrible ! Seulement par le culte du Terrible, le Terrible peut etre vaincu et l'immortalite gagnee."

Le vrai sens de Jean Christophe comme de l'Annette de mon "Ame Enchantee," est de ne jamais remder devant le visage de la Mere. Elle les escorte jusque'a la mort et jusqu'a "L'immortalite gagnee."

Et puis, mon jeune ami, que savons nous destinees ? C'est probablment mieux que la tendre Antoinette ne soit pas la femme de Jean Christophe. De meme qu'il est preferable que Beethoven n'ait pas epouse son "Immortelle Aimee." La solitude et la douleur revelent au genie les mysterieuses puissances de la vie interieure. Et les humbles ames aimantes, comme Antoinette, parviennent aux memes revelations par le sacrifice de soi.

Nous vivons actuellement une ere de grands combats. Ce que j'enseigne, ce que je tache d'inspirer aux ames, c'est le courage, c'est l'energie du coeur et de l'espirit devant la tragikue realite. Apres viendra le repos du reve dans la victoria de la joi conquise et du bonheur. Pour le moment ne t'endors pas, ne reve pas, agis ! Meme dans l'art et dans l'amour, sont concentrees de puissantes vertus ecrites pour l'action. Susciteles—Je vous envoie, mon cher Bhattacharya, ma benediction paternelle.

ROMAIN ROLLAND

P.S.—Je joins a cette lettre un petit souvenir de ma recontre avec votre saint Gandhi.

Dear Bhavadeb Bhattacharya,

I was pleased to receive your long letter. I like the freshness and ardour of its sentiments. You did not wait till you had finished reading *Jean Christophe* to write to me. I fear that the volumes which will follow will again put your sensibilities to the test. I am afraid these sensibilities have not much of the sufferings of life.

You call me cruel, my dear boy, because I have not made Christophe marry Antoinette. It is not that I am cruel, it is life. I observe, I listen, and I relate what I see and hear. I am not of those poets who disguise the Truth. I have learnt to look at it as you look at the Great Mother. Do you remember the words of Vivekananda : "Learn to recognize the Mother in Evil, Terror, Pain, Nothingness as well as in Sweetness and Joy ! Oh, Mother ! The weak garland you with flowers and then, terrified, they tremble and call you Merciful ! Mediate on death. Adore what is terrible. It is only through the cult of what is dreadful will dread be conquered and immortality won."

The true sense of *Jean Christophe*, as of Annette in my book, *L'Ame Enchantee*, is never to draw back from the face of the Mother. She escorts them until death and immortality is won.

And then, my young friend, what do we know of destiny ? It is probably better that the gentle Antoinette is not the wife of Jean Christophe. As it is better that Beethoven did not marry his "Immortal Beloved." Solitude and pain reveal to the spirit the mysterious powers of inner life. And the humble loving souls, like Antoinette, reach the same revelations through the sacrifice of oneself.

We are at present living in a period of great struggles. What I teach, what I try to inspire in the soul, is courage, strength of the heart and spirit in the face of tragic reality. Repose will come after. In the victory of conquered joy and happiness. For the moment, do not fall asleep, do not dream, act ! Even in art and love be concentrated on puissant virtues—secrets of all action. Develop them !

I send you, my dear Bhattacharya, my fatherly benediction.

ROMAIN ROLLAND

P.S.—I enclose in the present letter a small souvenir of my meeting with your saint Gandhi.

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SOME RECENT BOOKS ON THE TANTRAS

By Prof. CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

An extensive literature was produced during a fairly long period both by the Hindus and the Buddhists known as the Tantras or the Agamas that have been regulating the religious life of the vast majority of the Indian people. But it is a pity that the literature has not received as much attention as it deserved at the hands of modern scholars. This is in no small measure due to the fact that the teachings of the Tantras are held as close secrets by their followers and it is difficult to get at their real significance on many points. To add to this there were revolting rites and practices prevalent among people professing the Tantric form of religion and described in a portion of the literature, partly genuine and partly spurious. A number of scholars have from time to time made laudable attempts at interpreting the contents of this literature though their conclusions cannot be considered, for the reasons stated above, to have always been accurate. We may mention here three of the latest publications in this line which we have received for reviewing.

The Garland of Letters or *Studies in the Mantra Shastra** by Sir John Woodroffe is a collection of essays on the cardinal principles of the worship of Shiva-Shakti. The work was first published about thirty years back. We have now before us a new edition in a handsomely got-up volume brought out by a well-known publishing firm of Madras. Students of Indology, particularly those interested in the Tantras, will extend their hearty welcome to it and be thankful to the enterprising publishers for issuing and proposing to issue similar editions of other works of the great savant whose writings for the first time succeeded in attracting sympathetic notice of the world of scholars to a phase of Indian religion and culture that has been much neglected and evidently misunderstood in these days.

There are widespread misconceptions about the nature and contents of the Tantras. We find an echo of them in the *Tantras, Their Philosophy and Occult Practices*† which identifies Saktaism with Tantric religion and makes the dogmatic statement (p. 34) that "all the Tantras deal with the worship of Sakti." In the Preface, however, curiously enough, "Tantrism" is distinguished from Saivaism, Saktaism and Vaisnavism. There are similar other cases of apparent inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the book. The *pancha makaras* of the Tantras, it is pointed out, are intended to be taken in a figurative sense and not in their primary sense as done by 'vicious people more from a desire to give a sanctimonious air to their animal appetites than from real ignorance' (p. 113). Almost in the same breath the significance of the use of *pancha makaras* in their crude form is also explained (pp. 125-6). There is an old view about the close connection between the Tantras and the Sankhya system of philosophy. But according to the present book this is a 'wrong' and absolutely 'erroneous' belief held by even 'many educated people' of the modern times (p. 21). The manner of presentation in the book is not quite happy and the language is occasionally defective.

It is a relief to turn to *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*‡ by Dr. S. B. Das Gupta which throws welcome light on an obscure aspect of Tantric religion. Buddhist Tantras are little known in these days and Tantric Buddhism has a very narrow circle of followers in a comparatively small area. Dr. Das Gupta has spared no pains in reconstructing an account of this obsolete creed on the basis of a literature only a small portion of which has been published. He had therefore to collect considerable material from manuscripts deposited in different oriental libraries in India and abroad. The work is divided into six chapters which deal with topics like the different schools of Tantric Buddhism, the theological position of the Tantric Buddhists, the element of esoteric *yoga* and the argument of the Tantric Buddhists in defence of their *yoga*. A chapter on the literature and renowned authors thereof would have been welcome.

As regards the relation between Tantrism of the Buddhists and that of the Hindus Dr. Das Gupta has tried to show that there is no essenial difference between the two. "The ultimate goal of both the schools," to quote the words of the learned author, "is the perfect state of union—union between the two aspects of the reality and the realisation of the non-dual nature of the self and the not-self. The principle of Tantricism being fundamentally the same everywhere, the superficial differences, whatever these may be, supply only different tone and colour" (p. 3). According to him, "Buddhism in the later phases of Mahayana seems to have adopted these (Tantric) practices, which were a growth of the soil and as such a common heritage of the Hindus and the Buddhists" (pp. 2-3). And gradually, in course of time, all the features of Tantricism including even the "Sexo-yogic Tantric practices" found their way into Buddhism.

* Second edition. Published by Ganesh & Co., (Madras) Ltd., Madras-17. Price Rs. 15.

† Edited by D. N. Bose, author of *Harivamsa*. Revised by Hirala Haldar. Published by Dhirendra Nath Bose, Proprietor, Oriental Publishing Co., 11-D, Arpuli Lane, Calcutta-12. Price not mentioned.

‡ Published by the University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 7-8.

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"But the aim of these practices is not always the fulfilment of some or other mundane desire (though instances of them are not wanting), but these practices with their minutest details are said to be undertaken only for the attainment of the Bodhichitta, *i.e.*, for the realisation of perfect knowledge and for the uplift of all beings" (pp. 70-71). It will be seen that the Hindu Tantras also had similar high ideals placed before their followers. The book will thus be interesting not only to students of Buddhism but to students of Brahmanism as well.

——:O:——

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SELECTIONS FROM THE NAGPUR RESIDENCY RECORDS, Vol. I (1799—1806) : *Edited by Dr. H. N. Sinha. Published by Nagpur Government Printing. Pp. xxxii + 565. Price Rs. 12.*

Though the Bombay Government has been the first and most successful among the Maratha States to publish its historical records and Baroda a very good second (with much later and poorer materials), the Bhonsle Government's successor has made a good beginning with this volume. The early British dealings with the Nagpur Government are available in print in the State papers of Warren Hastings and Volume V of the Poona Residency Correspondence Series (*Nagpur Affairs*, 1781—1820, edited by Y. M. Kale). But the latter does not replace the book under review, which is fuller and more varied and has a value of its own for purely provincial details. Dr. Sinha has done a laborious work well. The crude old spelling of the thousands of oriental names in the volume could have been modernised only at an immense cost in retyping the entire press copy, and this, I know from my experience as joint-editor of the Poona Residency Records, is impossible in these days of economy. It ought to be kept in every research library. These English records are touched at the end by the Marathi volume, *Aitihasik Patravyavahar*, 2nd Edition, edited by Sardesai, Kulkarni and Kale (1933).

J. SARKAR

THE VEDIC AGE (The History of the Indian People, Vol. I) : *General Editor R. C. Majumdar, Asst. Editor, A. D. Pusalker. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Pp. 565. Price 35 shillings.*

This is the first instalment of a noble national work sponsored by the *Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti*, an institution started in Bombay in 1944, for this very purpose by our distinguished countryman Dr. (now H. E.) K. M. Munshi with the generous support of the well-known industrial magnate Sri G. D. Birla. The work is designed to be a comprehensive history of India in ten volumes dealing according to the most approved methods of historical criticism with the whole history of our land from the earliest times to the present. When completed, it will form a standing monument to our newly-awakened spirit of constructive endeavour in the service of our motherland. It is impossible in the course of a short book-review to notice even all the important chapters of the present volume and we have necessarily to make a selection. The title of the volume, to begin with, is admittedly anomalous, as it "begins from the dawn of human activity in India" (Preface p. 25) and indeed further afield with the story of the Aryans in their original home, to which is prefixed "an introductory section dealing with certain general topics bearing upon the history of India as a whole" (*ibid*). In chapter I the learned General Editor deals at length with the difficulties in the way of reconstruction of ancient Indian history and its special appeal, while shorter notices follow as regards the methods of reconstructing the mediaeval and modern history of India. Chapter II from the same learned pen describes the sources of Indian history under the three heads Ancient , Mediaeval and Modern. The author treats his subject with his usual lucidity, thoroughness and critical acumen, but we may be permitted to make a few remarks. On p. 47 he refers casually to "the lists of teachers in various Vedic texts as well as in writings of Buddhists, Jains and other religious sects," along with "songs and poems in praise of kings and heroes referred to in Vedic literature." Instead of this vague and meagre statement, one would have expected from the author a fuller consideration of the Vedic sources (under the heads of the *vamsas* and the *gotra-pravara* lists and the *gathas* and *narasamsis* and the *itihasas* and *puranas*) and of the Buddhist and Jaina sources (under the heads of sacred biography and church history). The author's statement (p. 49) about the absence of Purana-like texts in the post-Gupta period ignores the evidence of such a work as the *Manjusri-mulakalpalata*, while his account of the *Harshacharita* and the *Rajatarangini* (pp. 49-50) is silent about such features of these works as vivid characterisation of individuals and types and brilliant descriptions of contemporary manners. Instead of making a dubious reference (p. 56) to "kings or

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states" as probably issuing the so-called punch-marked coins, the author might have mentioned that silver coins of this type with five obverse marks have been shown by the recent Taxila excavations to fall into two distinct categories. Of these one, consisting of small thick coins, is now generally assigned to the imperial Mauryas, while the other, comprising large thin pieces, is attributed to the earlier ruling houses. Chapter III gives a good account of the progress of Indian archaeological excavations under British rule from the expert pen of the late lamented Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. Of this chapter we have only to complain that the Sanchi excavations should not have been dismissed in one single sentence (p. 73), while the account of archaeological explorations in Greater India is too sketchy and imperfect to be of much use. In chapter VIII Dr. S. K. Chatterji presents us with a highly suggestive and important description of the contribution made by each of India's component racial stocks to the common culture. Chapter IX consists of an excellent summary (with well-selected ilustrations) of the salient features of the Indus civilisation, written by Dr. A. D. Pusalker, though his statement (p. 195) that "the Rigvedic Aryans probably contributed their share to the evolution of the Indus Valley civilisation" is not likely to command general acceptance. In a very learned chapter (chapter X) Dr. B. K. Ghosh, an accomplished scholar (alas, too soon cut off in the midst of his activities) states on what appears to be conclusive grounds the case against India as the original home of the Aryans and then proceeds step by step to show that this last is most likely to be sought in South Russia. After this the short Appendix containing a list of arguments for the theory locating the original Aryan home in India appears to be quite unnecessary, and the General Editor himself appears to be of this opinion when he says elsewhere (Preface p. 26) that this theory has "a sentimental appeal to Indians" but is believed by few scholars today. The very high standard of scholarship shown by the author of Ch. X is well-maintained in his two following chapters (Chs. XI-XII), of which one describes the relations between the ancient cultures of India and Iran and the other presents us with a general review of Vedic literature from the Rigveda to the Srautasutras. The concluding portion of this work deals in successive sections with the Vedic period under the captions, 'The Age of the Rik-Samhita,' 'The Age of the Later Samhitas' (*add*, and the Brahmanas), and 'The Age of the Upanishads and Sutras' (*read*, Kalpasutras). In these sections Dr. B. K. Ghosh contributes very valuable chapters (Chs. XVI, XX and XXIV) on language and literature, while useful chapters on the various aspects of Vedic civilisation, *viz.*, political and legal institutions (Chs. XVII, XXI, XXV), religion and philosophy (Chs. XVIII, XXII and XXVI) and social and economic conditions (Chs. XIX, XXIII and XXVII) are added by Dr. V. M. Apte. On these latter chapters we propose to make a few remarks. In Ch. XVII, the author should have added some references to the status of the king's retainers and dependants (*ibhya, upasti*, etc.) and the order of princes and nobles (*rajaputra*) as well as the limitations imposed upon the king's authority by the conception of an all-powerful law or custom and still more by the separation of the priestly and ruling functions. Ch. XXI in its account of political theory should have included, on the one hand, fuller notices of the theories of creation of the divine king by the will of the Highest Deity (Prajapati or Varuna) and on the other hand, some references to the ideas of "divine covenant" for strengthening the political society of the gods. The account of political theory in Ch. XXV is silent about such important topics as the sources of Dharma and of *vyavahara*-law, while it fails to bring into clear relief the opposing principles and clauses of the law relating to the king's authority as well as obligations. Throughout these chapters no mention is made of the striking theories of the relations of Brahmanas and Kshatriyas with the others as well as *inter se*. The volume concludes with a good bibliography which is exhaustive for the chapter on Indus Civilisation, two maps showing the division into botanical regions and the distribution of the Indus Valley sites, as well as a valuable index of nearly 20 pages. Occasionally, however, the bibliography is altogether a blank (as in the case of references to archaeological explorations in Greater India), or out-of-date (as in the reference to the first (1923) edition of the present reviewer's work *A History of Hindu Political Theories*).

Altogether the publication of the present volume is a great event in the history of Indological studies in this country and abroad, for which we owe a deep debt of gratitude to the enlightened founders of the Institute, and especially and above all to the learned editors of this volume as well as the scholars who have contributed to it its different chapters.

U. N. Ghoshal

GANDHIJI'S AUTO-BIOGRAPHY : *Abridged by Bharatan Kumarappa. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. February, 1952. Pp. xi + 296. Price Rs. 2.*

The original of the Auto-biography runs to well over six hundred pages (Second edition, 1940). The Navajivan Publishing House has therefore thought it fit to bring out the present abridgement at a very popular price. Mahadev Desai also once compressed the book, but that was done specifically for school-children. The present abridgement however retains much more of the original than the former, for it is meant for the general reader.

DRINK, DRUGS AND GAMBLING : *By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. January, 1952. Pp. xi + 175. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Gandhiji was an ardent social reformer, and one of the principal items of his endeavours in this direction was temperance work. He wrote often on drink and drugs in the *Young India* and *Harijan*, and also invited others to write on the same subject. Such articles have been gathered together in the present booklet. They are altogether 97 in number.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

HISTORY AND REGISTER OF KRISHNAGAR COLLEGE (1846—1945) : *Part I—History, compiled by Tarak Nath Talukdar. Part II—Register, compiled by Nirmalkanti Majumdar. With a Foreword by Principal J. M. Sen. Price Rs. 10.*

Like the History and Register of the Presidency as well as the Hugli College, this is a publication of Government of West Bengal—Education Department. In the history of modern education in Bengal, Krishnagar College occupies a prominent place. Lord

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William Bentinck settled once for all the controversy over the medium of instruction in secondary and higher stages of education, which was raging for the previous ten years, by his famous Resolution of 7th March, 1835. Since then English schools and colleges multiplied. Krishnagar College,though founded a decade later, was one of the finest fruits of the government's educational policy. The College was started as a Government institution, but the zeal and contribution of the local people, headed by the Maharaja of Nadia, hastened its fruition within a few months from the issue of the Government circular, on 1st October, 1845. The public meeting held on the 18th November of that year for this purpose is very important, and though the author has drawn upon the account of the meeting, published in *The Friend of India*, he would have done well to get it published *in extenso*.

In the short compass of fifty-four pages, however, nothing but a rapid survey of the achievements of the college can be expected. But even in this, the author has entertained us with many interesting topics and observations. The views of Principal Lobb on higher education in Bengal simply betray the mentality of at least a section of those who guided our educational policy at the time. The statement of Umesh Chandra Datta, the first officiating Indian Principal of the College, on the utility of Bengali medium, at least in History, Geography and Mathematics, in the higher stages of University education, is very refreshing and is yet to be materialised. It is also refreshing to find a Principal propose to the D.P.I. for eschewing Sanskrit for ever, while at another time the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Richard Temple exhorting the students to take to Sanskritic studies seriously. Principal Satish Chandra De's stress upon the loyalty of the students during the revolutionary activities of the first World War will also sound queer to the reader of Independent India. Mr. Talukdar, even in the space at his disposal, has done considerable justice to the academic and extra-academic activities of the premier institution of Central Bengal. Krishnagar College had the possibilities of becoming a fullfledged university, but the State policy changed from time to time, and once had to be demoted to a second-grade College in the time of Sir George Campbell! The author had to ransack many records, both in MSS and in print to prepare this history. The stamp of his industry and research is evident at every page.

One word should be said on the *Register*. To compile the names of the students and the instructing staff for a hundred years, is, to say the least, a herculean task. Like Mr. Talukdar, Mr. Majumdar had to handle records both in manuscripts as well as in print to ascertain many things regarding each individual whether student or teacher. Principal Sen's informative Foreword, tracing the governmental activities regarding the foundation of a college in Nadia for Sanskritic studies upto the foundation of first-grade English College at its headquarters, has enhanced the value of the publication. For the historian of modern education in Bengal this volume will very well serve as a source-book. It will prove instructive even to the lay reader.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE VOICE OF A POET: *A collection of Subramanya Bharati's Poems. Published by the Bharati Tamil Sangham, 93 Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta.*

Subramanya Bharati lived during the Swadeshi period of the Bengal Anti-Partition days, and in the introduction we get an estimate of his life and work. "Bharati, the poet, was the voice of the newly-awakened national consciousness. He is the father of the present era in Tamil . . ." What that fatherhood has meant to the evolution of this particular culture, enshrined in a provincial language, spoken by 3 crores of people, is found described in the publisher's note. It quotes Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, whose balanced use of words is an art in itself, "Just as in ancient days, Vyasa and Valmiki served human progress and culture, so has Poet Subramania Bharati the Tamils. In recent times by his writings . . ."

Again, "he wove into song" what had "preceded Gandhi," whose field had been prepared by men and women from Ram Mohun Roy to Dadabhai Naoroji, Vivekananda, Tilak, Bipin Chandra, Aurobindo and their other colleagues like Upadhyaya Brahmabandhab. The poet stands apart as the voice of ages, ancient and modern, throwing a bridge of reconciliation of creeds and races.

Bharati's life-story, its human details, are not given in this booklet of 48 pages only—a defect which the publishers propose to remedy on the occasion of the next Bharati Day—December next. The present attempt gives us an idea of the infinite moods of Bharati—his worship of the country as Mother. In the Introduction (IX) he has his quarrels with the world when the Mother bade him :

> Sing and soar with a song
> The sickness and poverty of the land,
> Sing and forge with a song
> The peoples of the earth into one love-knit band.
> And then the Mother's voice is heard
> "No, my poet, sing of Me."

Liberty (The "Mother" here) is a jealous goddess who exacts the last ounces of blood and tears, so that She may win. In his own life Subramanya Bharati paid this price; he died young, at about 1921, at the age of 45. The British regime drove him to the French Settlement at Pondicherry where Aurobindo Ghose had taken shelter. Thither had come from Britain V. V. Iyer, a Tamil prose writer of note, a friend of Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and others from Bengal, Maharashtra and the Punjab. In this company Bharati passed a few happy years, afflicted with poverty though these were. The Aurobindo Ashram can throw the needed light on this period, and the Bharati Sangham can easily arrange to have a little research work carried there.

S. C. DEB

OUTER MONGOLIA AND ITS INTERNATIONAL POSITION: *By Gerrard M. Fritters. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 25s. net.*

The Communist victory and the consolidation of that victory in China has increased manifold the importance of the understanding of Outer Mongolia—the Mongolian People's Republic—which separates China from Russia. It is the common meeting ground of influences radiating from China, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and 'new centres of political ferment' such as Korea. Yet we know next to nothing about this country. The U.S.A. voted against its admission to the United Nations as it knew "too little about the country or its government."

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The six chapters of Dr. Fritters' work describe the social, economic and geographical condition of Outer Mongolia, her relations with Russia, China, Japan, France, Great Britain, Germany, America, Sweden and other States and the present position in that country. The Appendices include a very useful bibliography, the constitution of the Mongol People's Republic, short biographical notes of some notable Mongol personalities and a catalogue of important events in Mongolia from 1688 to 1948.

The learned author has written more or less a connected and very readable volume based on original materials. He has searched the files on international diplomacy to collect his materials. But unfortunately he has not been able to find much "in the way of statements of fact and expressions of opinion by Mongol participants in the events of Mongol politics." The paucity of original Mongol materials is, however, a problem to all serious students of the history of Mongolia—Inner and Outer. Dr. Fritters, nevertheless, has done the best of a bad bargain and his work, to quote the *International Politics* (July, 1950), "fills a crying need in the contemporary English documentation on the Far East."

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE KATHA UPANISHAD (With English translation and notes): *By Ganga Prasad, M.A., M.R.A.S. Published by the Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Delhi. Pp. 122. Price Re. 1-4.*

The author, who is the retired Chief Justice of Tehri Garhwal state, has more than a dozen books in Hindi and English to his credit. His translation of the Kena Upanishad has preceded the book under review. In this book the verses of the Katha Upanishad are given in Devanagari script followed by word-meanings, free rendering and important notes. The notes contain some information that are very valuable and interesting. In his notes to the fifteenth verse which refers to the number and size of bricks required for the making of a sacrificial altar the author quotes the remarkable opinion of Dr. Thibaut, the German Sanskritist. Dr. Thibaut observes that these Vedic formulas not only laid the firm foundation of Geometry in ancient India, but also travelled to ancient Greece and inspired the Greek scientists to formulate their Geometry including the celebrated works of Euclid. The author, who is a staunch follower of the Arya Samaj, interprets this Upanishad according to Swami Dayananda. In an introduction he criticizes the advaitistic interpretation of Sankaracharya and quotes Sri Aurovindo to show that this and other Upanishads consistently support a kind of dualism. Hence this book will be more welcome to the Arya Samajists than others. The author's endeavour to popularise the Upanishads is however commendable and exemplary.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENGALI

MANDALAYER KATHA: *By Sudhansu Bimal Mukherjee. Baikuntha Book House, 183 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta 6. Price Re. 1.*

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As the Head of the Department of History in the University College, the author had to stay at Mandalay in the year 1949. Sometime after the declaration of independence, a rebellion broke out in Burma, in which the Communists and the Karens joined hands. During the author's stay at Mandalay, the rebels grew so very strong and active as to capture this capital city of Upper Burma. The city was, however, recaptured by the Government forces soon. The author has given us a day-to-day account of the events that happened during this period covering about three months in the form of a diary. The account began with 22nd February and ended in 12th May when he sailed back home from Rangoon. Some of the events are quite thrilling. The author has got a penetrating insight into human character, and he has been able to depict it in its true colours. We are thankful to the author for putting in black and white his first-hand experience of a period which was critical not only in the history of Burma, but also in the life of the individuals like him. The book is an welcome addition to our literature.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

NABAYUGER MAHAPURUSH : *By Swami Jagadiswarananda. Published by the Orient Book Co., 9 Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta 12. Pp. 444. Price Rs. 6.*

This nicely got-up cloth-bound book is a welcome addition to the growing Ramakrishna-Vivekananda literature in Bengali. It is unique in this respect that it presents in a handy volume short biographies of twenty-four disciples of Sri Ramakrishna and six disciples of Swami Vivekananda for the first time in Bengali. Materials of these biographies are collected from authentic records published in Bengali and English. Some biographies appeared as articles in the Bengali monthlies—*Udbodhan, Prbartak* and *Viswabani*. Separate lives of some monastic and lay disciples of Sri Ramakrishna have already come out in Bengali or English. But they are not within the reach of busy readers for whom the book under review is specially meant. Life of Sri Ramakrishna may be likened to a substantial aphorism and those of his disciples to the commentaries on it. As the aphorisms are not fully understood without studying their commentaries so the depth and breadth of the significance of the Master's life cannot be fathomed without knowing the lives of his disciples. The author who has devoted a decade of his studious life to the perusal and research of the lives of Sri Ramakrishna and his disciples rightly observes in the preface that the life of each disciple is, as it were, a chapter of the greater life of Sri Ramakrishna.

The lives of six monastic disciples of Swami Vivekananda such as Swami Swarupananda, Vimalananda, Prakasananda, Suddhananda, Atmananda and Paramananda given in this book are equally interesting and informative. For the first time the lives of these dedicated souls are brought out together for the public. These lives may be regarded as chapters of the greater life of the illustrious Swami. The first three disciples were closely connected with the Advaita Asrama at Mayavati and the *Prabuddha Bharata*. Swami Swarupananda was the first president of Advaita Asrama and the first editor of the *Prabuddha Bharata*. Swami Vimalananda worked many years at Advaita Ashrama and died there. Swami Paramananda and Prakasananda dedicated their lives and died for the Vedanta movement in U.S.A., started by their Master. The title meaning 'Great men of the New age' is appropriate. Pictures of some lives dealt with adorn the book. A long list of the principal events of the Ramakrishna movement is appended. The frontispiece picturing the Kali Temple at Dakshineswara is significant. The book deserves perusal by the Bengali followers and admirers of Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda.

B. N. PRATIHAR

HINDI

BHARAT KA VIDHAN : *By Sundarlal, Secretary, Hindustani Culture Society, Allahabad. 1950. Pp. 278 + 60. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This has been a complete translation, not the first in modern Indian languages, of the Constitution of India, but it has the unique distinction of keeping in view the background of the people's language, Hindustani. The yoke of the classical language is never felt in this version, which by itself constitutes a challenge to the official Hindi version. In the meantime, along with use, some Hindi words in the technical context have gained currency, and it would be now difficult to dislodge them—and would it be any good?—from their position. The bold simplification of spelling even of *tat-sama* words resorted to in this version also does not appeal to the conservative reader, though the interest in and attitude to the language of the people as apart from that of the government or the scholars is certainly an emphasis on the right side.

The last sixty pages contain the glossary from Hindi to English and from English to Hindi, necessary for the understanding of the constitution as embodied in the governmental publication, and this will be very useful for the translation of the decument to other modern Indian languages.

P. R. SEN

GUJARATI

SAMULI KRANTI : *By Kishorelal D. Mashruwala. Revised second edition. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir. July, 1950. Price Re. 1-8.*

This book of essays is divided into four sections : (*i*) Religion and Society, (*ii*) Economic Revaluation, (*iii*) Political and (*iv*) Educational. Those who are inclined towards reforms will find here a complete code for consideration, indeed, ready for adoption. There is a Ruskinian flavour in all of them. The summing up in verse forms by way of recapitulation of the findings is a novel feature in some of them and commendable.

P. R. SEN

GANDHIJIKI SADHANA : *By Ravijibhan Manibhai Patel. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1949. Thick card-board. Pp. 344. Price Rs. 2-4.*

This is a Second Edition, the first was published in 1939, and noticed then. Messrs. Kaka Kalelkar's informative Introduction gives the reader glimpses of what is to be found in the succeeding pages. About forty incidents in Gandhiji's early life are narrated here, together with jail experiences in South Africa of the author himself. The picture of the Satyagraha practised there is vivid.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Meaning of Freedom

Prabudha Bharata writes editorially :

The strength and power of a nation or State depend largely on the innate strength and power of the individuals, who more or less determine the shape and organization of their government. Freedom is the will to be responsible for oneself ; it is judicious exercise of the right to seek work, wealth, and happiness in the manner most appropriate to oneself, without transgressing the law or hindering the freedom of others. A perfect society that can regulate its own affairs and govern itself has the least occasion for an authoritarian or militaristic type of government. Hence is it often said that self-government is better than the best form of good government. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, 'Government over self is the truest Swaraj, it is synonymous with Moksha or salvation.'

None can deny that freedom is the most essential condition of all progress. Where there is no freedom—political, social, and spiritual, there can hardly be full growth and well-being of the human personality. Many a modern State, while granting complete political and economic emancipation to the people, seeks to curtail or deny social and even spiritual freedom. The physical needs of the body—food, shelter,and the largest amount of pleasure possible—have assumed a profoundly meaningful aspect to the majority of men today. The reason is obvious. At no time has the world been wanting in those who glorify the laws of the flesh and find 'freedom in the thousand bonds of delight'. Self-seeking mass orators, with deceptive slogans and insufficient factors of altruism, are surely the least fitted for meeting the demands of the present situation humanity finds itself in. The price one has to pay for achieving real and genuine freedom is much more than a mere revolutionary urge or a life of privation. It calls for infinite patience, simplicity, renunciation, and purity of motive. It may seem strange, but it is true, that the meaning of freedom can be properly understood only in relation to an abiding and deeply felt faith in the Divinity or Reality inherent in man.

The war-weary world is aghast at the insincere ways of some of the vociferous protagonists of peace and freedom, who speak with their tongues in their cheeks, hiding the most lethal secret weapon in one hand and holding out the olive-branch in the other. A hectic race for the increase of armaments is occasionally interspersed with glib talks of freedom and feelers for peace, the implications of which even their ardent sponsors do not seem to be aware. Mutual rivalry and clash of self-interest have given rise to mutually repellent ideological superstructures, and spheres of influence. Standing in the midst of mighty world movements, India finds herself in an unenviable situation. The raging conflict of norms and ideologies is not unknown or non-existent in India. But, true to her great ideals and lofty aspirations, India has stood firm as the symbol of man's complete freedom from every shackle that binds the individual and contracts his infinite personality. She has preserved and proclaimed not only social, political, economic, and religious freedom, but also cultural and spiritual freedom, and that for everyone throughout the world, irrespective of any distinction based on birth, caste, race, religion, or nationality. Hence, let not her sons and daughters forget that India stands for the most exalted freedom—the Freedom of the soul of man. She has no less emphasized the mundane and more immediate aspect of freedom too, ensuring thereby, to all the people of the land, "justice—social, economic, and political ; liberty—of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship ; equality—of status and of opportunity ; and fraternity—assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the national equality."

Where individual freedom is unhampered and the right of each indiviual to live the life of his choice is fully assured it is imperative that the sanctity of human personality should be realized and accorded due recognition. Freedom, as a Vedantin would view it, is nothing short of ultimate Freedom or Mukti, the transcendence from the world of limited freedom to the state of Infinite and Eternal Freedom. To be free in every respect one has to remain independent of the control of and subservience to anything other than the Self. 'Man the brute' has to loosen the bonds that tie him down to the myriads of passions and prejudices, sorrows and sufferings, and attain the blissful state of 'Man the divine', who not only enjoys the highest freedom for himself but also helps others to attain the same.

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Bhu-Dana-Yagna—Its Meaning and Place

Suresh Ramabhai writes in *The Indian Review* :

Narrating the condition of India's masses Gandhiji observed in 1921 :

"The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an enternal trance. It is an indescribably painful state which has got to be experienced to be realized."

More than three decades after, even when we are citizens to-day of a sovereign and independent Republic, our flag flying high in all the capitals of the world, the plight of the vast majority of our countrymen has not known any change. Rather it has gone worse, unemployment has grown and starvation or semistarvation stares in the face of a greater number of our people than perhaps ever before. Besides, there is the widening gulf between the rulers and the ruled. Our predicament is very much like that of a patient whose condition gets deteriorated with the progress of the treatment.

But is there any way out of this morass? Cannot we save ourselves at this critical hour of our existence? There is a calm and quite answer :

"In olden days when disturbed conditions prevailed in the country, our ancestors used to perform Yagnas. I also want to perform a Yagna. So I have started experimenting this Bhu-Dan-Yagna. I have asked many persons to donate lands. Everyone should take part in this Yagna which is in the interest of the upliftment of the people. Just as we give our share to the Yagnas, so also we should donate lands."

It comes from Acharya Vinoba Bhave, well-known as India's first Satyagrahi of the Great War II. He launched this Bhu-Dana-Yagna movement on April 18, 1951, while trekking his way through the Telangana area of the Hyderabad State. Like a lonely stream winding its way through hills and hedges, crevices and cleft, he has now taken the form of a river majestically flowing on and at whose sacred waters many a needy and oppressed have slaked their thirst.

And why does he want land? His reply is :

"We must make sacrifices for the poor. I am asking for land. It is just a symbol of that spirit of sacrifice. In every heart there should be a desire to serve Daridranarayan."

Thus this Bhu-Dana-Yagna strikes three targets :

(1) The sacrifice of the rich brings them nearer the poor and breaks the great wall in between;

(2) The possession of land revels the sides of the new owner with a furious spur to activity and work, thereby increasing the food-production of the country;

(3) It provides the world with a way to solve its socio-economic problems in a perfectly peaceful and lovable manner.

Significantly enough, Vinobaji does not want donations in money. He knows that distribution of money-alms will not be of any avail at the moment. To quote his own words :

"Why do I not want money? It is because money has brought the country to its persent state. It is at the root of the country's degradation.

"People should work rather than ask others for money. Money should be eliminated from the daily routine. Money tells lies and is like a loafing tramp. And yet it has been made the basis of trade and commerce."

Obviously money has so overpowered men that he has degraded himself. But if man is to recover his lost soul money must be dethroned from its present pedestal. Vinobaji is quite conscious of it :

"I realize that money, like God, is present everywhere, and it is not easy to eliminate it from life. But that is my aim. I never cared to undertake an easy task. I became enthusiastic when the task was difficult. I have taken up the land question knowing it to be full of difficulties. Similarly, I have undertaken to free the worker and the peasant from the shackles of money fully aware of the difficulties involved. Freeing people from the dependence of money means saving them from all kinds of bad and evil influences. I have, therefore, been asking people to reduce their dependence on money by producing things they need."

Stupendous though the task is, Vinobaji has no doubt about the success of his mission. As he said at Lucknow the other day :

"The work I am made to do is the continuation of the 'Dharma-Chakra-Pravartan,'—revolving the wheel of Dharm which Buddha had started. And mark what I pronounce with the same commanding voice as that of the lion which drowns all other smaller voices and rings clear across the forest. The land has already come to me; it has already gone to the landless. It remains for you only to choose the manner of effecting the thansfer."

He went on :

"The equal sharing of wealth is the cry of the age and it will come to be. Land will have to be redivided. I have no doubt that it can be done peacefully. I can see it quite clearly and this is why I speak so confidently about it; and this is why I ask you to wake up, for as Tulsidas sang to Rama, I sing to you, who are but other forms of Rama : 'The day is dawning and the birds on the trees are chirping merrily, and it is time when gifts should be made to the poor, so get awake, Oh Rama'!

In fact the same warning was given by Gandhiji as early as 1929 :

"There is no other choice than between voluntary surrender on the part of the capitalist of superfluities and consequent acquisition of the real happiness of all on the one hand, and on the other, the impending chaos into which if the capitalist does not wake up betimes, awakened but ignorant, famishing millions will plunge the country and which not even the armed force that a powerful Government can bring into play can avert."

Vinobaji seems to awaken the powermad capitalists, landlords and all varieties of "haves" and asks them to read the writing on the wall. Like the proverbial Vaman who covered the earth in three steps, Vinobaji's three steps are :

"What I want the people to do is, first, to give away some of their land. Secondly, they should engage themselves in the service of others. Finally, in their service they should lose all and voluntarily sacrifice everything. This is the path into which I want to initiate the people."

And what is his objective in this Yagna? In Vinobaji's words :

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"My object cannot be achieved by obtaining a little *Bhudan* here and there. It is to transform the whole society."

The Bhu-Dana-Yagna is, therefore, a movement to make the people stand on their own feet and be self-sufficient. Discarding the servile method of begging for food, money or experts from without, it teaches us to solve our problems by seeking ways and means within and by our own earnest endeavour and innocent skill.

Surely, it is the selfless and honest devotion to his duty that by now he has acquired more than two and a half lakh acres in Uttar Pradesh alone and about 50,000 acres in the rest of the country.

Higher Education in India

Science and Culture observes :

The problems of higher education came up for discussion at the House of the People in connection with the passing of the budget demands of the Ministry of Education. Prof. M. N. Saha, one of the principal speakers from the Opposition Benches, drew pointed attention to the important recommendations of the University Education Commission. These recommendations were the results of mature thought and long experience of distinguished educationists who toured the whole country, visiting all the 30 universities and institutions of university rank, interviewing heads and ministers of States, educationists and other men highly placed in life. Prof. Saha observed that these recommendations, if given efiect to, would have put new life into the frame of our universities and prevented them from falling into decay as they are doing now. It is a matter of extreme regret that within these three years no action has been taken to implement any of these recommendations.

A few of these recommendations given below are :

(1) that university education should be placed on the concurrent list ;

(2) that the President of the Republic should be the visitor of all universities ;

(3) that the concern of the Central Government with the universities be with regard to finance, co-ordination of facilities in special subjects, adoption of national policies, ensuring minimum standards of efficient administration and liaison between unviersities and national research laboratories and scientific survey etc. ;

(4) that for allocating grants to universities a Central Grants Commission be established, its composition and functions to be as indicated.

Background of Recommendations

According to the Constitution of India, education including that of universities, is subject to provisions of entries 63, 64, 65, 66 of list 1, and entry 25 of list III. The provisions under these entries may be breifly summarized.

63 : The Banaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University and the Delhi University and any other institution declared by Parliament by law to be an institution of national importance.

64 : Institutions for scientific or technical education financed by the Government of India wholly or in part and declared by Parliament by law to be institutions of national importance.

65 : Union agencies and institutions for :

(*a*) professional, vocational or technical training, including the training of police officers ; or

(*b*) the promotion of special studies or research ; or

(*c*) scientific or technical assistance in the investigation or detection of crime.

66 : Co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions.

According to these schedules, univesitiy education is a provincial subject, except for the Universities of Delhi, Banaras, and Aligarh to which recently the Osmania University and the Visva-Bharati have been added.

The Commission were not satisfied with this state of affairs. They say :

"There are issues in India to-day in which there is grave and obvious danger of disunion through the provinces acting independently both of each other and of the Centre. Some of these issues vitally affect universities, *e.g.*, communal quotas, and the use of national or regional languages. We feel very strongly that the universities, as the main source from which India is bound to draw not only most of its leaders but all its high-grade national officials must throw their weight on to the side of national unity (which need not mean uniformity)."

This explains the need for concurrency and the desirability of the President being the visitor of all universities.

Public opinion on the proposals : Concurency receives universal support

The Commission took the opinion of hundreds of witnesses, including men occupying the highest responsible positions in society regarding their proposals for concurrency. They say :

"Nearly all our witnesses have expressed their opinion as to the proper category for university education—Central, Concurrent or Provincial. A minority, but a minority including some important witnesses, think it should be Central. A very large majority both of university spokesmen and of public men and women think it should be Concurrent. Practically the only witnesses who thought it should be Provincial were the representatives of Provincial Governments in only one or two provinces. The significant thing was that even among the representatives of Provincial Government a substantial majority preferred Concurrency" (Page 404).

The Commission found that Concurrency would not to the slightest degree interfere with either university autonomy or authority of the Provincial Government.

The Commission were alive to the need of provision of ample finances for universities by the Centre, and recommended the establishment of the Central University Grants Commission about which we expressed our considered views in our eidtorial article, "University Education Commission" (*Science and Culture*, Vol. 15, No. 7). In the Commission's own words,

"Generous grants from the Centre must be forthcoming ; and these grants the Centre will not, and should not, allocate blindly or mechanically. A Central University Grants Commission working through the Ministry of Education must allocate the sums made available by the Central Government, in accordance with the special needs and merits of each University".

It may be added that the grants to most of the Indian universities have not received proportionate addition after the World War II, though the value of the rupee has gone down by onefourth, the number of students has increased, and the burdens on universities have multiplied. The consequence is that most of the teachers in colleges and universities are underpaid, the laboratories are without equipment, and libraries remain poor.

In certain universities—in the University of Allahabad for example, there is an Enquiry Committee appointed by the State Government to find out the way the university had overspent their budget. According to the information received, the university authorities were actuated by the highest of motives. They did not want to increase their salaries, as many Government officers had done whenever

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they were able to do so, but wanted to make ample provision for education to meet the growing needs of the country, and it was a mockery of fate that they should be punished for their enthusiasm.

An extraordinary demand on higher education in post-war years is not peculiar to this country alone. The great role that science and technology play in the national economy and defence was recognized specially during the last war and it was found in these countries that resources of all educational institutions were inadequate for meeting the additional burden. In the United Kingdom, all the universities found at the end of the war that they were grossly under-financed for the tasks they were asked to shoulder. To help them the British Government had appointed a whole-time University Grants Committee to which a magnificent sum of £30 million, a little over 1|100 part of their national budget was annually given in order that these universities may be financed properly for the great task of post-war reconstruction. Even the great universities like Oxford and Cambridge which before the war refused to accept any grant from the Government for fear that it would interfere with their autonomy, obtain 50 per cent of their receipts from the grants made to them through the University Grants Committee. The total receipts of some of the great American universities approach those of our class A States.

Attention may be drawn to the great work which is being done in the University Division in Russia. From a recent issue of *Nature*, May 3, 1952, Prof. Saha obtained the following information which he quoted in his speech : "Russia, as everybody knows, bled almost to death during the Second World War ; they lost about 1 crore and 40 lakhs of people ; their country suffered devastation on a scale not known to history. But after the War, they courageously undertook the reconstruction of their Universities. For the Moscow University alone, they have built new quarters, new buildings, at a cost of £70 million which comes to about 100 crores of rupees." Dr. Radhakrishnan is reported to have said to Prof. Saha that he was present at the opening of this new University of Moscow, and he was thrilled with what he saw. "I wish", said he, "I could have witnessed similar occasions more frequently in my own country". But unfortunately nothing is being done for the universities in free India, where they are being allowed to fall into ruin.

The Commission made very valuable recommendations for helping the universities. They did not want that the States should entirely wash their hands off from university education. They came to the compromise that while education up to the Bachelor's stage should be wholly a State subject, M.A. and M.Sc. teaching and research work, higher professional training, medicine and technology should be the joint concern of States and the Centre, and costs should be shared on a 50:50 ratio between them. Their estimate of the expenses to be incurred by the Centre was Rs. 5 crores to start with which will ultimately rise to Rs. 10 crores, and recommended that this amount should be granted from the Central Exchequer.

This would raise the present education budget to 12 crores, which will ultimately grow to 17 crores, a bare 4% of the total budget. This falls far short of the recommendations of the Kher Committee (Vide *Science and Culture*, ed. art. Vol. 18, No. 1) which was 10% of the Central Budget, *i.e.*, nearly 40 crores of rupees. But we must not forget that there are other urgent demands on the Centre for education, and 40 crores of rupees are not much for a country of India's size. China has it in her constitution that 15% of its budget should be spent on education.

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The Ten Commandments—And Today

In the course of an article in *The Aryan Path*, Elizabeth Cross observes :

Every now and then there is a revived interest in the Ten Commandments. Sometimes it is due to an outstanding personality in the Church, sometimes it is part of a religious revival, sometimes it seems nothing but a journalistic "stunt." In any case it is taken for granted that all Christians are familiar with the commandments and believe that they form a worthy moral guide. Whenever the commandments are studied and perhaps "interpreted in the light of today" (whatever that may mean !) it is assumed that if only everyone took greater heed of these particular directions and endeavoured to live in strict accordance with them the world would be so much the better. And, indeed, when we consider the commandments with an open mind we are bound to agree that they consist of a set of extremely comprehensive and worthy regulations for almost any society. In fact, if one took each command and tried to trace it to logical conclusions it might be possible for the whole system to show applications to all stages of civilization.

An example of this was given by Pearl Buck, in a book based on the theme : "Thou shalt have none other Gods . . ." in which she showed the great moral danger of giving extravagant admiration and worship to human beings. In this case the "hero" was a young mountain climber and the frantic admiration of the public was not only bad for the worshippers but almost destroyed their idol. There is, in almost all Western countries, a tendency to this type of idolatry: public figures become excessively popular for often trivial reasons. There is the cult of the film star, the theatrical entertainer, the outstanding performer in some sport, and this public worship grows into a monster. What is of particular danger is that young people, dazzled by the brief success of some such idol, spend much of their time dreaming and wishing for equal fame and luxury and so lose the chance of progress in a more reasonable and worthy manner. There has always been a certain amount of "hero-worship" in all ages, but in the past the heroes (whether of a high or low type) were usually people who had actually done something by very real efforts. They may have been soldiers, explorers, discoverers of new plants or chemicals, but in all cases they had "worked their passage" as it were, and were not the mere chance result of a well-shaped nose or photogenic eyes !

Thus we can see that idolatry, although non-existent perhaps in the original meaning of the commandment, is very much alive today. There is also a still more dangerous form, because more subtle, which is becoming prevalent. That is for men to assume powers that belong, by ancient right, to the supernatural. Because we have gone so far along the road in chemistry, medicine and general power over natural forces, there has come the temptation to imagine that men can usurp the powers of life and death. This was shown clearly in the 1939 war and its legacies of the concentration camp ; some human beings were used for experiments, others were disposed of as so much waste material.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

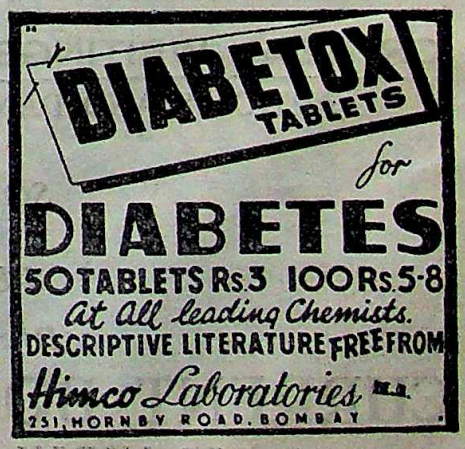
The Economic Crisis in Israel

H. Berger writes in the *Jewish Frontier*, July, 1952 :

The Central Economic problem facing Israel at this time is not basically different from those of many countries. Today Israel cannot provide its inhabitants with a fair standard of living because of the gap between its productive capacity and the wants of the people which is wider than in most countries. During the past year (a year of unusual drought, it is true) Israeli agriculture supplied only about one-fourth of the country's austerity food requirements. Industrial production was probably even lower than this, if we take into account the imported raw materials that went into it. The result was a shocking trade balance. Imports were five times as high as exports, and even when we consider that some of the imports were earmarked for investments to increase the productivity of the country, the trade balance would still remain unfavourable at a ratio of about three and a half to one. But Israel cannot renounce these imports. A reduction in the import of essential consumer goods would lead to famine ; a cutback in the import of goods intended to increase the productive capacity of the country would within a few years destroy the economic basis of the country. The catastrophic trade balance results in a persistent and severe shortage of foreign currency. Thus far Israel has met this crisis with the aid of loans, campaigns, grants-in-aid from the United States and capital imports. The Sterling accounts accumulated during the years of the British Mandate, especially during the war when Palestine was an important supplier to the allied forces in the Middle East were quickly consumed. It is also clear that outside aid will not continue without end, and it already does not suffice to overcome the foreign currency shortage. Already there are instances of delays in the distribution of rationed goods, and prolonged work stoppages in factories for lack of raw materials. The Israel treasury has to resort to extraordinary efforts to meet its foreign obligations.

But the chief cause of the inflation in Israel is not the unfavourable trade balance but the shortage of goods. Under a regime of economic *laissez faire* these shortages would long ago have led to "natural" solutions—starvation among the masses, flight from the country and perhaps even a total breakdown of the economy. The government of Israel has taken steps to mitigate the effects of the inflation. Rationing assures a minimum of food and clothing for the masses thus obviating hunger. Control of currency and foreign trade assures the import of the most essential products for consumption and investment. Social factors and the future needs of the country determine what should be brought in. Another social measure is full employment, because rationing only provides the opportunity to buy essential goods, and it is also necessary to provide the masses with the purchasing power to take advantage of this opportunity. In view of the shortage of raw materials and the limited facilities for manufacturing goods of everyday consumption, the policy of full employment is directed toward projects that will pay off in the long run. The net result of this policy is inflationary. The budget of the Israel government was not balanced during the past three years partly as a result of the financing of large scale public works and partly because of the high expenditures on the security of the state. An unbalanced budget is in itself an inflationary force, and the past three years witnessed a constant increase of currency in circulation without a corresponding increase in available goods. This led to a great depreciation of the value of the Israel Pound.

The Government thereupon decided to introduce three different values for the Pound. The former rate of $2.80 to a Pound was retained for essential food supplies, a rate of $1.40 to the Pound was set for most other products and for tourists and a rate of $1.00 a Pound for investors bringing their capital to the country. These three different rates aimed to mitigate the social effects of the deflation, just as rationing and public works tried to protect the masses from the effects of inflation. It is necessary to bear in mind that the social factor carries greater weight in Israel than in other countries, if only because such a large part of the population consists of new immigrants lacking that social and economic resistance which is attained in the course of generations of economic stability. Here a nation is being built out of atomized human material coming from different cultures and standards of living. An economic crisis that emphasizes social differences is therefore more dangerous in Israel than in other countries.



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Efforts to skim off the surplus purchasing power by means of compulsory loans and more effective collection of taxes are only part of the plan to solve the basic problem of Israel's economy, which is one of productivity. If the above and other measures will succeed, they will accentuate the trend toward directing labor and capital into basic production and increasing exports. But the ultimate solution lies in a radical increase of the productivity of the Israel economy.

The Israel economy has a low productivity ratio. This is due to a number of causes. The country lacks sufficient machinery in a number of basic industries. Agriculture does not supply the quantities of food required because not enough land has been put under irrigation. Though agricultural settlement has expanded, it has not kept pace with the growth of the population through immigration. Furthermore, many of the new settlements have not had time to attain their maximum productivity. The same holds true for a number of basic industries, such as building materials.

Another factor affecting productivity is the shortage of raw materials. Israel industry has to import the bulk of its raw materials, and until this year the dairy and poultry industries were likewise dependent to a large extent on the import of feed. The result is a state of insecurity and instability. There were instances of work stoppages when the government could not supply the necessary foreign exchange to finance the import of raw materials. Industry thus lives "from hand to mouth" and is hampered in planning its orders and introducing improvements. Why plan improvements when it is not even certain that it will be possible to maintain production at the existing level.

Prospecting for the natural resources of the country has made considerable progress in recent years and the number of raw materials that it will be possible to obtain within Israel is increasing. The resumption of the potash extraction from the Dead Sea will be a great boost. Should the explorations for oil and other materials prove successful it will mean a still greater improvement in the raw material situation. But in coming years, and for a long time perhaps, Israel will be largely dependent on the outside world for the raw materials for its industry. Since the government is not in a position to provide the necessary foreign exchange, it will be up to the industries to obtain the requisite foreign currencies by increasing their exports.

Until now industrialists had little incentive to produce for export. Profits reaped on the local market were greater than could be obtained abroad. But now the export of an appreciable part of the products manufactured will become essential if an enterprise is to continue operating, as this will be the only way to pay for the needed imported raw materials. This arrangement will no doubt lead to the collapse of a number of inefficient concerns which will not be able to adapt their produce or their prices to foreign requirements. But competition, which has disappeared from the country's economy for some years, will again become an operating factor.

The Israel economy is largely capitalist though from the standpoint of its social structure it has made significant progress beyond the customary forms of capitalist economy. Two-thirds of the Israel workers have no private employers. They work in co-operative or self-owned enterprises in city and village, or they

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are employed by public bodies such as the *Histadrut*, the government, municipal bodies, the Jewish Agency, ect. The economic activities follow along capitalist lines, even in the co-operative and public sector of the economy. All the negative trait of modern capitalism are there, but the positive trait of competition is lacking. The constant shortages have brought about a situation wherein any commodity offered on the market finds ready customers and the producers do not have to compete with one another in the quality and price of their goods. This condition has been in effect since the beginning of the world war. During the war, when Israel industry supplied the British forces, the "cost plus" system was in effect. This system, by which the manufacturer's profits rose in accordance with the cost of production, was not conducive to a high degree of productivity. There thus arose the strange situation that the trade unions, rather than the manufacturers, became the ones to press for greater productivity. Negotiations between the *Histadrut* and the Manufacturers' Association regarding the establishment of a joint industrial production committee dragged on for years and were concluded only a few weeks ago, when the first effects of the new economic policy were beginning to be felt.

In recent years the *Histadrut* has exerted much effort to arouse the working community to the importance of increasing productivity. These efforts unfortunately were not entirely successful. Opposition to the system of bonuses for greater productivity remained strong. The example of the United States, where the standard of living of the workers rose sharply as a result of greater productivity, did not change this attitude. The example of the Soviet Union and its satellites, where wage levels were made dependent on production norms, likewise proved unconvincing. The Left Wing of the Israel labor movement, which hails everything in the Soviet Union, including its wage system, opposes the introduction of similar systems in non-Soviet countries.

The American press has recently reported that the government of Israel is considering doing away with rationing and control of a number of non-vital commodities in an effort to determine whether abolition of controls may not serve to encourage production. These reports were accompanied with a surmise that the new trend indicated a departure from "socialist" principles in the management of the economic life of Israel. Naturally there is no basis for these surmises. Rationing and controls are not a socialist ideal ; they are not even characteristic of socialist economic policy. The rationing and economic controls in Israel are not the result of socialist trends ; they are an outgrowth of the special conditions that prevail in a poor country that is absorbing a huge immigration. As long as the purchasing power far exceeded the amount of goods on the market, and a great part of this buying potential was thus directed toward non-essentials, any relaxation of controls would have diverted capital and labor from vital sectors of the economy to those producing non-essentials. Now that the surplus purchasing power in the community is being skimmed off, the danger of a drift of capital and labor away from essential production will be reduced and the factor of competition will be reintroduced into the economy of the country.

The new economic policy is thus an attempt to hasten the process of the economic construction of the country, the basic elements of which have been laid down by the labor movement and the government of Israel in the early days of statehood.

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Imhotep—Father of Medicine

When speaking of Ancient Egyptian history, it is customary to mention the names of kings whom we credit with all the glorious achievements of the Past. In point of fact there were prominent statesmen among the high officials, generals and other dignitaries of the court who, as often as not, were the real motive power behind the kind and whose genius and initiative left a lasting stamp on the history of their period.

Whenever we come to consider the Great Pyramid of Giza the name of Khufu is recalled to mind but nobody ever thinks of Hem-Iwn the able architect who is responsible for the planning and building of this huge masterpiece of Egyptian engineering.

Thotmes III affords another example. While all Egyptologists are agreed to consider him as the greatest monarch of the New Kingdom, as well as a first-rate army leader and foresighted administrator we learn from inscriptions on the tombs and temples of Thebes that there were other distinguished men in his reign, such as Rakh-mi-Ra, the Prime Minister, and General Amenemhab who, in fact were the authors of the achievements usually ascribed to the statemanship and creative powers of their master.

As these men, however, have always remained in the shadow of the throne their names have hardly been mentioned in their lifetime. But history cannot easily overlook their splendid record of great deeds, since they were the backbone and marrow of all the highlights of Egyptian civilisation.

Among these highly gifted assistants one of them rendered an unforgettable service to his country.

In the Third Dynasty, *i.e.*, some time during the 28th century B.C., there was born a young man whose natural abilities raised him up from the lowly station of a junior scribe to that of a vizier. He had no royal blood in his veins nor was he of noble descent. Yet his genius and wisdom were so widely acclaimed that his name soon became a household word in Ancient Egypt. More than 2,000 years after his death he was made a god and temples were built in his honour.

Im-hotep lived at a time when the Egyptian civilisation was in a state of complete development. It was the custom then to erect rectangular buildings, much like the tombs of the commoners though noticeably larger, to be used as graves for kings. With his remarkable sense of proportions Im-hotep was quick to realise that it was only fitting to distinguish his master's tomb from those of his subjects. He therefore overlaid the first basic mastaba or stone ledge with other superimposed mastabas, gradually smaller in size, until they acquired the tapering shape of the pyramid—thus giving Egyptian architecture what is now universally known as the Sakkara Step-Pyramid, a familiar landmark to tourists.

Not content with the new design of the royal tomb Im-hotep surrounded the step pyramid with wonderful stone buildings while, on the other hand, introducing other innovations in public edifices, innovations which were to have a lasting influence on the architecture of later periods.

The vestiges of these buildings earn the admiration of the visitor with their beauty and exquisite proportions, their imposing portals, their graceful columns and perfect finishing. Im-hotep's contemporaries and later architects of the Middle and New Kingdoms paid tribute to his genius in the numerous inscriptions they caused to be carved out on various tombs and temples of the time.

As a physician Im-hotep gained a still wider reputation in the history of Ancient Egypt, and we find his name associated with nearly every scientific discovery recorded in papyri. More than 2,500 years after his death, Im-hotep remains an undisputed authority in the field of medicine. Recognising his genius, King Zoser conferred upon him all sorts of honours.

From the list of his official titles we learn that Im-hotep had been at the head of every government administration. He was also dean of the clergy. Was not his name inscribed on the pedestal of King Zoser's statue? In a country where the king was worshipped as a god this indeed is the highest distinction that can be bestowed upon a subject. No other court official either before or after him had thus been exalted.

Ptah-shepses, Prime Minister of the Fifth Dynasty boasted to his friends that he was related to the royal family because the king had given him an undeniable proof of his love and esteem by allowing him to kiss his sandals instead of kissing the hallowed ground on which he stood.

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This story shows us the supreme position of the kings of Ancient Egypt. What then must Im-hotep's influence have been to cause the king—an incarnate god—to permit him to immortalize his name on his own statue in his own temple at Sakkara ?

Under the Renaissance—600 B.C.—Im-hotep received divine honours. His statues are put up in every household as charms and protection against diseases. Under the Ptolemies, Im-hotep becomes a national deity worshipped in every temple in Egypt, even in those located in oases.

The Greeks who admit to have gathered their knowledge and science from Ancient Egypt duly acknowledged his position in the history of Egyptian medicine, identifying him with Asclepius.

Despite the repeated efforts of reputed Egyptologists Im-hotep's tomb remains a mystery. But it is certain that when the life story of his great Egyptian statesman comes to light it will outshine the most dazzling and dramatic career of any court official of ancient and modern times.—*Cultural Bulletin of Egypt.*

A New "Great Wall" of Trees

Two thousand years ago, a ruler of China built the Great Wall to keep the country from being devastated by nomads from the desert. Today, the People's Government is building a much vaster system of ramparts to challenge the destructive forces of nature itself. The new Great Wall consists not of brick and stone but of trees. Second only to the national forestry programme of the Soviet Union in scale, it has no parallel, past or present, in the capitalist world. In the spring of last year alone, more trees were planted in China than in all the 22 years of Kuomintang rule.

In the North-East

The greatest single project in the tremendous afforestation programme that will change the climate and whole aspect of China is the North-east Shelter Belt. Much work has already been done on it. When planting is completed, ten years from now, the belt will take up 11,600 square miles of land. It will be 680 miles long and 190 miles across at the widest point. Its purpose is to eliminate the dangers of drought, shifting sands and floods that have long afflicted the most industrially-advanced region of our country. As one of its consequences, we shall reclaim 7,000 square miles now useless for agriculture, an area equal to one-third of all the cultivated land in England. The new north-eastern forests will stretch from Fuyu and Kannan in Heilungkiang province to the Liaotung peninsula, on which Talien (Dairen) and Lushun (Port Arthur) are located, and to Shanhaikuan where the Great Wall meets the sea.

In addition, local authorities in the north-east are undertaking to afforest the sources and banks of the Liao, Liu, Taitze, Hun, Nonni, Mutan, Luan; Hsiamulun, Kuntu and Yalu rivers. Trees will also be

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planted along all highways and railway lines and along streets in cities, towns and villages.

Apart from its protective functions, the programme will, in time, immeasurably increase the supply of timber for construction.

In East China

A second project that has already been commenced involves afforestation, on about half the scale of the North-east programme, along the seacoast of east China in northern Kiangsu province. Its aim is to check the violent ocean winds (typhoons) that often do serious damage to crops there, as well as the accompanying seawater inundations that have alkalized much coastal land and made it unproductive.

The main North Kiangsu Shelter Belt will run parallel to the dykes along the shores of the Yellow Sea. It will have subsidiary belts on both sides to which it will be linked by a net of windbreaks. Over 360 miles long, it will abut on the estuary of the Yangtze river in the south and join the existing forests of the Yuntai mountains in the north.

This system has a shorter time-schedule than the one in the North-east. Plans call for it to be finished by 1958, at which time the great Huai river control scheme will also be near completion. The two projects together will change the face of the region. Water conservancy work will have eliminated floods, while the shelter belt will reduce the velocity of winds from the sea by 35 to 40 per cent. Farms and villages will stand amid groves of willow, acacia, gingko, mulberry, cedar and cypress. Some 7,700 square miles of land will be assured of secure crops with the result that the average annual output of agriculture in northern Kiangsu will increase by an estimated 50 per cent.

Preparations for this work were begun by the authorities of the East China Administrative Area in 1949, immediately after liberation. Teams of agronomists and forestry experts have already made surveys of the land, and 5 million pounds of tree-seedlings have been prepared for planting this year. Additional seedlings are being grown on 270 square miles of state-farm land in the area, while peasants are devoting 1,800 square miles of their own marginal land to the same purpose.

Other Afforestation

Afforestation work in new China is not confined to the projects described above.

Trees are being planted at the headwaters of the Huai and the Yellow River as well as along the banks of rivers and streams all over the country. Along with dams, dykes, reservoirs and other installations, they will play an increasingly important role in flood control.

Shelter belts are being installed in western Hopei province, eastern Honan province and the sandy regions of north and north-west China. In the Central-South China Region, the people have planted twice number of trees called for by the regional plan.

The present upsurge in tree-planting did not arise suddenly. Everywhere activity to repair the ravages of greed and reaction which had reduced the forest area of China to 5 per cent began as soon as the people took control. Long before the liberation of the entire mainland even in the resistance bases behind the enemy lines in the course of the Anti-Japanese War, local revolutionary governments had paid the greatest attention to such work.

Immediately after its establishment, the People's Government spurred afforestation to greater heights. It also energetically undertook the protection of existing forests. To check forest fires, over 5,000 special protection committees with 21,000 sub-committees have been organized. In the Northeast alone, 940,000 people were mobilized to prevent forest fires in 1951. As a result, the last two years have witnessed no serious forest fires, a situation entirely without precedent. Felling of trees is now strictly regulated so that the exploitation of timber resources can no longer turn into spoilation, as it once used to do.

All sections of the people are participating in the protection and extension of forests. The national minorities are showing great enthusiasm in the work and 25,000 Yaos in Liennan, Kwangtung province, recently planted 2 million trees considerably ahead of the planned schedule. The People's Liberation Army too has made its own large-scale contribution to afforestation, carrying it forward with characteristic vigour in many garrison areas.

Trained Personnel

As in many other fields of national construction, the sweeping plans of the People's Government, and the mobilization of millions of people, have created a sharp shortage of qualified personnel to direct the work. To meet this need, 20,000 foresters are being trained. Some are studying in colleges and universities, while others are taking short courses or learning on the job.

The long-range campaign to increase China's forests from 5 per cent to 20 per cent of the national territory is under way throughout the country, gathering momentum with every month that passes.—*Bulletin of the People's Republic of China.*

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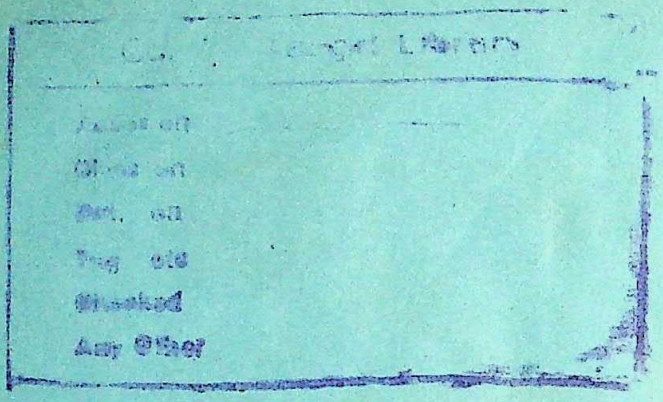

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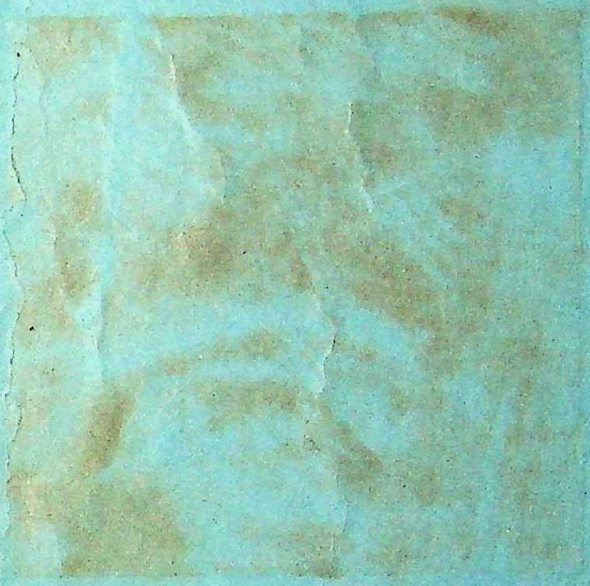

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